Women composers during the British musical renaissance, 1880-1918.

Fuller, Sophie

Women Composers during the British Musical Renaissance, 1880-1918

Sophie Fuller

PhD

King's College
University of London

Abstract

The British Musical Renaissance has been made the focus of much scholarship, from Frank Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance* (1966) to Robert Stradling and Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance: Construction and Deconstruction* (1993). But few musicologists or historians have examined the part played by women in the musical culture of Britain during this time of 're-birth'.

This dissertation explores the position of British women composers during the period 1880-1918 (commonly regarded as the core of the so-called 'Renaissance'), setting them in the general context of late Victorian and Edwardian society, with its changing and often complicated attitudes towards women's involvement with various musical worlds, and placing them in a tradition of women's musical work.

The lives, careers and work of six composers will be explored in some detail: Frances Allitsen (1848-1912), Dora Bright (1863-1951), Rosalind Ellicott (1857-1924), Liza Lehmann (1862-1918), Adela Maddison (1866-1929) and Maude Valérie White (1855-1937). This primary research demonstrates the different ways in which women were able to negotiate their positions as composers as well as outlining their considerable (if now forgotten) achievements and the critical acclaim that they received during their lifetimes.

Various issues are raised by incorporating these women and their many contemporaries into the history of the British Musical Renaissance. Those explored in this dissertation broaden our understanding of musical life and culture at a crucial period in British musical history and include: access to training and education; career structures; support networks; performance opportunities, including the question of private and public spheres; professionalism; class; nationality and 'cosmopolitanism'; the media reception of women and their work; an exploration of women's particular involvement with song and the associations of music and music-making with the 'feminine'.

Table of Contents

Musical Examples

Preface

Leafing through a copy of the home furnishings magazine *Elle Decoration* a few years ago, I came across an article on low-cost decoration:

> If paint is too plain, but you can't find the wallpaper you want - think lateral. Cover your walls with brown paper for the ultimate cheap, chic backdrop or for the armchair traveller, pin up your maps. Nothing is sacrosanct...[1]

The first detailed proposal was to use old sheet music, material which the author was quick to point out can always be picked up very cheaply. The piece of music used to illustrate the article, the first thing to meet the reader's eye, was a copy of 'How Do I Love Thee?' by Maude Valérie White, first published in 1885. I had already been researching White's music and life for several years, spending hours in libraries, dusty second-hand bookshops and freezing street markets searching out her songs, slowly piecing together her story and discovering her striking musical voice. That for others this voice was silent, worthy only of providing cut-price wallpaper, seemed a bitterly appropriate metaphor for White's present place within the history of British music.

The following study re-examines the position of White and her many female contemporaries who worked as composers during a period usually referred to as the 'British Musical Renaissance'. After an introduction which examines women's place within and exclusion from some of the histories of the 'Renaissance', this dissertation divides into two sections. The first explores the general position of women as musicians and composers, setting them within the context of late Victorian and Edwardian society's changing and complex attitudes towards women's engagement with the arts, and examining issues such as access to education or performance opportunities; the availability of a range of support networks and possible career structures; the shifting understanding and implications of professionalism; the frequently blurred distinction between the public and private performance space; the importance of nationality and class; the particular association of women with song; and the attitude of the contemporary media towards women and their work.

---

[1] Emma Bernhardt, 'Off the Wall' *Elle Decoration* 21 (Jan-Feb 1993), p.50.

The second section builds on this general picture by providing preliminary studies of the lives, careers and work of six women (Maude Valérie White, Liza Lehmann, Frances Allitsen, Rosalind Ellicott, Dora Bright and Adela Maddison), all of whom achieved a significant measure of success during their lifetimes. These six women were chosen partly because there was enough available information about their lives and work to make such research possible,[2] but also because they each wrote strikingly personal music which I believe deserves further exploration and exposure. The studies emphasise the different ways in which each of these women negotiated her career as a composer. It is beyond the scope of the dissertation to provide a detailed examination of each composer's music and my aim has been rather to provide an overview of their output, laying the grounds for future analytical investigation. Since this repertoire is not widely known, I have included several musical examples as well as descriptions of a few key works.[3] I have resisted the temptation to draw parallels with the present-day situation of women composers in Britain or with current theories about the feminine in music. Although such parallels are obvious and fascinating, they would provide enough material for another dissertation.

In the final chapter I draw some of the many threads of the dissertation together. This includes exploring two issues that were deeply significant for the careers of the women themselves and for the reception of their work, both during and after their lifetimes: the deep-seated but complicated association of music with the feminine and the deliberate encouragement, by sections of the 'Renaissance' (and post-Renaissance) establishment, of composers and music that could be regarded as both British and manly. The issues and questions raised by starting to include the careers and work of women such as White and her contemporaries in the history of music in Britain present a range of challenges to our understanding and interpretation of musical life and culture in a particularly volatile and compelling period.

In researching the lives and work of the six women (especially those of Allitsen, Bright and Ellicott) I was faced with a frustrating scarcity of source material. There appears to be no surviving archive of manuscripts, diaries or letters for any of the six composers, apart from Lehmann, although for each of the other five a handful of letters and

[2] This was not the case with many of their contemporaries, such as Amy Woodforde-Finden or Oliveria Prescott.

[3] Musical examples have not been edited, other than to correct obvious errors.

manuscripts has been preserved. Much of the detail of lives and work therefore remains unknown, although partial pictures can be created, largely through the contemporary media and always filtered through my own interpretations. Copyright libraries (such as the British Library) do not always hold complete collections of even the printed music of these women, so in the six appendices to this dissertation I have provided preliminary work lists for each composer, presented in the way that most clearly reflects and represents her work.

In the years that I have been engaged on this study, I have been helped and encouraged by numerous people and would particularly like to thank the following for invaluable discussions and access to sources:
Byron Adams, the Aird family, Michael Baker, Jennifer Barnes, Christina Bashford, David and Steuart Bedford, Tamara Bernstein, Anthony Boden, Philip Brett, Lionel Carley, Susan Cole, Sir Edward Compton, Rachel Cowgill, Liane Curtis, Oliver Davies, Jenny Doctor, Cyril Ehrlich, Robert Fink, Lewis Foreman, John Gardner, Paula Gillett, Michael Hurd, Sylvia Kahan, Elizabeth Kertesz, Cara Lancaster, Jerry Laurie, Nicky Losseff, Kathleen McCrone, Helen Metzelaar, John C. Milner, Margaret Myers, Eva Ohrström, Nicholas Temperley, Boris Thomson, Dorothy de Val, Christopher Wilson, and Elizabeth Wood.
Robert Parker in the Music Reading Area of the British Library; Bridget Palmer, Dave Roberts and all at the Royal Academy of Music Library; Peter Horton and all at the Royal College of Music Library; David Doughan at the Fawcett Library; Janet Johnstone at Cheltenham Ladies' College; Kate Cockburn of the Cheltenham Festival; Kathryn L. Beam at the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Michigan Library; the staff of the Chertsey Museum, Delius Trust Archive, Gloucester Library, National Sound Archive, University of London Library and Westminster Music Library.
Especial thanks to my colleagues in the Department of Music at the University of Reading, my supervisor Nicola LeFanu, John and Prue Fuller, and Elaine Mullings.

Abbreviations used:

BL	British Library	RAM	Royal Academy of Music
LA	Lehmann Archive	RCM	Royal College of Music
MBA	Mabel Batten Archive		

Introduction: The British Musical Renaissance

The period of British musical history that straddles the turn of the 20th century has long been described as one of 'Musical Renaissance', and details of the timing, participants and impact of this rebirth of British music have been under discussion since the early years of this century.[1] Both contemporaries and later historians have found the idea of Renaissance useful to describe a period of complex change in many aspects of British musical life and a time when music written by British composers began to make a renewed impact on a variety of audiences in Britain as well as in other countries. Needless to say, such an image of British music and musical life at the turn of the century has also been challenged, perhaps particularly for the way in which it diminishes the importance of musical activities of the earlier 19th century, and in its focus on certain composers, genres and performance spaces.

Most scholars, for example, see this Renaissance as almost entirely male. Any contributions made by women, but especially those of composers, are either marginalised or simply disappear. A notable exception is Ethel Smyth, who is usually included, both as composer and as commentator on musical life, in the larger picture of the Renaissance, although over the course of the 20th century she came to be seen primarily as an amusing eccentric. A striking example of such dismissal was provided by Michael Trend in 1985:

> It is as a character and a celebrated sapphist that she is likely to continue to be best known in the future, for her music - the chief interest of her life - has gone into almost total eclipse, and there are no grounds for believing that this position will or should be reversed.[2]

Since 1985, however, that position has in fact been substantially reversed. There have been numerous performances and recordings of Smyth's music and both the woman and her work have been the subject of vigorous reassessment in television and radio programmes as well as scholarly articles, conference papers and biographies.[3] Many

---

[1] I have chosen to use the more inclusive term 'British Musical Renaissance' for this study although the term 'English Musical Renaissance' will be employed where this reflects the usage of other scholars.

[2] Michael Trend, *The Music Makers: The English Musical Renaissance from Elgar to Britten* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1985), p.93.

[3] Many of the recent Smyth revivals in the UK (Serenade in D, Overture to Anthony and Cleopatra, Mass in D, *The Wreckers*) have been championed by conductor Odaline de la Martinez. Works by Smyth that have been recorded since 1985 include her Mass in D (Virgin: VC 7 91188-2); *The Wreckers* (Conifer: 75605 51250 2), Serenade in D and Concerto for violin, horn and orchestra (Chandos: Chan 9449), Piano

composers undergo long periods of neglect that are then overturned, so the reassessment of Smyth's music should perhaps come as no particular surprise. But the international scope of recent interest (ranging from the UK and Germany through the United States and Canada to Australia) is rather more remarkable, particularly when contrasted with the comparatively localised appeal of other resurrected British composers such as Granville Bantock or Hubert Parry. Smyth and her work play a minimal part in this study, precisely because there is already such a substantial and ever growing body of work exploring her place in British music history. My main concern is with the place of her many contemporaries who were women, composers born in the 1850s and 1860s and whose work began being heard in the 1880s, the decade usually regarded as the start of the British Musical Renaissance. A brief survey of the position of these women in histories of British music presents a picture of neglect and absence that is depressingly familiar to those working with women's contributions to Western culture.

The idea of defining a Renaissance in British music started within the period itself. Robert Stradling and Meirion Hughes claim that the first use of the word 'in relation to the music of Mackenzie, Parry and Stanford', three composers and administrators generally regarded as leaders of the Renaissance, is found in a lecture given by Morton Latham at Cambridge in 1888.[4] By the early years of the 20th century the term and the concept were common enough for the critic J. A. Fuller Maitland to structure his book *English Music in the XIXth Century*, published in 1902, in two parts entitled 'Before The Renaissance (1801-1850)' and 'The Renaissance (1851-1900)'. Fuller Maitland provides a detailed and invaluable picture of British musical life which nevertheless focuses, in a pattern that was to become all too familiar, on orchestral, choral and chamber music rather than songs and works for piano, as can be seen in his choice of Edward Dannreuther's chamber music series and the Crystal Palace orchestral concerts under August Manns as particularly important signs of Renaissance.[5] It will become

---

Trio in D minor, Violin Sonata op. 7 and Cello Sonata op. 5 (Meridian: CDE 84286) and Complete Piano Works (CPO: 999 327-2). The most in-depth documentary on Smyth has been Tamara Bernstein's *Ethel Smyth* made for the Canadian Broadcasting Company and broadcast in 1997. Elizabeth Wood has written numerous articles on Smyth's music (see Bibliography) and is at work on a biography. Other scholars who have worked or are working on Smyth's music and its reception include Jennifer Barnes, Jory Bennett, Elizabeth Kertesz and Eva Rieger. It is worth noting that most of these scholars and musicians are women whereas all the historians of British music discussed below are men.

[4] Robert Stradling and Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance 1860-1940: Construction and Deconstruction* (London: Routledge, 1993), p.34.

[5] J. A. Fuller Maitland, *English Music in the XIXth Century* (London: Grant Richards, 1902), pp.145-147 and 156.

apparent that such a focus inevitably marginalises the contributions made by many women and men whose main work was in other musical genres. Arthur Sullivan, for example, is placed to one side of the Renaissance by being relegated to a chapter entitled 'Sullivan and Light Music'.

Fuller Maitland identifies five 'Leaders of the Renaissance': Hubert Parry, Charles Villiers Stanford, Alexander Mackenzie, Frederic Cowen and Arthur Goring Thomas. He also discusses nearly 80 'Followers of the Renaissance' divided into four groups: seven male composers born between 1855 and 1859; 27 male composers born in the 1860s; a further 27 male composers born in the 1870s, and 16 female composers, a diverse group born between 1839 and 1874.[6] In common with other scholars, both of his time and since, Fuller Maitland regards women composers as quite distinct from their male contemporaries, although he does claim that the women he describes have 'shown remarkable gifts, gifts which are certainly enough to warrant us in doubting the general dictum that no woman has ever yet succeeded in the creative arts'.[7] He lays careful emphasis on women's orchestral and chamber music by first discussing works in these genres by Alice Mary Smith, Ethel Smyth, Dora Bright and Agnes Zimmermann before moving on to grant a place to the widely successful songs of, among others, Maude Valérie White, Liza Lehmann and Frances Allitsen. Brief though it may be, this passage by Fuller Maitland was the last time that so many different women were to be included, even if marginally, in the history of 19th-century British music.

Ernest Walker's classic *A History of Music in England*, originally published in 1907, necessarily devotes much less space to the late 19th century than the specialised history of Fuller Maitland. Like his predecessor, Walker is prepared to date the general beginnings of a Musical Renaissance before the 1880s[8] but he also defines a specific date and work that were to become a crucial part of the Renaissance legend:

---

[6] The 16 women composers are, in order of appearance: Alice Mary Smith, Ethel Smyth, Agnes Zimmermann, Dora Bright, Maude Valérie White, Mary Carmichael, Rosalind Ellicott, Amy Horrocks, Edith Swepstone, Ethel Boyce, Florence Gilbert, Frances Allitsen, Florence Aylward, Liza Lehmann, Ethel Barns and Katharine Ramsay.

[7] Fuller Maitland, *English Music in the XIXth Century*, p.266.

[8] 'It was only during the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century that the Renaissance of English composition gradually grew from more to more; but in other departments of music signs of the new order were visible at an earlier date'. Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), p.286.

> If we seek for a definite birthday for modern English music, September 7, 1880, when Prometheus saw the light at Gloucester and met with a distinctly mixed reception, has undoubtedly the best claim.[9]

Walker added Sullivan and Elgar to Fuller Maitland's top five composers, but again showed the path that would be taken by later historians in picking out Elgar, Parry and Stanford as 'the trio of composers who stand by common consent at the head of modern English music'.[10] Taking the decision not to discuss living British composers born after 1860, Walker does not mention any other composers, male or female. The second edition of *A History of Music in England* appeared in 1924 with an appendix which followed developments since 1907 and included Smyth, but no other women, alongside 11 male composers.[11]

Other writers on English music history who published before the Second World War did remember women composers other than Smyth. In 1922 Sydney Grew published a small, idiosyncratic book, *Our Favourite Musicians from Stanford to Holbrooke*, with short articles on 10 living British composers born before 1878.[12] Smyth is one of these ten, but in a preliminary explanation of his choices Grew explains that

> The names of many women composers came to me, because Ethel Smyth, though the greatest woman musician of her time, was not the only genuine woman composer - Katherine Eggar, Kathleen Bruckshaw, Ethel Boyce, Liza Lehmann and a few song-writers, and Marian Arkwright.[13]

The idea that there may have been women composers who were somehow not genuine is a strange concept, and Grew's list of composers, apart from 'Liza Lehmann and a few song-writers', is chosen to reflect women who were composing orchestral or chamber music, perhaps as if this makes them genuine.[14] Many of the women listed by Fuller

---

[9] *Ibid.*, p.300.

[10] *Ibid.*, p.299.

[11] Walker does discuss Smyth's music seriously although he also describes her as 'liable to rather disturbing outbursts of a sort of freakishness'. Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England* second edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), p.367.

[12] Sydney Grew, *Our Favourite Musicians from Stanford to Holbrooke* (Edinburgh and London: T. N. Foulis, 1922). The 10 composers are: Stanford, Elgar, Smyth, Delius, Bantock, Walford Davies, Vaughan Williams, Holst, Boughton and Holbrooke.

[13] Grew, *Our Favourite Musicians*, p.21. Grew's article on Smyth is an extraordinary piece of writing (worthy of further study as a classic text in Smyth's reception) in which the author seems overwhelmed by his subject, explaining that 'Women creative artists of genius always tend to an excess of energy'.

[14] Boyce and Arkwright were well known as composers, Eggar and Bruckshaw rather less so, although Eggar (1874-1961) was to play an important role in the formation of the Society of Women Musicians (see chapter 2). She studied at the Royal Academy of Music and her works (mostly unpublished) include songs and partsongs, piano pieces, a scena for baritone and small orchestra, two piano trios, a Suite for cello and piano and a piano quintet which had several recorded performances including one which prompted Alfred Kallisch to write that it 'should be played more frequently'. *The Musical Times* (April 1920), p.248. A piano concerto by Kathleen Bruckshaw (1877-1921) was performed at the Promenade

Maitland, including Barns, Bright, Carmichael, White and Zimmermann, were still alive and composing when Grew was writing, but as his list shows, already disappearing from public view.

Arkwright and Eggar are also mentioned in the second edition of Henry Davey's *History of English Music* (1921), a reissue of the original 1895 edition adding an appendix covering 'Recent Musical History'. In 1895 the only living composer Davey had discussed was Sullivan but in 1921 he covered 64 contemporary composers, separating off the nine women in one short paragraph:

> Lady composers have been active. Frances Allitsen (died 1912) nearly achieved a national song in 'There's a land, a dear land'. Ethel M. Smyth was warmly praised by Tchaikoffski, and has succeeded in operatic composition. Marian Arkwright, Ethel Harraden, A. E. Horrocks, Throsty Hutchinson, Katherine Eggar, and Emma Lomax have shown their ability to use the highest forms and resources. Great deeds are expected from Dorothy Howell.[15]

Again, many of the highly successful women listed by Fuller Maitland have disappeared. Frances Allitsen finds a somewhat negative place by failing to achieve a national song and Smyth is grudgingly identified by the approval of a more famous, male composer. Davey's determination to focus on 'highest forms and resources' produces a somewhat surprising list of women who, although not particularly well known, had produced orchestral, chamber or operatic music.[16] Songwriters such as White or Lehmann are completely ignored.

Music critic Eric Blom's *Music in England* was first published in 1942 and covers a remarkable amount of material in its 271 pages. Blom opens his chapter on 'The Renascence (1880-1900)' by warning against taking Parry's 'Prometheus Unbound' as 'a rigid demarcation between a period of utter obscurity and another of sudden enlightenment'. Stradling and Hughes have shown how dismissive Blom can be, in both

---

Concerts in 1914. David Cox, *The Henry Wood Proms* (London: BBC, 1980), p.267. Only two published works appear to have survived.

[15] Henry Davey, *History of English Music* second edition (London: J. Curwen, 1921), p.486.

[16] Throsty Hutchinson seems to have disappeared without trace; Emma Lomax's dates are unknown - her works include an opera, two cantatas and several orchestral works; Ethel Harraden (1857-?), sister of suffragette and novelist Beatrice Harraden, was probably best known for her opera *The Taboo* (1895), described by one reviewer as an 'utter failure' (*The Monthly Musical Record* (February 1895), p.41); Marian Arkwright (1863-1922) and Amy Horrocks (1867-1920) were considerably more successful, with a variety of orchestral and other works. Dorothy Howell (1898-1982) was still in her early 20s but had caused a sensation with the premiere of her orchestral work *Lamia* at the Promenade Concerts in 1919. See Sophie Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers: Britain and the United States, 1629-Present* (London: Pandora, 1994), pp.157-158.

this book and other writings, of a variety of composers including Rutland Boughton and John Foulds.[17] But Blom was aware of women's contributions and position in the musical world although his coverage is simplistic and limited, concentrating once again on those women who produced orchestral or chamber music. In a chapter on 'The Victorian Era (1837-1880)', described as 'the nadir in British music', he explains that

> The stage was still the place where women could become musically active with the greatest ease and at the earliest age. ... As for composition, it was almost freakish for a woman to take to it, although about the seventies Alice Mary Smith (Mrs. Meadows White) did so, writing chamber music and other works, including a clarinet concerto.[18]

Smyth takes pride of place among later women composers. Described as 'talented women composers', White and Lehmann are also 'minor writers who bridged the gulf between the ballad and the "art-song" with some charming work of an unpretentious kind' although Blom does point out that Smyth's Mass had been preceded by one written by White, an almost unique acknowledgement that she wrote anything other than songs.[19] Dora Bright's ballet writing is mentioned, but, surprisingly, not her orchestral or chamber music.[20]

For most writers in the second half of the 20th century, women composers of this generation, other than Smyth, were virtually non-existent. After Frank Howes's classic study *The English Musical Renaissance* appeared in 1966, monographs on the Renaissance have been published every decade, keeping the concept very much at the forefront of British music studies. Apart from Smyth, the only female composers of her generation mentioned by Howes are White and Lehmann, who are not placed within their historical context but appear parenthetically in a passage on women composers in the 1930s. After acknowledging women's work as singers, pianists and violinists, Howes adds with a tone of faint surprise that 'there have even been women composers who were successful song-writers (Maude Valérie White, 1855-1947, and Liza Lehmann, 1862-1918)'.[21] His attitude to Smyth is strangely ambivalent, undecided as to whether she 'stands to one side of the renaissance, or was perhaps one of its heralds', adding the odd assertion, echoing Grew's category of 'genuine woman composer', that

---

[17] Stradling and Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance 1860-1940*, pp. 195 and 200.
[18] Eric Blom, *Music in England* revised edition (Middlesex: Penguin, 1947), p.201.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp.218 and 230.
[20] *Ibid.*, p.222.
[21] Frank Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1966), p.293.

'she was a real composer...'.[22] Neither Peter J. Pirie's *The English Musical Renaissance: Twentieth-Century British Composers and their Works* (1979) nor Michael Trend's *The Music Makers: The English Musical Renaissance from Elgar to Britten* (1985) mentions any women composers apart from Smyth.[23]

Nor are these women to be found in Robert Stradling and Meirion Hughes's *The English Musical Renaissance 1860-1940: Construction and Deconstruction* (1993), a work which follows the Howes tradition of focusing on public events and large-scale genres. Central to Stradling and Hughes's argument is that the Renaissance was the creation of a specific group of men, including George Grove, Parry, Stanford and Mackenzie, with connections to the newly founded Royal College of Music in South Kensington. Composers such as Elgar and Sullivan, the one from a Catholic lower-class background and the other a composer best known for his lighter music, were deliberately left outside this carefully constructed Renaissance. Given their deconstructive focus and close examination of the historiography of the Renaissance, it is particularly surprising that no women other than Smyth find even a passing mention in Stradling and Hughes's work. Smyth herself is only used as an example of a composer who looked to Germany for education, publication and performance.[24] A 1934 BBC concert devoted to her work is dismissed as 'an early and extravagant example of feminist tokenism', a startling misunderstanding of the complex reception of Smyth's music in Britain during the last two decades of her life.[25] Even in a substantial passage on Bantock's *Omar Khayyam* and Ketèlbey's *In a Persian Market*, Stradling and Hughes completely ignore Lehmann's best-selling song-cycle on a similar subject, *In a Persian Garden*.[26] Their work remains a partial deconstruction which neglects to carry their critical examination through to a more thoughtful exploration of class, gender, genre and performance sphere.

Post-second world war general histories of British music have tended to follow similar paths in diminishing the achievements of women in this period, especially by failing to

---

[22] *Ibid.*, p.67.
[23] Peter J. Pirie, *The English Musical Renaissance: Twentieth-Century British Composers and their Works* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1979) and Michael Trend, *The Music Makers: The English Musical Renaissance from Elgar to Britten* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1985). Pirie misleadingly claims that Smyth was 'the first Englishwoman to achieve something of a reputation as a composer', p.67.
[24] See Stradling and Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance 1860-1940*, pp.105, 107 and 110-111.
[25] *Ibid.*, p.167.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp.200-201.

look beyond the world of the public, canonical genres of music. Women composers are usually ignored or relegated to a separate sphere of the second-rate. Smyth is still the only woman covered in J. A. Westrup's 1952 revision of Walker's *A History of Music in England*, and there is not a single woman composer to be found in Henry Raynor's *Music in England* of 1980.[27] Percy M. Young's *A History of British Music* of 1967 includes a section headed 'Two Women Composers and a Scotsman'. The two women, the only ones mentioned in the entire book, are White and Smyth, whom Young admits were not the first women composers but claims were 'the first in Britain seriously to adopt composition as a career'. Young's 'seriously' has the familiar ring of Grew's 'genuine' and Howes's 'real', all suggesting a shadowy group of frivolously unimportant women who do not merit inclusion. Young dismisses White as a composer whose 'limited technical accomplishment gave no more than adequately processed drawing-room songs' while granting Smyth a style that was acceptable in that it was 'both masculine and Teutonic'. He praises *The Boatswain's Mate* by comparing it to the work of Britten, a composer 55 years her junior, and describes her Mass in D as 'a pretentious piece of writing: an exercise rather than an invention'.[28]

There have been several challenges to the idea of Renaissance as a suitable or meaningful description of British musical history at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. As early as 1924, in an article on Ethel Smyth, the Catholic musician and editor of early music Richard Terry wrote:

> While Dame Ethel was studying at Leipzig we were hailing "The Renascence of English Music", which only meant that a few privileged composers with the social pull monopolised the provincial "Festivals" to the exclusion of everyone outside the ring.[29]

In 1960 Arthur Jacobs, later to be the biographer of Sullivan (a composer whose place within or outside the Renaissance has always proved problematic), described the term as a 'comic overstatement'.[30] It is significant that this description is found in a book on song, a genre ignored or treated with unease by many of the historians of the Renaissance, with Howes, for example, once dismissing all late Victorian song as

---

[27] Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England* third edition revised and enlarged by J. A. Westrup (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952) and Henry Raynor, *Music in England* (London: Robert Hale, 1980).
[28] Percy M. Young, *A History of British Music* (London: Ernest Benn, 1969), pp. 539 and 540.
[29] Richard Terry, 'Conversations VIII, with Dame Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc., O.B.E.' *The Queen* (11 June 1924), p.8.
[30] Ed. Denis Stevens, *A History of Song* (London: Hutchinson, 1960), p.155.

'debased and sentimentalised'.[31] Michael Kennedy has frequently challenged the usefulness of the idea of a Renaissance, describing it as 'too conventional and glib a label, vulnerable like most generalisations to the probings of more searching analysis'.[32] He argues that 1880 and Parry's *Prometheus Unbound* (which has no stronger claim than 'equivalent works by Stanford or Smyth or Sullivan's operas') should give way to 1899 and Elgar's *Enigma Variations* as the focal point for a substantial change or rebirth in British music.[33] In Kennedy's case, challenging the idea of Renaissance seems to have led to an acceptance of a broader picture of British musical life. Despite a title ('Prometheus Unbound: The British Musical Renaissance 1880-1914') which seems to accept every convention of the Renaissance, in his contribution to *Fairest Isle*, the BBC's 1995 general history of British music, Kennedy covers 38 composers in just 10 pages of text and includes four women: Bright, Smyth, Swepstone and Amy Woodforde-Finden.[34]

One of the most thorough examinations of British music in the 19th century remains the 1981 volume *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age 1800-1914* edited by Nicholas Temperley for the 'Blackwell History of Music in Britain' series.[35] In his introduction Temperley questions previous approaches to Victorian music, including the concept of 'the music of the years after 1880 as amounting to an "English musical renaissance" following a period of darkness and degradation'. He goes on to point out that

> The late Victorian "renaissance" idea, for instance, holds well enough in the case of orchestral and chamber music and oratorio; but in opera, songs and partsongs and cathedral music the honours are spread more evenly over the century, and in piano and organ music the height of British achievement is now seen to come at the beginning of the period, the later decades showing a decline.[36]

But this reassessment does not, with the exception of Geoffrey Bush's chapter on 'Songs', bring women composers back into the picture of 19th-century British musical life. Bush reclaims both White and Lehmann as important composers in the history of

---

[31] Frank Howes, 'Music' ed. Simon Nowell-Smith, *Edwardian England 1901-1914* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.435.

[32] Michael Kennedy, 'The English Musical Renaissance 1880-1920' *The Gramophone* 60 (August 1982), p.211. See also, for example, Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Elgar* second edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1982), p.37 ('the more steadily one looks at those years, the less apparent does the renaissance become').

[33] Kennedy, 'The English Musical Renaissance 1880-1920', p.211.

[34] Michael Kennedy, 'Prometheus Unbound: The British Musical Renaissance 1880-1914' ed. David Fraser, *Fairest Isle: BBC Radio 3 Book of British Music* (London: BBC, 1995), pp.66-76.

[35] Nicholas Temperley, *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age 1800-1914* (London: Athlone Press, 1981). This volume was reissued and subsequent volumes in the series have been published by Blackwell.

[36] Nicholas Temperley, 'Introduction' ed. Temperley, *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age*, pp.4-5.

late Victorian song, although he does not include any other female songwriters of their (or any other) generation. In his chapter on 'Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music' Temperley mentions three popular songs by women composers: Alicia Scott's 'Annie Laurie' (1838), Annie Macleod's 'Skye Boat Song' (1884) and Guy d'Hardelot's 'Because' (1902) but ignores the work of other women such as Claribel, Virginia Gabriel or Amy Woodforde-Finden.[37] The only woman composer to be found in the two chapters on piano music is Kate Loder, listed by Temperley as a member of the English Romantic piano school of the earlier 19th century.[38] The arrangement of the volume into chapters by different writers on distinct genres leads to strange anomalies such as the inclusion of Alice Mary Smith in Geoffrey Bush's chapter on 'Chamber Music' despite her absence from the chapters on 'Oratorios and Cantatas' (Nigel Burton) or 'Orchestral Music' (Percy M. Young), genres in which she achieved considerable success.[39] Even Smyth is omitted from Young's entirely male-dominated chapter on 'Orchestral Music', only appearing in Burton's chapter on 'Opera: 1865-1914'.[40]

The omission of women from Temperley's volume is all the more regrettable since this is one of the few general works which examines a wide range of musical genres and performance spaces, including more popular forms and music played within the home, aspects of music and musical life which were particularly open to women throughout the century. The contributors' assumption that during the 19th century women were unable to compose music of value, whether through lack of ability or lack of training, has taken such a strong (yet unacknowledged) hold as to become almost unshakeable. Even Smyth, who played no small part herself in the suppression of other women's achievements, has become a one-sided figure.

In social histories of British music, concerned as much with institutions, organisations, performers or educators as with composers, the concept of the Renaissance seems to play a minor role. E. D. Mackerness in his *A Social History of English Music* of 1964 refers in passing to Elgar and Parry as composers of 'the so-called 'English

---

[37] Nicholas Temperley, 'Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music' ed. Temperley, *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age*, pp.124 and 133.
[38] Nicholas Temperley, 'Piano Music: 1800-1870' ed. Temperley, *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age*, p.415. See chapter 2 for further discussion of Loder.
[39] Geoffrey Bush, 'Chamber Music' ed. Temperley, *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age*, p.389.
[40] Nigel Burton, 'Opera: 1865-1914' ed. Temperley, *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age*, pp.343, 347 and 355-357.

Renaissance'.[41] Cyril Ehrlich's study of *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century* of 1985 does not mention the concept at all. Neither writer examines the position of women as composers, although Ehrlich provides an invaluable exploration of women's roles as performers and teachers during the period.

The indisputable association of women composers with song throughout the 19th and into the 20th century is not acknowledged by most specialist studies of British song, from Sydney Northcote's 1966 study *Byrd to Britten: A Survey of English Song*, to Stephen Banfield's monumental achievement *Sensibility and English Song* of 1985.[42] When discussing the so-called 'drawing-room ballads' of the Edwardian era Northcote grudgingly admits that 'at least three or four women composers must come into our discussion here' and unquestioningly groups together the very different composers Lehmann, White, Woodforde-Finden and Teresa del Riego.[43] No women are given detailed coverage in Banfield's study although there are several references to works by White and Lehmann and passing mention of a handful of other women composers. Two notable exceptions to this dismissal of women as songwriters are works that concentrate on the ballad: Harold Simpson's 1910 survey *A Century of Ballads 1810-1910* and Derek Scott's *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (1989). Although there are references to women threaded throughout each book, both Simpson and Scott include a separate chapter on women composers, acknowledging their distinct achievements in this genre.[44]

As more scholars investigate British music and musical life of the 19th and early 20th centuries, detailed studies of institutions and other particular aspects of the period are inevitably beginning to monitor the achievements and contributions of women.[45]

---

[41] E. D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p.209.

[42] Sydney Northcote, *Byrd to Britten: A Survey of English Song* (London: John Baker, 1966) and Stephen Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[43] Northcote, *Byrd to Britten*, p.96.

[44] See Simpson's Chapter 15 'Some Present-Day Women Composers' in Harold Simpson, *A Century of Ballads 1810-1910: Their Composers and Singers* (London: Mills and Boon, 1910), pp. 305-326 and Scott's Chapter 3 'The Rise of the Woman Ballad Composer', which looks at the generation of women songwriters whose work was being heard in the 1850s and 60s, in Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1989), pp.60-80. Scott has expanded his work on women and gender in Victorian Britain in 'The Sexual Politics of Victorian Musical Aesthetics' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119:1 (1994), pp.91-114.

[45] The growing interest in 19th-century British music and musical life can be seen in a variety of recent monographs as well as events such as the first 'Music in 19th-century Britain' Conference (University of Hull: 10-12 July, 1997).

Without any context in which to place performances of music, especially orchestral music, by women composers, writers often express surprise at the number of performances of women's music, or see such performances as conscious gestures of support towards women. Michael Musgrave, in his book on the Crystal Palace, for example, records that 'a feature of the programmes of the last decade is the support that Manns gave to women composers'.[46] Four women's names are given but lengthier lists could be made for many venues or ensembles that were performing orchestral music at this time. The number of works by women composers performed by Dan Godfrey and the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra is often regarded with surprise, not least on the back cover of Stephen Lloyd's book on the conductor.[47]

To date there has been only one full-length study of women's specific contributions to music during any part of the period commonly regarded as the Renaissance: Derek Hyde's pioneering *New Found Voices: Women in Nineteenth-Century English Music*, first published in 1984. While providing a valuable wealth of basic information about a variety of women, including performers, organisers, educators and composers, Hyde remains disappointingly unanalytical or discerning in his attitude towards these women. His approach can be clearly seen in an unquestioning use of the terms 'virile' or 'feminine' when writing about the music of women composers, or in his description of Smyth as 'the first "professional" woman composer in England whose main aim was that her music and its performance be received on equal terms with that of male composers'. [48] The concept of the professional composer at the turn of the century is a complicated subject and one that needs careful consideration. Smyth's engagement with the concept of professionalism, like that of many other women and men of her class who did not need to earn money from their work and yet refused to be regarded as amateur musicians, was particularly complex. It is extremely misleading to credit her as the first professional woman composer in England, even though the statement is qualified by the equally misleading idea that she was the first woman to want her music to be received in the same way as that of her male contemporaries.

---

[46] Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.112. Musgrave lists Ethel Smyth, Alice M. Chamberlayne (presumably a conflation of Alice Mary Smith and Elizabeth A. Chamberlayne), Alice Smith (presumably Alice Mary Smith) and Rosalind Ellicott.

[47] Stephen Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Composers* (London: Thames Publishing, 1995). For emphasis on the number of women composers performed, see for example p.34.

[48] Derek Hyde, *New Found Voices. Women in Nineteenth-Century English Music* (Cornwall: Belverdere Press, 1984), p.138.

In her well-known 1977 essay challenging the concept of historical periodization, 'Did Women Have a Renaissance?', Joan Kelly-Gadol answered her own question with the categorical statement that 'there was no renaissance for women - at least, not during the Renaissance'.[49] During the period that has for so long been regarded as a second Renaissance for music in Britain, there was a vibrant and exciting renewal and expansion of women's involvement with many aspects of musical life. But this was, as any student of women's history would expect, in some ways a rather different Renaissance from that experienced by many of their male colleagues and written about by musical historians.[50] Assuming that the contributions of women, and particularly those of women whose primary musical focus was composition, were both interesting and important not only challenges some of the assumptions about these women but also about what is worthy of study in British musical life during the period from 1880 to the end of the First World War.

The position of women as composers at this time remains largely misunderstood. Ethel Smyth was not the lone female figure of Renaissance legend, nor were her many female contemporaries who wrote music exclusively songwriters, although they undoubtedly had a particular relationship with this genre which needs to be recognised and explored. Women composers of this time were not exclusively badly trained amateurs working within the private sphere of the drawing room or the salon, although for many women such a space provided invaluable support for their musical creativity. The blurred distinction between the amateur and the professional during this period also deserves a more thorough investigation than it is usually allowed. Women composers need to be seen within the context of women's general position in a society that offered them a complex and changing mixture of restriction and opportunity, as well as within the context of a flourishing although increasingly denigrated female musical tradition. Above all, although most of the histories of the British music during the period of the so-called Renaissance would seem to suggest otherwise, women at this time were writing large amounts of music in every conceivable genre, which was being published, performed and discussed throughout the country. Restoring these women to a place

[49] Joan Kelly-Gadol, 'Did Women Have a Renaissance?' ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), p.139.
[50] It is striking that all the historians and musicologists discussed above are themselves male. Exploring the British Musical Renaissance does not seem to have appealed to women scholars.

within the history of British music broadens our understanding of issues that affected musicians of both genders: perceptions of the feminine in relation to music; the place within the canon and the repertoire of certain musical genres; fluctuating attitudes towards and definitions of professionalism; interaction between public and private spheres, and questions of nationalism and class.

The concept of a late 19th-century British Musical Renaissance remains useful, not least because it was a concept embraced by contemporary musicians themselves. Even though different commentators have convincingly argued that this period of renewed vigour in British music can be seen to start as early as 1850 or as late as 1899, this study of the contributions of women composers focuses on a period which starts at the conventional date of 1880 and ends with the First World War, after which nothing in Britain was ever quite the same again. The choice of 1880 has not been made for the first performance of Parry's *Prometheus Unbound* but for a whole collection of seemingly arbitrary events which demonstrate the ever growing role being played by women in British musical life. In that year a musical festival in Berkshire advertised one of the first appearances of a British 'Orchestra of Ladies';[51] at a sale of Metzler's copyrights Virginia Gabriel's song 'Ruby' was sold for £418 10s;[52] the composer Oliveria Prescott's book *Form or Design in Music* was published,[53] while works by women receiving first performances included Alice Mary Smith's cantata *Ode to the North-East Wind* (Kingsley)[54] and Agnes Zimmermann's Suite in D major op. 19 for piano, violin and cello.[55] But above all, 1880 is notable as the year in which songs by Maude Valérie White, the composer whose life, career and work form the focal centre of this study, were first introduced by the renowned baritone Charles Santley to London audiences at the Crystal Palace, the Popular concerts and the Philharmonic Society.[56]

---

[51] *The Musical Times* 21 (December 1880), p.600.
[52] *The Musical Times* 21 (July 1880), p. 351. Several other songs by Gabriel, who had died three years previously were also sold for large amounts.
[53] Oliveria Prescott, *Form or Design in Music* (London: Duncan Davison, 1880).
[54] 'Obituary: Mrs Meadows White' *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* (January 15 1885), p.32.
[55] *The Monthly Musical Record* (April 1880), p.57.
[56] See below, chapter 4.

Chapter 1: Contexts

> Scarcely half a year passes that does not see some great advancement in the widening of that remarkable road which runs, figuratively speaking, right through the nineteenth century: the wonderful road of women's progress![1]

The period of nearly 40 years covered by this study was one, like any other, of change, contradiction and diversity which can be seen as many different patterns of events, ideas and people. Historians have presented a baffling array of interpretations and explanations of this complex and intriguing time, in which so much can seem familiar and yet so much can be so strange. To a late 20th-century feminist the violent, angry demonstrations of the suffragettes are vividly modern, but the idea that for some of these women mass suffrage marches through London were the first time that they had appeared in public without a chaperone or escort is unimaginable. Our sense of history constantly changes as we re-interpret and find in the past what we need in order to explain our present. To get closer to understanding the position of women composers in Britain during the 1880s, 1890s and the first two decades of the 20th century, we have to try and create a picture of the times in which they lived and worked.

In April 1880 the General Election was won by the Liberal party and William Gladstone returned to power as Prime Minister with a programme of parliamentary reform and solutions for the persistent Irish 'problem'.[2] Queen Victoria, ruler of Great Britain and its massive Empire, was to remain on the throne for another 21 years, celebrating a triumphant Diamond Jubilee in 1897. The last decades of the 19th century found many of the British people in the grip of a 'New Imperialism', 'an expansionalist, sensational concept of Empire', and just one of the many very different moods that can be seen to characterise the period from 1880 to 1918.[3] But the Empire was far from trouble-free. In 1880 the first, brief Boer War was fought in South Africa between the British and the Boers of the Transvaal Republic. Gladstone made peace in 1881 but military conflict was to be a constant presence throughout the period, particularly during the years of the

---

[1] Anon, 'A New Profession for Women' *Lady's Pictorial* XXXIX (21 April 1900), p.645.

[2] General historical details taken from Alan and Veronica Palmer, *The Pimlico Chronology of British History* revised edition (London: Pimlico, 1996), Bernard Grun, *The Timetables of History: A Horizontal Linkage of People and Events* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979) and ed. John Belchem and Richard Price, *The Penguin Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century History* (London: Penguin, 1996).

[3] James Morris, *Pax Britannica: The Climax of an Empire* (London: Penguin, 1979), pp.21-3.

Boer War of 1899-1902, only overshadowed by the unthinkable devastation of the First World War.

The 1880s and 1890s were regarded, both by those who lived through them and by later generations, as a time of almost bewildering transformation as industries and cities expanded while work structures and patterns of social life shifted and changed. Not all progress was regarded as beneficial. In 1880 John Ruskin wrote of 'the disgrace and grief resulting from the mere trampling pressure and electric friction of town life'.[4] The continuing Industrial Revolution led to increased wealth and material comfort for some and a burning desire for these things from others. Although the last 20 years of the 19th century were those of the Great Depression in British industry and agriculture, in a seeming contradiction typical of the period, the standard of living, especially for the middle-classes, actually rose.[5]

In the mid-19th century Sarah Ellis had described the middle classes as

> that great mass of the population of England which is connected with trade and manufactures, as well as ... the wives and daughters of professional men of limited incomes; or ... that portion of it who are restricted to the services of from one to four domestics - who, on the one hand, enjoy the advantages of liberal education, and, on the other, have no pretension to family rank.[6]

The upper middle-classes have been further defined as especially wealthy families whose money usually came from business or success in the legal, medical or other professions and were able to employ three or more servants.[7] The upper classes, aristocracy, 'society' or landed gentry were in another league, clearly defined by tradition and privilege. While the Victorian and Edwardian middle-classes were usually caught up in adherence to unwritten rules of 'appearance' and 'respectability', the upper classes enjoyed the relative freedom of the country house, the London season and winters on the Continent complete with frequently eccentric behaviour and illicit love affairs. But both upper and middle classes accounted for only about a fifth of the total

---

[4] Quoted in Donald Read, *England 1868-1914: The Age of Urban Democracy* (London: Longman, 1979), p.211.
[5] See for example *ibid.*, p.221-3.
[6] Quoted in Barbara Corrado Pope, 'Angels in the Devil's Workshop: Leisured and Charitable Women in Nineteenth-Century England and France' ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), p.309.
[7] See Bonnie S. Anderson and Judith P. Zinsser, *A History of their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present* (London: Penguin, 1990 orig. Harper and Row, 1988) II, p.140 and Read, *England 1868-1914*, p.31.

population.[8] The vast working classes, who made up the rest, ranged from paupers through labourers and servants to skilled artisans. Many strove in a variety of ways for 'self-improvement' and the chance to move up the social ladder.

An important avenue for self-improvement was education, a keen concern of the late Victorians. The 1870 Education Act had put into law the provision of elementary education, including 'specific provisions for the teaching of music', for all children.[9] The last years of the century also saw the rapid growth of socialism and agitation for workers' rights. The Fabian Society, dominated by George Bernard Shaw and the Webbs, was founded in 1884, the year after Karl Marx's death, while in 1892 Keir Hardie was elected to Parliament as an Independent Labour MP.[10] The five-week London dock strike of 1889 led to the rapid growth of trade unionism. The Society of Professional Musicians (later the Incorporated Society of Musicians) had been founded in 1882 but in 1893 'new unionism' produced both the Orchestral Association and the Amalgamated Musicians' Union.[11] As will be seen, such developments added to an increasingly heated debate about the status of musicians. Were orchestral players engaging in a trade or a profession? What was the place of the amateur musician? And what was the effect of the increasing numbers of women musicians who were entering the job market?

The feeling of break-neck change throughout this period was highlighted by a huge number of technological developments. The year 1880 saw the first practical systems of electrical light as well as the first tinned fruit and meat, while the years that followed brought cars and telephones. Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 was recorded on film and in the first decade of the 20th century cinemas were opened throughout Britain, bringing increased employment opportunities for musicians, both male and female.[12] At much the same time the gramophone appeared, with its initially

---

[8] According to the calculations of a social commentator in 1868. Read, *England 1868-1914*, p.25.

[9] Robert Stradling and Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance 1860-1940: Construction and Deconstruction* (London: Routledge, 1993), p.17.

[10] See, for example, A. L Le Quesne, George P. Landow, Stefan Collini, and Peter Stansky, *Victorian Thinkers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.384-387 and Read, *England 1868-1914*, pp.324-329.

[11] On musical unions see Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).

[12] On general technological developments see, for example, Briggs, 'The Later Victorian Age', ed. Boris Ford, *Victorian Britain* The Cambridge Cultural History 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.32-34 or Read, *England 1868-1914*, pp.429-430.

unrecognised potential to change the world of music making and music consumption.[13] Marconi came to London to demonstrate the transmission of signals by wireless in 1896 but a public broadcast system was not developed until the 1920s.[14]

The pace of change was seen in the traditional arts as much as in any other aspect of life. In 1880 the Pre-Raphelite painter Edward Burne-Jones produced *Golden Stairs*, the work that has been described as his masterpiece.[15] Linking music to the female and the feminine, the painting depicts a group of barefoot young women holding a variety of ancient instruments such as viols, cymbals, tambourine and pipes as they descend a curving staircase. There is something sinister about the aimless disappearance of these pale figures into a darkened doorway. Only one woman is actually making a half-hearted attempt to play her instrument and the painting on the whole suggests a somewhat equivocal attitude towards women's music-making. By the end of the period the art world had moved from such seemingly allegorical representations through the impressionist paintings of artists such as Whistler to cubism, vorticism and the shocking post-impressionist work shown at Roger Fry's Grafton Galleries exhibition of 1911.

The second decade of the 20th century brought the powerful impact of Diaghilev's Ballets Russes to Britain along with crazes for ragtime and the increasingly respectable music hall. In 1913, the year before war curtailed musical activity in London, concert and theatre goers were able to hear an extraordinary range of contemporary music including Strauss's *Rosenkavalier*, *Salome* and *Elektra*, Mahler's Seventh Symphony, Scriabin's *Prometheus*, Debussy's *Jeux* and Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps*, described by one reviewer as 'the most deliberately and repellently ugly music ever heard in a London theatre'.[16] Back in 1880 concert-goers were in the early grip of the Wagner craze (still in force 30 years later) and clinging strongly to Mendelssohn and Gounod while flocking to the ballad concert and the wittily topical musical comedies of the Savoy Opera.

---

[13] Simon Frith, *Music for Pleasure: Essays in the Sociology of Pop* (London: Polity, 1988), pp.13-5.
[14] Read, *England 1868-1914*, p.430.
[15] Peter Fuller, 'Fine Arts' ed. Ford, *Victorian Britain*, p.177.
[16] Ed. Lewis Foreman, *Music in England 1885-1920 as Recounted in Hazell's Annual* (London: Thames Publishing, 1994), pp.90-91.

Gilbert and Sullivan's operetta *Patience*, first performed in 1881, was a satire of the 'art for art's sake' aesthetic movement, symbolised by blue and white oriental china, sunflowers and lilies and characterised by the work of artists and writers such as Walter Sickert, Aubrey Beardsley, Oscar Wilde and Algernon Swinburne. No musicians or composers seem to have been closely allied to the movement but even the musical press recognised the stereotype. In 1890 an article on 'The Artistic Temperament' appeared in *The Musical World*:

> To the minds of some persons but one suggestion is conveyed by the mention of the word 'artistic'. They see before them a vision of a would-be ethereal being, if of the male sex, with unshorn hair and shaven face, long thin white hands, brown velvet coat and a lily; if of the female, a frizzled head, a sage-green frock with no shape in particular, a Liberty sash, and a gigantic sunflower, the whole set in a background of Japanese teapots, Oscar Wilde, and Bedford Park.[17]

Conversely, the 1890s were also the years of William Morris's last work and of the development of the Arts and Crafts movement, based on 'a pre-industrial ideal of a fusion of the designer and the maker' and working with pottery and embroidery among other art forms.[18]

Wilde's infamous trial in 1895 brought homosexuality out into the open and created an intense public reaction against the so-called decadents. But the fin-de-siècle had created a fascination with many different aspects of gender and sexuality which not even the ferocious moral backlash after Wilde's downfall could stem. Writers on sexuality, the new sexologists, did find it harder to publish their work - Edward Carpenter's *Love's Coming of Age* was withdrawn from publication in 1895 and Havelock Ellis's *Sexual Inversion* was first published the following year outside Britain.[19] Such work was part of a climate in which the 'rediscovery' of women's sexuality and a growing call for women's sexual autonomy existed alongside startling methods, such as clitoridectomy, of controlling those women seen to cross the limits of acceptability.[20]

---

[17] L. G. M. Blyth, 'The Artistic Temperament' *The Musical World* LXX (11 January 1890), p.27.

[18] Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), p.225.

[19] See Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London: Quartet Books, 1977), chapters 5 and 6. For a discussion of the anti-feminist aspects of Ellis's work see Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality 1880-1930* (London: Pandora, 1985), pp. 128-138.

[20] See Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), chapter 3. The arts can perhaps be seen to have been long exercising their own methods of control in the doomed heroines of operas from *La Traviata* to *Salome* and *Elektra* and the corpse-like women of contemporary paintings or the condemned women of contemporary fiction. See, for example, Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity* and Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).

Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* was published in English translation in 1913 but was only available for sale to members of certain professions.[21] Psychoanalysis was just one of the many contemporary attempts to find a way of understanding the ever changing world which ranged from secularism and neurology through anarchy and socialism to pacifism, 'free love' and vegetarianism. Many women and men lived lives that even now could be regarded as radical and daring while others continued to live within what now appear as impossible boundaries of constraint and propriety.[22]

Technological developments and increased adult literacy brought about a rapid expansion of the media and the development of a 'new journalism', as criticised by Matthew Arnold in 1887.[23] At the same time many new periodicals aimed at specific audiences were launched, including numerous titles for women and many others for musicians and music-lovers. Among the issues on which the media focused was the all-pervasive 'woman question', explaining and responding to the new demands for equality being made by women, crazes for cycling and 'rational dress' and the challenges to relationships between the sexes.[24]

As far as women are concerned it is hard to see the period from 1880 to 1918 as anything other than one of growing freedom, self-determination and opportunity. The changes are reflected vividly in the sharp contrast between the bustles, endless petticoats and corsets of the 1880s and the short skirts and bobbed hair of the war years. As one historian has put it:

> The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of continuous and quite seminal, if partly invisible, change in the perception of women's roles and in the realignment of male-female relationships. Such changes can be detected in many spheres: political, legal, economic, intellectual, personal, and psychological.[25]

---

[21] Read, *England 1868-1914*, p.501.

[22] See, for example, Ruth Brandon, *The New Women and the Old Men: Love, Sex and the Woman Question* (London: Flamingo, 1991).

[23] Read, *England 1868-1914*, p.280. The turn of the century saw the birth of many of today's tabloid newspapers such as the *Daily Mail* in 1896, *Daily Express* in 1900 and *Daily Mirror* (originally a paper by women for women) in 1903. See Read, *England 1868-1914*, pp.430-1.

[24] See Martha Vicinus, 'New Trends in the Study of the Victorian Woman' ed. Martha Vicinus, *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), p.ix.

[25] Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914* (London: Penguin, 1994), p.24.

But at the same time as some women were demanding and gaining greater independence and opportunities for self-expression, the arguments ranged against their activities grew into a powerful force of backlash and reaction, from both men and women. Among the voices speaking against a picture of unequivocal progress for women is that of Margot Asquith, remembering the 1880s from her old age in the 1930s:

> Among the young women there was more intellectual ambition, more sense of adventure, and much more originality in the West End of London in my youth than there is today.[26]

Most people in the 19th century believed in fundamental and essential differences between men and women and many felt that a woman's place was within the private sphere of the home whereas a man's role was to be out in the public world of business and action. The enduring image of middle- and upper-class womanhood was the 'Angel in the House' of Coventory Patmore's famous poem, someone creating a haven of peace and respite to which her husband could escape from the increasingly bewildering world outside and in which she could bring up her daughters and especially her sons to become respectable citizens of Great Britain and its Empire. In his famous essay 'Sesame and Lilies' of 1865 Ruskin had argued that women's capacities were not suited 'for invention or creation' and that women should be 'enduringly, incorruptibly good; instinctively, infallibly wise - wise, not for self-development but for self-renunciation'.[27] In a typically vicious circle middle- and upper-class women were expected and taught to be weak, passive, sensitive and emotional, attributes which were then seen as defining aspects of femininity and which made women incapable of doing anything other than their wifely duties. Many of these women, perhaps most famously Florence Nightingale, actually became physically ill. A middle-class wife or mother's invalidism was also a potent symbol of a family's wealth and status.[28] Her helpless lethargy stood in sharp contrast to the endless labour within and outside the home that was expected of the working-class woman.

That such stereotypes were reiterated time and time again by contemporary writers and moralisers suggests that they needed to be reinforced and that not all women were following such prescriptions. In the words of Martha Vicinus, one of the leading

---

[26] Margot Oxford, *More Memories* (London: Cassell, 1933), p.33.
[27] Quoted in Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity*, p.13.
[28] *Ibid.*, p.28.

historians of Victorian women, we need to examine the relationship between 'the prescribed ideal of womanhood and the actual reality'.[29] Women were not supposed to be capable of composing music but the catalogues of the British Library and contemporary newspaper reviews clearly show otherwise. The fact that many Victorian and Edwardian women spent much of their time within the supportive space and presence of other women rather than functioning in the same spheres as men is increasingly being seen by historians as an important source of their strength and motivation to succeed.[30]

Many of the new sciences of the 19th century, from the craniology of Carl Vogt through the biology of Patrick Geddes to the sociology of Herbert Spencer, managed to 'prove' that women were not only essentially different from men but inferior to them.[31] Menstruation, for example, was seen as clear evidence of women's weakness and was used into the 1870s as a weapon in the arguments against women's education.[32] As the century progressed and women began to demand and achieve more, so their portrayal as incapable and ineffectual became increasingly extreme. In 1871 Charles Darwin had written in *The Descent of Man* that 'Man is more courageous, pugnacious and energetic than woman, and has a more inventive genius'.[33] Nearly 30 years later, in 1903, Otto Weininger in his widely read book *Sex and Character* claimed that 'the female is soulless, and possesses neither ego nor individuality, personality nor freedom, character nor will'.[34] As many scholars have shown, such ideas had far reaching influence on attitudes towards women as creative artists, both the attitudes of creative women themselves and those of the wider public.[35] Women were generally seen as incapable of innovative creativity in any field of the arts, including music. In 1907 the novelist Marie Corelli wrote that

---

[29] Martha Vicinus, 'New Trends in the Study of the Victorian Woman' ed. Martha Vicinus, *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, p.xi.

[30] See, for example, Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920* (London: Virago, 1985).

[31] See Anderson and Zinsser, *A History of their Own*, p.152 and Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity*, pp.166-168.

[32] See Elaine and English Showalter, 'Victorian Women and Menstruation' ed. Martha Vicinus, *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), p.42.

[33] Quoted in Anderson and Zinsser, *A History of their Own*, p.151.

[34] Quoted in Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity* p.219. For further discussion of Weininger's extraordinary work, see pp.113-7.

[35] For an exploration of the concept of 'genius' and its relationship to women artists see Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius*, (London: The Women's Press, 1989). A general exploration of attitudes towards women's creativity in the field of music throughout the ages can be found in Marcia J. Citron's *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

> [Woman] always lacks the grand self-control which is the inward power of the Great musician. She was born to be a creature of sweet impulses - of love - of coquetry - of tenderness - of persuasiveness - and these things, instilled by the unconscious grace and beauty of her natural ways into the spirit of man, are no doubt the true origin of music itself - music which she inspires, but cannot create.[36]

Throughout the 1880s and 90s and into the 20th century many women simply refused to conform to expectations and stereotypes and continued to demand the equality and justice called for by Mary Wollstonecraft in *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) or by John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor in *The Subjection of Women* (1869).[37] The term 'feminist' was not used in Britain until the years just before the First World War. In the 1890s the crusader for women's right to legal equality, education and suffrage was known as the 'new woman', a term coined by the novelist Sarah Grand in 1894.[38] The media were quick to pick up on the image and created a stereotype of a humourless, masculine figure, frequently caricatured in the pages of magazines such as *Punch.* Wilhelmina Wimble, writing in *Lady's Realm*, described the 'new woman' as a 'feminine Frankenstein'.[39] Even sympathetic women were careful about being associated with the concept and concerned to stress the importance of traditional femininity. When, after demanding that all professions be 'thrown open to women', the composer Hope Temple was asked in an 1895 interview if she proclaimed the faith of the 'new woman', she replied:

> Not of the New Woman as depicted by Sarah Grand. ... The New Woman I have in view is excellently typified by a friend of mine. She is highly educated and very clever, but at the same time she is strong and healthy; an adept in all kinds of athletics - she has been champion 'punter' on the Thames. Yet withal she is womanly to the core, and has all the charms of a pretty English girl. Such will be, in my opinion, the woman of the future.[40]

One of the areas still needing urgent reform at the beginning of the period was the legal position of wives and mothers who had no rights over their own property or their

---

[36] Marie Corelli, 'Woman or - Suffragette' quoted in *Musical News* (4 May 1907), p.444. Contemporary attitudes towards women's creativity in music are explored further in Chapter 3.

[37] Victorian advocates of women's rights were curiously ambivalent about this text due to the scandalous nature of Wollstonecraft's life. Nevertheless a new edition was edited by the suffragist leader Millicent Fawcett in 1891. See Barbara Caine, *Victorian Feminists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.25-6.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp.4 and 252-253.

[39] Wilhelmina Wimble, 'Incomes for Ladies' *Lady's Realm* I (1897), p.104.

[40] Dolman, Frederick. 'Songs and Song-Writing: A Chat with Miss Hope Temple' *The Young Woman* 3 (1894-5), p.242.

children. In 1854 two important leaflets demanding legal change had been published by an artist (Barbara Bodichon's *A Brief Summary of the Most Important Laws concerning Women*) and a writer and composer (Caroline Norton's *English Laws for Women in the Nineteenth Century*).[41] Agitation and demands for a Married Women's Property Act continued throughout the following decades especially after the Liberal Party returned to power in 1880. In 1882 legislation was passed which finally gave married women control over their own property, including their wages. This was followed in 1886 by the Guardianship of Infants Act.[42]

The fight for women's right to an equal education continued throughout the late 19th and well into the 20th century.[43] Traditionally, middle- and upper-class women had been educated, whether by governesses or at girls' schools, in those accomplishments that they were seen to need in order to decorate their private, domestic sphere and to compete successfully in the marriage market. A scathing picture of women's acquisition of skills in drawing, languages and playing music at the beginning of the 19th century is vividly portrayed in the novels of Jane Austen and George Eliot. Throughout the century endless medical and biological arguments were put forward against women's formal education. Even as late as 1898, in his popular essay 'On the Physiological Debility of Woman', Paul Möbius was explaining that 'excessive use of the brain does not just confuse woman, it makes her ill'.[44]

Undaunted, women worked to raise the standards of education in existing schools for girls and gradually to create the opportunities for women to enter higher education. The standards in girls' schools increased rapidly after the disappointing findings of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education of 1864.[45] By 1893 the Girls' Public Day School Trust, founded in 1872, was running 36 schools throughout the country.[46] The first colleges for women, Queen's College and Bedford College in London, had been opened

---

[41] On Norton's dramatic life and the relationship between her legal and financial position and her work, see Sophie Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers: Britain and the United States, 1629-Present* (London: Pandora, 1994), pp.221-223.

[42] See Belchem and Price, *The Penguin Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century History*, pp.365-366 and Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (London: Bloomsbury, 1991), p.7.

[43] Full university membership was not available to women at Cambridge University until 1948. Rita McWilliams-Tullberg, 'Women and Degrees at Cambridge University 1862-1897' ed. Martha Vicinus, *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, p.120.

[44] Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity*, p.172.

[45] McWilliams-Tullberg, 'Women and Degrees at Cambridge University 1862-1897', p.124.

[46] Belchem and Price, *The Penguin Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century History*, p.189.

in the middle of the century in order to train governesses and school teachers. Colleges for women were established at Oxford and Cambridge in the 1870s but although women were able to sit the local examinations that tested secondary school leavers they were not allowed to take degrees.[47] Even when first allowed to attend lectures, women were not permitted to attend at the same time as men and had to rely on individual dons agreeing to give their lectures twice. By 1894 the authorities at Cambridge University were allowing women to take exams but not to receive degrees. Universities in London, Durham, Dublin, Edinburgh and Glasgow were more welcoming than Oxford and Cambridge. London University had started granting degrees to women in 1878 and in 1897 there were 347 women studying at the three principal women's colleges.[48] But Oxford and Cambridge remained the most prestigious universities in the country and arguments about their refusal to allow women degrees raged fiercely.[49]

Attitudes towards women and work were among the most hotly debated aspects of the 'Woman Question'. After completing their education many middle-class women faced an increasing need and desire to find work outside the home. As one commentator wrote in 1889:

> Within these few years a vast and sweeping change has taken place, of unprecedented rapidity, causing a reaction from this doctrine of idleness and dependence as essential to ladyhood toward the opposite extreme, of work and independence as essential to honourable womanhood; work meaning paid work, and independence meaning life apart from home life and free from the duties and constraining order of home.[50]

The increasing numbers of so-called 'surplus' women in the British population was seen by contemporaries as one of the main reasons why middle-class women needed to find work in order to support themselves. There were 593,000 more women than men in 1871 and over a million more in 1901.[51] One solution to the 'problem' of finding these women husbands was emigration, arranged by organisations such as the Female Middle Class Emigration Society.[52] As late as 1913 one writer was suggesting that the

---

[47] Christine Bolt, *The Women's Movements in the United States and Britain from the 1790s to the 1920s* (New York, London etc.: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), pp.117-8 and 162-3.

[48] Bedford (upgraded to a college in 1878), Westfield (founded 1882) and Royal Holloway (founded 1887). See Vicinus, *Independent Women*, p.127.

[49] See, for example, 'Degrees for Women' *The Musical Standard* illustrated series V (15 February, 1896), p.97 or 'Answers to Correspondents' *The Musical Times* 45 (July 1904), p.471.

[50] Quoted in Juliet Gardiner, *The New Woman* (London: Collis & Brown, 1993), p.97.

[51] Read, *England 1868-1914*, p.40.

[52] This society operated from 1862 to 1885. Joanna Trollope, *Britannia's Daughters: Women of the*

suffragettes were frustrated and embittered surplus women who should have emigrated to find husbands.[53]

In a culture which assumed the purpose of every woman's life was to marry and produce children the position of unmarried women was both worrying and sometimes threatening. Unmarried women were traditionally expected to remain in the family home and devote themselves to looking after relatives or to the charitable work that was the primary activity of so many otherwise unoccupied middle- and upper-class women. But despite the stigma of spinsterhood, women increasingly remained single through choice, rather than necessity.[54] Even the conservative *Lady's Realm* of 1899 hosted a discussion 'Does Marriage hinder a Woman's Self-development?' in which Gertrude Atherton pointed out that 'If a woman deliberately goes in for a career, and her gifts and her ambitions are both above average, she certainly should make up her mind to stand alone'.[55] Other women were more forthright. In an article on 'Women and Music' in the radical magazine *Shafts* of 1892, Virginie Linders claimed that

> The chief cause of woman's inferiority has been - marriage. Artistic duties demand the whole strength and devotion of a lifetime; women have given up these duties for the sake of personal gratification; their genius and talent have been recklessly stifled.[56]

Analysis of the stifling effects of marriage reached a climax with Cicely Hamilton's blistering attack on the institution in her 1909 book *Marriage as a Trade*.[57] Although there were increasing calls at this time from women such as Christabel Pankhurst for women to embrace celibacy as a political gesture, not all unmarried women refused sexual and emotional relationships.[58] Some chose to have such relationships with men they had no intention of marrying and others (although the categories were not mutually exclusive) had sexual and emotional relationships with women. When a woman did

---

British Empire (London: Pimlico, 1994), p.64.

[53] Almoth E. Wright, 'The Unexpurgated Case Against Women's Suffrage' quoted in Read, *England 1868-1914*, p.502.

[54] For studies of single women in this period see Rosemary Auchmuty, 'Victorian Spinsters' PhD thesis Australian National University, 1975; Jeffreys, *The Spinster and her Enemies* and Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920.*

[55] 'Does Marriage hinder a Woman's Self-development?' A Discussion with Sarah Grand, the Hon. Mabel Vereker, Gertrude Atherton, Lady Troubridge, Mona Caird and Mrs Wynne *Lady's Realm* (1899), p.577.

[56] Virginie Linders, 'Women and Music' *Shafts* (3 December, 1892), p.68. *Shafts* was subtitled 'a paper for women and the working classes'.

[57] See Lis Whitelaw, *The Life and Rebellious Times of Cicely Hamilton: Actress, Writer, Suffragist* (London: The Women's Press, 1990), chapter 5.

[58] Jeffreys, *The Spinster and her Enemies*, p.89.

choose to marry she was expected to abandon any professional work or career. To do otherwise suggested that her husband was unable to support her.

Throughout the period single women and those married women who had sympathetic husbands fought to increase the opportunities for work that were available to them. In the earlier years of the 19th century working-class women worked as servants and in the new factories while the only respectable occupation for a middle-class woman who needed to support herself was to work as a governess, a job which conveniently kept her within the boundaries of the private sphere.[59] As education became more widely available increasing numbers of women became school teachers and other occupations gradually became more acceptable. Between 1881 and 1911, for example, the number of women clerks and secretaries in Britain rose from 6,420 to 124,843.[60] In some areas, the resistance to women taking up occupations was harder to break down. There was, for example, a bitter battle over women's right to enter the medical profession and it was not until 1911 that the first woman was admitted to the Royal College of Surgeons.[61]

Given the long tradition of educating women in the arts as lady-like accomplishments, it is not surprising that many of the middle-class women seeking work decided to enter the various artistic professions, in most of which women had always found some kind of a place, however constricted or marginalised. The position of Victorian and Edwardian women writers, painters and actors has been explored much more thoroughly than that of women musicians and composers. But all women who tried to work in the arts came up against the same 'scientific' arguments proving women's inferiority and lack of innovative creativity. For some of the arts these arguments always sounded particularly implausible. In literature, for example, women of the later 19th century could look back to a proud tradition of women's writing from Jane Austen through the Brontës to George Eliot. The novel was in many ways originally a genre written by women for women, [62] something that many later commentators have tried to ignore or deny. In his 1936 history of late Victorian and Edwardian Britain, still in print in 1997, Robert Ensor claimed that 'all the best English novels of the nineteenth century were aimed at a

[59] See Jeanne Peterson, 'The Victorian Governess: Status Incongruence in Family and Society' ed. Vicinus, *Suffer and Be Still*, pp.3-19.
[60] Read, *England 1868-1914*, p.244.
[61] Ed. Anon, *The Story of 25 Eventful Years in Pictures* (London: Odhams Press, c.1936), p.50. See also Anderson and Zinsser, *A History of their Own*, pp. 188-9.
[62] See, for example, Dale Spender, *Mothers of the Novel* (London: Pandora, 1986).

masculine taste; even George Eliot was a woman writing primarily for men'.[63] It has proved easier, despite Christina Rossetti and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, to dismiss Victorian women poets although their work, along with women's diaries and letters, is being paid increasing attention by scholars.[64] Writing, which only needed pen, paper and, as its form of expression, the language used every day, was probably the easiest of the arts for women to embrace. But by the 1890s women novelists were being increasingly associated only with popular, romantic fiction. Marie Corelli was regarded as more representative of the contemporary woman writer as media commentators felt she should be than Sarah Grand or the stringent Vernon Lee.[65] In the words of Elaine Showalter:

> After George Eliot's death in 1880, male professional jealousies erupted in critical abuse of women's emasculating effect on the English novel. ... By the 1890s, women novelists were viewed as shrivelled prudes whose influence hindered a virile masculine genre.[66]

Even the work of women novelists from earlier in the century began to be disparaged. In 1898 the writer V. B. summed up the history of women in literature:

> One woman here and one woman there stands with the world's artists in letters. They have not here, as it would seem they have in music, an almost congenital incapacity to produce endurable stuff; but in the bulk their work has been but a flying meteor passing across the light of the sun.[67]

The reputation of women as painters underwent a similar period of decline in the 1880s and 90s, after a burst of activity and achievement in the earlier years of the century.[68] Doubtless encouraged by the formation of the Society of Female Artists in 1857, women had started campaigning for access to the Royal Academy Schools in the late 1850s. They were increasingly dissatisfied by the training provided at private schools or government institutions such as the Female School of Design which had been founded 'to enable Young Women of the Middle Class to obtain an honourable and profitable employment'.[69] The Royal Academy schools reluctantly opened to women in the early

---

[63] Robert Ensor, *England 1870-1914* The Oxford History of England Volume 14 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), p.160.
[64] See for example ed. Angela Leighton and Margaret Reynolds, *Victorian Women Poets: An Anthology* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1995) and ed. Angela Leighton, *Victorian Women Poets: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).
[65] For an introduction to a wide range of British women writers see Joanne Shattock, *The Oxford Guide to British Women Writers* (Oxford: OUP, 1993).
[66] Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*, p.17.
[67] V. B., 'Failures of Women in Art: Literature', *The Sketch* XX (5 January 1898), p.424.
[68] See, for example, Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists* (London: The Women's Press, 1987), p.212.
[69] Quoted in *ibid.*, p.48.

1860s and when the Slade opened in 1871 it welcomed women students who, like women at the Royal Academy of Music, soon outnumbered their male contemporaries.[70] That women had, to a certain extent, become accepted as artists can be seen in the publication in 1876 of Ellen Clayton's two volume study *English Female Artists*.[71] But there continued to be a clamour of voices speaking against women's abilities, including that of George Moore in his 1893 book *Modern Painting*:

> Woman's nature is more facile and fluent than man's. Women do things more easily than men, but they do not penetrate below the surface, and if they attempt to do so the attempt is but a clumsy masquerade in unbecoming costume.[72]

Just as there was an expectation that women writers and, as we shall see, women composers would mirror their 'femininity' in their art, so women artists were expected to paint certain subjects, such as still life, children and landscapes, using certain media, preferably water-colours.[73] Some women successfully worked within these restrictions while others risked the accusation of having 'unsexed' themselves by, for example, depicting heroic subjects in oils. There were also many women who chose to express their creativity in genres that were not viewed as part of the established tradition of fine art, from the painting of ceramics to the relatively new discipline of photography.

As a performing art, the acting profession presented middle-class women with a rather different set of obstacles to be overcome, many of which also faced women musicians. Their main problem was the stage's lack of respectability. Although attitudes towards the theatre were changing throughout the later 19th century with initiatives such as the introduction of matinees for women and children or the symbolic significance of Henry Irving's knighthood in 1895, middle-class women who announced to their families that they intended to take up a career as an actress might as well have suggested that they were going to become prostitutes. More than one woman was thrown out of her family's house when she broke the news.[74] Nevertheless many women persevered, joined the ranks of women, usually from families of actors, already in the profession and were rewarded with increasingly meaningful roles in the work of Ibsen and Shaw and the

---

[70] Paula Gillett, *The Victorian Painter's World* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), p.161 and Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, p.52. On women at the Royal Academy of Music, see following chapter.
[71] For a discussion of this work see Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, pp.232-234.
[72] Quoted in *ibid.*, p.236.
[73] See Gillett, *The Victorian Painter's World*, pp.166-171 and Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity*, p.390.
[74] Kent, 'Image and Reality: The Actress and Society', p.113.

'new woman' dramas of Pinero and Wilde.[75] There was also a small but steady growth in the numbers of women working as actor-managers, directors, producers and playwrights.[76] A Theatrical Ladies' Guild was formed in 1891 but the most radical agent for change in the world of the actress was the Actresses' Franchise League, founded in 1908, at the height of women's ferocious campaign for the vote, a year in which it was claimed that 'female suffrage would be worse than a German invasion in the way of national calamity'.[77]

Women's suffrage had been on the political agenda for many years. J. S. Mill's amendment changing the word men to persons in the 1867 Reform Act was defeated and in the same year the London National Society for Women's Suffrage was formed.[78] Despite campaigners' expectations of the new Liberal government and several suffrage demonstrations held throughout the country, the Reform Act of 1884 failed to give women the vote, while enfranchising many working-class men.[79] Numerous suffrage organisations were formed in the following years, notably the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in 1897 led by Millicent Garrett Fawcett and the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903 led by Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters Sylvia and Christabel, whose militant members were known as the suffragettes and took over the radical mantle of the 'new woman' in the popular imagination. But even many of the suffragettes maintained the idea of difference between men and women. In the inaugural issue of the WSPU's paper *Votes for Women*, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence wrote:

> We know that women and men are essentially different, have a different outlook upon the world, have different ideals and different conceptions of life. We do not want to be like men. We value too well our own womanhood. We do not want to do men's work. We want to do our own.[80]

The various suffrage organisations embarked on many different ways of drawing attention and recruits to their cause. As well as the stone throwing and hunger striking of the militants, suffragists published newspapers, embarked on endless speaking tours,

---

[75] Holledge, *Innocent Flowers: Women in the Edwardian Theatre* (London: Virago, 1981), pp.1-2 and 35.
[76] *Ibid.*, pp.8-10 and Christopher Kent, 'Image and Reality: The Actress and Society' ed. Martha Vicinus, *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, p.95.
[77] Leo Maxse in the *National Review*, quoted in Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p.27.
[78] Caine, *Victorian Feminists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.196; Read, *England 1868-1914*, p.43.
[79] Bolt, *The Women's Movements in the United States and Britain from the 1790s to the 1920s*, pp.141-144.
[80] Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, 'What the Vote Means' *Votes for Women* (October 1907), p.5.

organised exhibitions of women's achievements and put together elaborately planned mass demonstrations, such as 'Women's Sunday' on Midsummer's Day in 1908, a rally which attracted half a million people; the march through London of 10,000 women dressed in white in support of the Conciliation Bill of 1910 and the Women's Coronation Procession on 17 June 1911.[81]

The Actresses' Franchise League was not the only suffrage organisation of women in the artistic professions. 1908 also saw the establishment of the Artists' Suffrage League and the Women Writers' Suffrage League. Musicians had no separate organisation of their own but 'singers, instrumentalists and other members of the musical profession' were eligible to join the Actresses' Franchise League.[82] Those who did included the singer Agnes Larkcom and the cellist May Mukle.[83] Larkcom had been a supporter of women's suffrage for many years, organising two concerts in May 1887 in aid of funds for the National Society for Women's Suffrage.[84] In the Women's Coronation Procession of 1911 the Musicians' Section of the League marched behind the actresses and in front of the Artists' Suffrage League. *Votes for Women* announced that

> The Musicians' Section will be particularly numerous. Dr Ethel Smyth will lead their ranks, and a new banner, designed by Mrs Jopling Rowe, will be carried.[85]

Smyth's involvement with the suffrage cause is notorious. But it was not until the comparatively late date of 1910, when she was in her 50s, that she was swept off her feet by Emmeline Pankhurst and decided to join the WSPU and devote two years to the fight. Her previous attitude towards women's suffrage, perhaps typical of her conservative beliefs, was, in her own words, of 'indifference tinged with distaste and, Heaven forgive me, ridicule'.[86] Her contributions to the cause as a composer included the 'March of the Women' with a text by Cicely Hamilton. This replaced the Marseillaise sung to re-written words that had previously been the rallying call on processions and marches. In April 1911 Smyth conducted the Crystal Palace Choir and the London Symphony Orchestra in a concert in aid of WSPU funds consisting entirely

---

[81] See Jane Atkinson, *The Suffragettes in Pictures* (London: Museum of London/Sutton Publishing, 1996).
[82] Ed. A. J. R. *The Suffrage Annual and Women's Who's Who* (London: Stanley Paul, 1913), p.11.
[83] *Ibid.*, pp.287 and 314.
[84] *The Musical World* LXV (7 May 1887), p. 360 and LXV (4 June 1887), p. 438.
[85] Quoted in Atkinson, *The Suffragettes in Pictures*, p.121.
[86] Ethel Smyth, *Female Pipings in Eden* (Edinburgh: Peter Davies, 1933), p.190-1.

of her own works, including the newly written *Songs of Sunrise* for chorus and orchestra.[87] Later that year she wrote to a sister suffragette:

> I can't settle down till I've earned what I'd rather have than any distinction in the world - the little prison brooch - After that it is over for me. The struggle for the Vote may go on for long yet and I find the thing as absolutely impossible to pursue yet have 'recueillement' for my work, as it would be to go to sleep on the platform at Clapham Junction.[88]

The following year she earned her 'Holloway badge' by being arrested for throwing a stone through a cabinet minister's window and the following year left the WSPU and England to write her most overtly feminist work, the opera *The Boatswain's Mate*.

Another prominent composer who had supported the fight for women's suffrage since the 1870s, was Hubert Parry whose wife, Maude, was a member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and a friend of Millicent Fawcett and the Pankhursts.[89] In March 1918 Parry organised the music for a concert in the Albert Hall celebrating the final stages of the suffrage campaign after which Fawcett wrote to him suggesting that his hymn tune 'Jerusalem' 'ought to be made the Women Voters' Hymn'.[90]

But little record survives of music written specifically for the suffrage cause other than that by Smyth. The Irish composer Alicia Adelaide Needham (1875-1945) published a collection of *Four Songs for Women Suffragists* in 1908 but most of the songs sung by campaigners were, like the 'Women's Marseillaise', old, familiar tunes with newly written words.[91] A Mrs Marion Cunningham wrote the words and arranged the music of 'The Woman's Marching Song of Freedom' which she dedicated to Charlotte Despard and Emmeline Pankhurst[92] and an undated collection of *Women's Suffrage Songs* was published by the London Society for Women's Suffrage. This included 'Our Hard Case' by Miss S. J. Tanner to the tune of 'Coming through the Rye':

> If a body pays the taxes
> Surely you'll agree

---

[87] On this and other works by Smyth written for or inspired by the suffrage movement see Elizabeth Wood, 'Performing Rights: A Sonography of Women's Suffrage' *The Musical Quarterly* 79:4 (Winter 1995), pp.606-643.

[88] Letter from Ethel Smyth to Constance Lytton 30 November, 1911. BL: RP 2303(i) D.

[89] Ed. A. J. R. *The Suffrage Annual and Women's Who's Who*, p.330. See also Jeremy Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry: His Life and Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.419-420.

[90] Charles L. Graves, *Hubert Parry: His Life and Works* (London: Macmillan, 1926), p.92.

[91] 'Marching On' (John Russell), 'Daughters of England' (Margaret A. Martin), 'Fighting On' (Constance Clyde) and 'Clipped Wings' (C. M. George). Published by Houghton, 1908.

[92] Nothing appears to be known about Mrs Marion Cunningham. The published edition of the song, held by the Fawcett Library, is not dated.

That a body earns the franchise
Whether he or she
Ev'ry man may be a voter,
Ne'er a vote have we;
So it's hard we pay the taxes,
Surely you'll agree.

Tanner also provided new words 'Shoulder to Shoulder' for the tune 'Men of Harlech' while Lady Strachey rewrote the last three verses of 'Rule, Britannia':

Ay, thus the sacred charter runs,
But vain the source of all our pride,
Freedom, the birthright of our sons
To Britain's daughters is denied.
Hark, Britannia! You who rule the waves,
Half your children crying, 'We are slaves!'

It is conceivable that such reappropriation of 'men's' tunes may have seemed even more thrilling than using newly written songs, whatever sisterly pride may have been felt in the achievements of Smyth or Needham. Other music at demonstrations and suffrage galas, whether by men or women, was often provided by all-women bands and orchestras.[93] Rosabel Watson's Aeolian Ladies' Orchestra frequently played for such occasions, including a suffragist banquet chaired by Millicent Fawcett in 1906[94] and the WSPU Women's Exhibition 1909 where they performed alongside the Ellen Vannin Quartette and the Suffragette Band.[95] The Women's Drum and Fife Band which marched through London advertising this Exhibition caused a sensation. The *News of the World* reported that

> This is said to be the first amazon drum and fife band which has ever existed. ... The strange sight of a feminine band attracted the attention of a considerable number of passersby.[96]

Women over 30 were eventually given the vote in 1918 and one thread in the tangle of pre-war British society had nearly reached its end.[97] Britain between 1870 and 1914 has been described as 'a ramshackle and amorphous society, characterized by a myriad contradictory trends and opinions, and capable of evolving contingently in many different ways'.[98] The spirit of this volatile society inevitably affected the position of

[93] For further discussion of such groups see the following chapter.
[94] Wood, 'Performing Rights: A Sonography of Women's Suffrage', p.368.
[95] Whitelaw, *The Life and Rebellious Times of Cicely Hamilton*, p.85.
[96] Atkinson, *The Suffragettes in Pictures*, p.87.
[97] Younger women had to wait until 1928. Anderson and Zinsser, *A History of their Own*, p.366.
[98] Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p.3

women musicians, themselves a gloriously diverse group ranging from performers working in seaside hotels and music halls through aristocrats singing in society drawing rooms to soloists of international renown. And women were not only interested in playing the music of others but also in creating their own music, from grand opera to simple, tuneful ballad, each in its own way capable of being a powerful expression of individual achievement.

Chapter 2: Women as musicians

> That the gentler sex is rapidly taking possession of the world of music is a fact not likely to escape the notice of those interested in the art.[1]

In mid-19th-century Britain basic musical skills were part of the set of accomplishments that middle- and upper-class women were expected to acquire for use within the private, domestic sphere of the home, along with drawing, watercolour painting, needlework and languages. Young women were taught singing and to play those instruments which were regarded as suitably graceful and ladylike, such as the harp, guitar and especially the piano. These accomplishments not only served as useful and unproblematic pastimes with which such women could pass their days, along with a healthy dose of charitable work, but were seen to add to their personal decorative charm and marriagability. For these women, to appear on the public, professional stage as musicians was as shocking and unorthodox as it was for their contemporaries who wanted to work as actresses.

Class paid a vital role in attitudes towards women and music. Most of the many successful professional women musicians of late 18th-century Britain had come from what Nancy Reich has defined as the artist-musician class, whose members 'had in common an artistic output and a low economic level. Above all they depended on their work for a livelihood'.[2] Women of this class, brought up to follow the family trade, continued to build public careers as musicians in the 19th century although, like their 18th-century counterparts, many retired from the stage upon marriage and moved their music making into the home, especially when their husbands came from non-musical backgrounds of a higher social class. Kate Loder (1825-1904), for example, was born into a family of musicians from Bath. She was a King's Scholar at the Royal Academy of Music and became a highly successful pianist as well as a teacher and composer of chamber music and piano pieces. In 1851 she married the surgeon Henry Thompson and her income supported them in the early years of their marriage while he was still

---

[1] *The Lute* (July 1890), p.116.

[2] Nancy B. Reich, 'Women as Musicians: A Question of Class' ed. Ruth Solie, *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993), p.125. British 18th-century musicians included Harriet Abrams (1760-1822); Elizabeth Billington (1768-1818); Sophia Dussek (1775-1847); Jane Guest (c. 1765-?after 1824); Maria Parke (1775-1822); Maria Hester Park (1760-1813). For further details see Sophie Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers: Britain and the United States, 1629-Present* (London: Pandora, 1994) and ed. Julie Anne Sadie and Rhian Samuel, *The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* (London: Macmillan, 1994).

establishing himself. In 1854 Loder made her last public appearance as a pianist but continued to give private lessons and to compose, activities which did not offend middle-class sensibilities in quite the same way as public, professional performance. The Thompson house continued to be a focal point for musicians and music making into the later 19th century. In 1871, for example, the first British performance of Brahms' Requiem was given there with Loder and Cipriani Potter playing the accompaniment as a piano duet.[3]

Loder's story is that of one particular individual yet it parallels aspects of the stories of her contemporaries and of later generations of female musicians while raising many of the important issues that surround women's engagement with music during this period such as access to education and training, attitudes towards professionalism and respectability, the blurred boundaries between the public and the private as well as the multi-faceted character of one woman's work as performer, teacher, composer and musical patron and hostess. By the end of her life, Lady Thompson, as she was identified on the covers of her published works, was no longer regarded as a professional musician, having, in the words of her husband's biographer, sacrificed a 'brilliant career' in order to marry.[4] Yet she continued to play an important part in British musical life even after the pressure of marriage and middle-class decorum had moved her work into a more private world.

The contribution of the musician who rarely appears as a public figure is often diminished or ignored and has been excluded from almost all histories of the British Musical Renaissance. The amateur label, complete with subtle implications of lower quality, has been used both by contemporary writers and later historians to suggest that women's contributions to the musical world of the late 19th and early 20th centuries were neither important nor 'serious'. The basic distinction between the amateur and the professional was financial, with a professional of the artist-musician class earning money for a performance or composition. Henry Lunn, writing in 1877, felt that 'it is

---

[3] See, Zachary Cope, *The Versatile Victorian. Being the Life of Sir Henry Thompson, Bt. 1820-1904* (London: Harvey and Blythe, 1951) and Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers*, pp.191-192. As is the case for so many women composers of the 19th century, almost no primary source material relating to Loder's career has survived. There appear to be no diaries, letters or music manuscripts. The main source of information about her life remains a biography of her husband while most of her compositions are known only from reviews or entries in contemporary dictionaries.

[4] Cope, *The Versatile Victorian*, p.151.

obvious that the difference between a professor and an amateur is that the former lives by the exercise of his talent and the latter does not'.[5] The word 'amateur' comes from the Latin *amare* ('to love') and the primary definition of the word in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is 'One who loves or is fond of; one who has a taste for anything'.[6] Many 19th-century sources still used the word in this sense, to denote the cultivated consumer of music rather than the unpaid practitioner although in the days before recordings or radio, one of the most common ways of consuming music was to play it rather than simply listen to it. But this usage of the word was gradually disappearing. The author of an article on 'Artists and Amateurs' written in 1888 pointed out that

> The term *Amateur* is so completely naturalised in England ... that it cannot be looked upon as at all parallel with the old word *dilettante*, which implied an appreciation of music. As we use the word amateur it generally means simply an unprofessional performer.

The title of the article also demonstrates the contemporary use of the word 'artist' to refer to a professional as distinct from an amateur musician.

Not everyone found the distinction easy to define. In 1896 the singer Daisy Ledward took a potential employer to court for breach of contract after he had engaged her troupe of musicians and then cancelled the engagement because, in his opinion, they turned out to be amateurs. In court Ledward described a professional musician as 'one who has at any time fulfilled an engagement for a fee', a definition which covered her musicians although they made their livings working during the day as a teacher, a horse breaker, a baker, a wagon builders' labourer and an employee at an iron works. The court found in her favour.[7]

There were many reasons why the boundaries between the two categories were somewhat blurred in the late 19th century and early 20th centuries. Some musicians who were regarded as professionals did not rely on the money that they earned in order to live while many amateur players did raise money by performing in public, usually, but not exclusively, for charity concerts. One writer in 1885 complained that 'amateurs have magnanimously done away with all scruples of taking no money, and they sing, and they

---

[5] Henry C. Lunn, 'Amateurs' *The Musical Times* 18 (July 1877), p.327.
[6] Ed. James A. H. Murray, Henry Bradley, W. A. Craigie, C. T. Onions, *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933) I, p.265.
[7] See *The Musical Standard* illustrated series 6 (25 July 1896), p.41.

compose, and they conduct, and condescend even to taking royalties'.[8] Amateur and professional performers often played together at both private and public concerts and musicians like Loder were also able to move between the two categories with considerable ease.

During the earlier 19th century the stereotypical image of the professional musician had been of someone from the lower social classes, often a European immigrant with a poor general education, while the amateur was regarded as widely cultured and firmly situated in the middle or upper classes of British society. In the Society of Arts' report on Musical Education of 1866 Michael Costa claimed that 'some of the finest orchestra players can scarcely write their own names'.[9] As society and opinions rapidly changed in the volatile fin-de-siècle and the two categories became less distinct, attitudes gradually changed although musicians were often not regarded as part of respectable society even as late as the early 20th century. Greta Kent, born in 1896, wrote of her childhood:

> When I was a little girl in Luton, where Mother also played in the orchestra, there were no other children in my school whose parents were musicians or had anything to do with the theatre. They thought it was terrible really, and that we were wicked. They wouldn't have anything to do with us at first because we belonged to the 'theeeaaatre'. Nearly everybody else was involved in straw hat manufacturing.[10]

Music, with its long tradition as domestic accomplishment, was also closely connected to the 'feminine', although not at its highest level to actual women. This, added to its association with the lower classes and foreigners, was one of the reasons why, even towards the end of the century, music was still not regarded as a pursuit that should be taken seriously by full-bloodied British gentlemen. A writer in *The Musical Times* of 1889 claimed that

> Few things have contributed more effectively to perpetuate in this country the prejudice against the musical profession - a prejudice which, though waning, is not yet by any means extinct - than the impression that musicians are as a class wanting in the manlier qualities.[11]

---

[8] L. E. 'Amateurs' *The Monthly Musical Record* (April 1885), p.75.

[9] Quoted in Percy A. Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844-1944* (London: Novello/Oxford University Press, 1947) II, p.698. Whether true or not, this statement shows the attitude taken towards rank and file musicians by those in positions of authority.

[10] Greta Kent with Carole Spedding, *A View from the Bandstand* (London: Sheba, 1983), p.14.

[11] Anon, 'Manliness in Music' *The Musical Times* 30 (August 1889), p.460. See also David Gramit, 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography, and Cultural Values' *19th-Century Music* 17:1 (Summer 1993), pp.65-78 for a brief discussion of the Victorian view of music as 'feminine territory'.

But despite such views, as the balance of wealth and power in British society shifted, more and more middle and upper-class men and women were joining the music profession, whose image consequently began to change. By the later 19th century there was a widespread feeling that what was referred to as the 'tone' of the profession was improving. In 1883, William Pole called for people of 'higher culture' and 'superior social standing' to enter the music profession.[12] 13 years later the anonymous compiler of *The Year's Music 1896* proudly described the 'current age' as one 'where the musician, male and female, is an educated individual, far removed above the "professional" of a quarter of a century past'.[13] In his 1926 biography of Hubert Parry, Charles Graves laid great emphasis on Parry's services to music 'by raising the status of the professional musician; by breaking down the last of the social barriers which excluded that calling from associating with the 'governing classes' except on a semi-menial footing'.[14]

As this shift took place, amateurs seem to have become gradually less secure in their cultural elitism. The often antagonistic relationship between amateur and professional musicians had coloured much of earlier British musical history, as can be seen in the struggle for control of the Royal Academy of Music in the 1850s and 60s.[15] In the later 19th century the position of professional and amateur musicians was being keenly debated in newspapers and journals. A constant argument put forward by professionals was that by giving concerts, amateur musicians, often characterised in such debates as female, were taking opportunities away from men and women who needed them in order to survive. In 1888 one writer complained that

> It is very pleasant to Miss So-and-So to be asked to sing at a concert in the Shire Hall in the cause of charity... but when we find that a concert by the local artists either has to be given up or is a failure in consequence, we feel that there is something not quite right somewhere.[16]

---

[12] William Pole, 'Professional Musicians and Musical Amateurs' *The Musical Times* 24 (August 1883), p.432.
[13] Ed. Anon *The Year's Music 1896: Being a Concise Record of British and Foreign Musical Events, Productions, Appearances, Criticisms, Memoranda, etc.* (London: J. S. Virtue, 1896), p.2.
[14] Charles L. Graves, *Hubert Parry: His Life and Works* (London: Macmillan, 1926), p.v.
[15] See Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p.80.
[16] M. C. C. 'Artists and Amateurs' *The Musical Times* 29 (September 1888), p.535.

That these amateurs were so often characterised as female indicates that at least part of the perceived amateur threat was in fact the threat of the increasing numbers of female musicians, whether amateur or not.

Some writers argued that amateur musicians played an irreplaceable part in musical life. In 1886 *The Musical World* published an article, entitled 'The Place of the Amateur in Music - by one of themselves', which fiercely defended the position of the amateur and prompted a flood of letters to the editor. One correspondent, 'a Professional', pointed out that

> many amateurs have means, leisure, a circle of flattering friends, and special opportunities of obtaining for their second-rate performances a prominence such as many an able, but needy, musician pines for in vain.[17]

In contrast, another writer asked:

> What is an amateur? Is a man or woman to be snubbed as such because a kind fortune has raised them above the necessity of giving lessons, or of earning their bread by any of the various modes of musical drudgery? According to that definition Meyerbeer was an amateur and so was Mendelssohn. The question then, resolves itself into one of merit.[18]

Those who defended amateurs often pointed to the extended and beneficial rehearsal time that amateurs could afford to take, as well as continuing to hint at their superior artistic understanding. One defence came from the forthright George Bernard Shaw in a review of an 1892 performance by the Stock Exchange Orchestra, one of many in which professionals played alongside the amateurs:

> I do not mind admitting that more than I could have considered possible can be done with a squad of musical stockbrokers if you sandwich them between two thoroughly trustworthy professional veterans. I will go further: I will confess - nay, proclaim - that the combination of the professional steadiness and accuracy with the amateur freshness, excitement and romance, produces a better result than an ordinary routine performance by professionals alone.[19]

But a later review by the volatile Shaw of the amateur Richmond Orchestral Society prompted the following outburst:

> The unredeemed villainy of the amateur nature is not easy to describe adequately. Its outrageous frivolity, to which no engagement is sacred, and its incredible vanity, to which art is nothing and the lower self everything, baffle my powers of description.[20]

---

[17] *The Musical World* LXIV (30 January 1886), p.74.
[18] *Ibid.*, p.73.
[19] George Bernard Shaw, *Music In London 1890-94* revised edition (London: Constable, 1932) II, p.33.
[20] *Ibid.*, p.293.

Others could also be as outspoken. In 1893 one professional musician claimed that 'the ordinary musical amateur is a trial to mankind'.[21]

The creation of musicians' unions in the 1890s added to the heat of the debate about professional and amateur status, with many writers objecting to the formation of organisations that excluded amateurs. Distinguished figures, such as Ebenezer Prout, claimed that it was neither possible nor desirable to draw a hard and fast line between the amateur and professional musician.[22] In 1883 William Pole had argued that

> The often mooted idea of forming a strictly professional body, with the view of excluding all others from undertaking profitable musical work, is a delusion; no such thing would be practicable.[23]

Nevertheless, as might be expected in the age of the 'new woman', women musicians played an important part in the changing nature of British musical life, both amateur and professional.[24] Most women from the middle and upper classes were still expected to be content to be amateur musicians and not think of entering the world of public performance or public recognition. Many upper-class men of the time, from Gervase Elwes to Bantock or Parry, had battles to fight with their families, and often with themselves, about the suitability of taking up music as a profession.[25] But, for several reasons, the battles were harder for women. As well as the class restrictions that limited their male contemporaries, women faced the additional problem of the general proscription against women becoming public figures. This was particularly relevant in the performing world which, as well as the more respectable concert hall, included the still disreputable environment of the theatre or music hall, whose female inhabitants were open to long-held assumptions of sexual depravity. For a woman to be seen to earn

---

[21] 'The Professional', 'The Amateur' *The Musical Standard* new series XLIV (24 January 1893), p.31.
[22] Ebenezer Prout, 'The Amalgamated Musicians Union' *The Monthly Musical Record* (July 1893), p.145.
[23] Pole, 'Professional Musicians and Musical Amateurs', p.432. Pole himself demonstrates the problems of categorisation. He was by profession a eminent civil engineer but also the organist of a London church, holder of an Oxford doctorate in music and a published composer and writer on music. George Grove, 'William Pole' ed. George Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 3 (London: Macmillan, 1883), p.7.
[24] Women were initially excluded from both the Society of Professional Musicians (founded in 1882) and the Orchestral Association (founded in 1893). In 1883 a proposal to admit women to the Society of Professional Musicians was postponed until the next meeting of the Society. See *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* XIV (1883), p.523. The Orchestral Association was still considering the admission of women in 1900. See Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century*, p.159. It is not clear exactly when the two organisations did allow women to join.
[25] Earlier biographers of these men tend to focus on this aspect of their subjects' careers in greater depth than later scholars. See Winifride and Richard Elwes, *Gervase Elwes: The Story of his Life* (London: Grayson and Grayson, 1935); H. Orsmond Anderton, *Granville Bantock* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, nd); Charles L. Graves, *Hubert Parry: His Life and Works* (London: Macmillan, 1926).

money also suggested that a man somewhere was failing to provide adequate financial support. Middle-class husbands and fathers were usually adamant that their daughters and wives should not expose them to such accusations. Women from the artist-musician classes also faced the weight of middle-class moral disapproval. When Music Hall licensing sessions were held in Bradford in 1882 the magistrates, upholding middle-class propriety, refused to license the many small music halls based in pubs that employed women pianists, unless such performers were dismissed. One woman, whose work as a pianist supported her five children, wrote to the *Bradford Observer* to protest that 'it seems very hard that a respectable married woman is debarred from making a living honestly'.[26]

Women knew that a thorough education was as essential in music as it was in any other of the arts or professions and many were determined to fight to achieve it. Despite music's reputation as one of the frivolous accomplishments, many of the girls' schools took the study of music very seriously and employed highly educated and professional musicians to run their music departments.[27] The composer Emma Mundella (1858-1896), for example, was in charge of music at Wimbledon High School where

> she inaugurated lectures on musical subjects, pianoforte recitals, started a 'music circle' of past and present pupils for the encouragement of composition and vocal and instrumental performances, she also collected the first books for the formation of a music library.[28]

Acquiring a degree in music was as problematic for women as it was in any other subject. Music degrees at Oxford and Cambridge Universities did not require residence and were often taken after students had completed a degree in other subjects. As early as 1856 Elizabeth Stirling (1819-1895) had submitted a setting of Psalm 130 for five voices and orchestra for the Mus. Bac. at Oxford but despite satisfying the examiners she could not be awarded the degree.[29] Forty years later the editor of *The Musical Standard* suggested, in vain, that women should be allowed the Oxford Mus. Bac., pointing out that the addition of the 'mystic letters after their name' was an important

---

[26] See Dagmar Kift, *The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class and Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.122-4.

[27] The music teaching at Cheltenham Ladies' College was praised by the music correspondent of the *Lady's Pictorial* XL (28 July 1900), p.114.

[28] Obituary, *The Musical Times* 37 (April 1896), p.247. Another noted music department at a girls' school was run by the composer Clara Macirone (1821-1914) at the Church of England High School for Girls in Upper Baker Street, London. Oliveria Prescott was among the visiting lecturers.

[29] On Stirling see Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers*, pp.298-9.

sign of distinction for musicians.[30] The first women to receive music degrees from Oxford did not do so until 1921.[31]

In 1885 the University of Dublin became the first university to admit women to music degrees, marking the occasion by awarding Alexandra, Princess of Wales an honorary Mus. Doc.[32] In 1895 Florence Higgins, who had studied at the North London Collegiate School and then at Bedford College, became the first woman to be awarded the Mus. Bac. from the University of London[33] and by 1899 there were 17 female holders of the Mus. Bac. degree throughout the country.[34] But for most performers and composers a formal musical education involved studying at a conservatory or school of music rather than a university.

The main obstacle excluding middle-class women from gaining a formal education or training in music at the music schools was the issue of respectability and propriety rather than systemic exclusion. Parents, however happy they were to allow their daughters to learn to sing or play as a domestic accomplishment, frequently refused to consider allowing them to study music as a profession. Despite not being allowed to study at the Royal Academy art schools, women were not excluded from British music schools. The Royal Academy of Music, which was the country's principal music school for most of the century, had accepted girls as well as boys from its foundation in 1822, although the sexes were originally taught separately.[35] Even from the Academy's earliest days, parents were concerned for their daughters' moral well-being. In the first year, a report to the founder explained that 'Miss Jay, who was the second player on the harp in the Institution, has been withdrawn by her father, merely because she was to have gone to the London Tavern to perform amongst the other students'.[36] In 1876 Maude Valérie

---

[30] The editor was careful to stress that as an external degree the Mus. Bac. 'confers on the holder no right to proceed by the usual course to a share in the government of the University', thereby reassuring those whose main reason for not allowing women degrees was the possibility of women demanding a say in the running of the University. 'Degrees for Women' *The Musical Standard* illustrated series V (15 February, 1896), p.97.

[31] Scholes, *The Mirror of Music* II, p.682.

[32] *Ibid.*, p.666.

[33] Ed. Anon *The Year's Music 1896: Being a Concise Record of British and Foreign Musical Events, Productions, Appearances, Criticisms, Memoranda, etc.* (London: J. S. Virtue, 1896), p.239.

[34] ed. Emily Janes, *The Englishwoman's Year Book* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1899), p.135.

[35] The original curriculum provided for the girls to be taught harmony and counterpoint, piano, singing, harp, Italian language, dancing and 'writing music'. The boys were taught the same subjects with the exclusion of dancing and the addition of the violin, cello and oboe. See Rev. W. W. Cazalet, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music* (London: T. Bosworth, 1854).

[36] Cazalet, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music*, p.133.

White, whose father belonged to the mercantile middle classes, had to persuade her mother to allow her to study at the Academy and remembered in her memoirs that

> her prejudice against even the shadow of public life would have to be overcome, and I knew that this would be no easy task, but, fortunately, the *Zeitgeist* was on my side, and even a Napoleon would find it difficult to make much headway against so subtle an enemy. Of course the usual "sincere friend" appeared on the scene, warning her of the appalling dangers to which I would be exposed if allowed to associate with the students of the R.A.M. Those dangers were indeed enough to make one's flesh creep! She said I might be obliged to associate with tradespeople! ... This "sincere friend" also feared that it might lead to my introducing young men with long hair and doubtful nails into the bosom of my family.[37]

Despite such dangers White and many other young women from all walks of life studied at the Academy in large numbers. Student records are patchy, but from the 1830s onwards women students always outnumbered the men. In the period between 1892 and 1898 the number of men studying at the Academy averaged 116 while the number of women averaged 501.[38]

The 1870s and 1880s saw the foundation of many more public schools of music. The National Training School for Music, founded in 1876, was replaced by the Royal College of Music in 1883 and that year 50 scholarships were awarded with half designated for girls and half for boys.[39] Both institutions aimed to provide a more thorough musical training than the Royal Academy of Music which had been going through a series of financial and managerial problems. The Royal College was soon regarded as an institution dominated by female students, as can be seen in a set of humorous pictures from the *Illustrated London News* of 1884 depicting potential students competing for Royal College scholarships. Nine students are seen auditioning but only one, a flautist, is male.[40] 20 years later, women outnumbered men by 77 to 35 as candidates for the Free Open Scholarships at the College.[41]

The Guildhall School of Music was founded in 1880 by the Corporation of the City of London in order to provide instruction for amateurs. As such it was a very useful place

---

[37] Maude Valérie White, *Friends and Memories* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914), p.137-138.
[38] RAM Archives: 'Student Register A 1892-1898'.
[39] Scholes, *The Mirror of Music* II, p.701.
[40] Reproduced in Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain*, plate 5.
[41] *The Musical Times* 45 (April 1904), p.236. Only the wind scholarships were closed to women and no women entered for the organ scholarship while no men entered for the harp scholarship. Despite the fact that 16 women entered for the piano scholarship, it was awarded to one of the two men who entered.

of study for those women whose parents refused to allow them to study music as a profession. However, the focus on amateur students also made it less prestigious than the other London schools. When Landon Ronald was appointed principal in 1910 he instituted classes for professionals and gradually changed the objectives of the institution. Outside London, schools founded in the late 19th century included the Birmingham and Midland Institute School of Music and the Royal Manchester College of Music. The only one of these schools which, for a few years of its history, did not take women students appears to have been London's College of Church Music. This was founded in 1872, became Trinity College of Music in 1875 and opened its examinations to women in 1877.[42] The church also deprived women of an education that formed an invaluable part of many male musicians' training in its refusal to allow girls or women to sing in cathedral choirs. Ironically, it was a woman, Maria Hackett (1783-1874), who had ensured that cathedral choir boys received their thorough education.[43] Women did sing in some local parish church choirs. The Rev. Haweis, for example, was particularly proud of the introduction of women into his choir at St James's, Marylebone in 1892.[44]

Many women studied at one of the smaller private schools such as the Hampstead Conservatoire, founded in 1885, and the School of Music at the Crystal Palace which was a department of the Crystal Palace School of Art, Science and Literature. It is not clear exactly when the School of Music was established but it was advertising by the 1880-81 season and seems only to have taken women students. It appears to have functioned until 1904 and offered classes in subjects ranging from individual instruments such as the violin and cello and ensemble playing to composition and orchestration. Samuel Coleridge-Taylor was the Professor of Theory, Harmony and Orchestration for 14 years, until his death in 1912.[45] In his book *The Music Profession* of 1888, Henry Fisher gave a lengthy description of the Derby School of Music,

---

[42] Scholes, *The Mirror of Music* II, p.697.
[43] *Ibid.*, p.530.
[44] *Ibid.*, p.539 and plate 76. The debate over women's inclusion in church choirs continued to rage throughout the late 19th and 20th century. One proposed solution from the late 1880s was that women should sing with, rather than in, the choirs by sitting facing the rest of the singers. Anon, 'Our Musical Ladies - Their Place in Church Song' *The Monthly Musical Record* (March 1889), p.54. A performance of Ellicott's cantata *Elysium* prompted one female journalist to ask: 'If a woman can write music worthy of a famous festival performance what becomes of the pretext that a woman is not fitted to sing what men have written in the ordinary service of the church?'. *Women's Penny Paper* (31 August 1889), p.2.
[45] See Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.166 -171 and Scholes, *The Mirror of Music* II, p.700.

established in 1851, which housed a suite of teaching rooms, a music library and a large concert room capable of holding all 200 pupils.[46]

During the 19th century many British students went to study music in Germany. Given the esteem in which German music and musicians (from Handel through Mendelssohn to Brahms) were held, it is hardly surprising that a German musical education was regarded by many as infinitely preferable to anything available in Britain. For women this was not always such a wise choice, as attitudes towards women's education in Germany were much less advanced than they were in Britain. It was not until 1900, for example, that women were allowed to matriculate at a German University.[47] Nevertheless many British women travelled to Germany to study.[48] The reaction from the English media was a mixture of pride in their achievements and, increasingly, regret and even patriotic anger that they had felt it necessary to study abroad. In 1881 the return of pianist Agnes Bartlett to England after a period of study at the Dresden Conservatory and the enthusiastic reception she had received there were widely reported in the British musical press.[49] In 1888, on the other hand, *The Musical World* listed English students taking exams at the Leipzig Conservatory and added 'Why, one asks, did not these young people stop at home to get such information as can be had at a first-rate music school?'[50]

Other ways of obtaining a training in music included being articled to a musician. This was the course taken by singer Emily Soldene who, despite fierce opposition from her middle-class family, 'attacked the home authorities with vigour, and demolished all objections triumphantly'.[51] She made her professional debut at the Crystal Palace singing Meyerbeer under August Manns but then, in order to get regular employment and experience, somewhat reluctantly worked at a Music Hall, under the 'nom du théâtre' Miss FitzHenry:

---

[46] Henry Fisher, *The Musical Profession* (London: J. Curwen, 1888), pp.223-4.
[47] Bonnie S. Anderson and Judith P. Zinsser, *A History of their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present* (London: Penguin, 1990 orig. Harper and Row, 1988) II, p.187.
[48] In 1914 an article in a series on earning a living advised women vocalists and instrumentalists to spend some time studying on the Continent since 'the very change of atmosphere and surroundings does much to give that flexibility and *savoir vivre* which are essential to any artistic career'. Mary Lovell, 'How Girls May Earn A Living. XIII Music' *Farm, Field and Fireside* (19 June 1914), p.504.
[49] See, for example, *The Musical Times* 22 (May 1881), p.256 and *The Monthly Musical Record* (June 1881), p.120.
[50] The students included Mary Evans of Brighton; Mary Logan of Cambridge; Alice Brown of Portsmouth; Henrietta Jonas of Edinburgh. *The Musical World* (7 April 1888), p.265.
[51] Emily Soldene, *My Theatrical and Musical Recollections* (London: Downey & Co., 1897), p.9.

> I had never been inside a music hall, had very lofty ideas, great ambitions, highly strung aspirations, great dreams of future glory and achievements. Going to sing at a music hall was indeed a come-down.[52]

This was an unusual step for a middle-class woman to take, but a successful one. Soldene not only had an acclaimed career on the stage but also moved into production and management, forming her own light opera company. Many middle- and upper-class women, however, remained content to study with private tutors or at the many private music academies and classes that were found throughout large cities and which did not have the professional atmosphere or stigma of the public music schools.

Although there were many middle-class women who, like Soldene, refused to give in to the subtly pervasive restrictions that tried to prevent them from having a public life or career, other women were not only content to study privately but also to keep their musical talents almost entirely within a more private, amateur world. The activities and achievements of such women, and their male contemporaries, were rarely reported in the press and can be hard to trace from the few scrapbooks, letters and diaries that survive as source material. But even so, many historians have simply dismissed these women as dilettantes amusing themselves within a mediocre salon culture, without fully exploring the wide-ranging possibilities of what it meant to work within such a world.

Many aspects of the amateur musical world of the late 19th century were actually far from private. Amateur musicians were widely visible, with men and increasing numbers of women joining with professionals to sing and play in concerts, usually given in aid of charity, at prestigious venues, such as London's St James's Hall. In 1885 the society women's magazine *The Lady* published an article discussing the modern musical amateur:

> The delight taken by private individuals in appearing in public is one of the features of the day. ... What would the grandmothers - or even the mothers, in their young days - think of the ladies who are now so eager to appear on the platforms. ... However, we are quite used to it now; and the sight of an Earl's daughter with pretty arms labouring through a classical solo on the violin, or a Viscountess accompanying herself on the banjo, causes no surprise'.[53]

Even those amateur performers who stayed within the private domain were performing in concerts which not only used both amateur and professional musicians but were often

---

[52] *Ibid.*, p.17.
[53] Anon, 'What Work is Feminine and What is Not?' *The Lady* (7 May 1885), p.346.

on a scale unimaginable today. Many of the leading soloists of the later 19th century, such as the violinists Joseph Joachim and Wilhelmine Norman Neruda, frequently performed in the upper-class music rooms of London society. At a concert given by the Gladstone family in 1879, 275 people came to hear Joachim and the pianist Agnes Zimmermann perform.[54] In the 1880s and 90s *The Musical World* ran a column on 'Music in Society' although the correspondent was sometimes overwhelmed:

> Of musical parties in society just now there seems no end; their name is legion, and it is hard to know where to begin and almost impossible to end when one has begun describing them.[55]

Like any other concerts, these private parties varied enormously. Some were unbearably hot and overcrowded with noisy and inattentive audiences, but others provided invaluable performing spaces, especially for new music which was not always financially viable and frequently ignored by the promoters of public concerts. Fuller Maitland described a series of private concerts given by Edward Dannreuther between 1874 and 1893 at his house in Orme Square, Bayswater as

> one of the most powerful agencies in the encouragement of all that was best in the renaissance of music in England. ...The younger English composers of the time found here opportunities for the performance of their chamber compositions which were denied them in the more public concerts.[56]

Private concerts were also an invaluable venue for those middle- and upper-class women who were not prepared to fight their way out of the private domain. Mary Gladstone (1847-1927), daughter and private secretary to William Gladstone, was an enthusiastic music lover and astute music critic whose diaries show just how much music was consumed and enjoyed by the upper classes.[57] She practised the piano for hours at a time, attended harmony classes, played through arrangements of 'great works' for two concertinas and piano as well as attending innumerable private and public concerts - often with the same performers and the same repertoire appearing at both. Concerts and after-dinner parties that she attended might include Joachim, accompanied by Sullivan, playing Mozart and Mendelssohn; the Fiske Jubilee Singers 'with immense spirit and refinement and great beauty of tone'; Frank Balfour's 'very higher ground concert', including the new Brahms *Liebeslieder* and Parry's Violin Suite, or Fuller

---

[54] Ed. Lucy Masterman, *Mary Gladstone (Mrs Drew): Her Diaries and Letters* (London: Methuen, 1930), p.150.
[55] *The Musical World* LXX (5 July 1890), p.533.
[56] J. A. Fuller Maitland, *English Music in the XIXth Century* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1902), p.156.
[57] The complete diaries are held by the British Library Add. Mss 46254-46267.

Maitland playing Chopin at the Tennysons'.[58] In his autobiography Maurice Baring remembered the musical parties given by Frederick Leighton:

> The music was performed by the greatest artists: Joachim, Madame Neruda, Piatti the violoncellist, and the best pianists of the day, in a large Moorish room full of flowers. It was the most intimate of concerts. The audience, which was quite small, used to sit in groups round the pianoforte, and only in the more leisurely London of the 'eighties could you have had such an exquisite performance and so naturally cultivated, so unaffectedly musical an audience.[59]

Many performers and composers particularly appreciated such occasions. Gabriel Fauré, whose music was introduced to Britain by amateur enthusiasts in the 1890s, once claimed that 'it is amateurs who express me and understand me the best'.[60]

Gladstone was not herself a performer of particular renown, unlike contemporaries such as the singers Mabel Batten, Valda Gleichen, Maud Warrender or Elsie Swinton. It is hardly surprising that women from the wealthy middle and upper classes were often extremely accomplished musicians. Many had studied with the leading teachers of the day, either in Britain or abroad, and had endless hours of 'leisure' in which to develop their skills.[61] Nevertheless, there has long been a refusal by later historians to accept these women or the venues in which they performed as a significant part of British musical life.

Typical of such musicians in many ways, Mabel Veronica Batten (1856-1916) was an intriguing woman, and an assessment of her contribution to British musical life is long overdue.[62] Born into an Anglo-Irish army family in Calcutta, Batten studied harmony and composition in Dresden and Bruges before marrying at 18. Music always remained

---

[58] Masterman, *Mary Gladstone (Mrs Drew)*, pp.52, 85, 123 and 191. On the significance of the Jubilee Singers' performance to an audience including the Prime Minister and Prince of Wales, see J.B.T.M., *The Story of the Jubilee Singers* second edition (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1875), pp.55-58.

[59] Maurice Baring, *The Puppet Show of Memory* (London: Cassell, 1987), p.55.

[60] ed. Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: His Life through his Letters* translated J. A. Underwood (London and New York: Marion Boyars, 1984), p.196. For further details of Fauré's promotion in Britain, see chapter 6.

[61] Lady Helen Radnor, for example, had singing lessons from Ciro Pinsuti, Giacinto Marras, Pauline Viardot and Paolo Tosti. Helen Countess-Dowager of Radnor, *From a Great-Grandmother's Armchair* (London: The Marshall Press, 1927), pp.96-99.

[62] On Batten see Una Troubridge, *The Life and Death of Radclyffe Hall* (London: Hammond & Hammond, 1961), pp.30-1, Michael Baker, *Our Three Selves: A Life of Radclyffe Hall* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1985), pp.31-80 and Sally Cline, *Radclyffe Hall: A Woman Called John* (London: John Murray, 1997), pp.59-106. If Batten is remembered at all today it is not as a musician but as the first lover of the writer Radclyffe Hall who shot to notoriety after Batten's death with the publication and banning of her openly lesbian novel *The Well of Loneliness* in 1928. Batten's diaries and letters (Mabel Batten Archive) are held by the Lancaster family (hereafter MBA).

central to her life. In 1902 she was described in an unidentified newspaper as 'a pretty, vivacious lady, with a lovely voice and a distinct talent for music'.[63] Regarded as one of London's leading society singers, she was also an important patron and supporter of musicians such as Percy Grainger and Mischa Elman. Other musical friends and acquaintances included the Elgars, Liza Lehmann, the Princesse de Polignac, Frank Schuster, Ethel Smyth and Violet Gordon Woodhouse. Batten also wrote many songs, a few of which were published.[64]

Working within what was seen as their natural sphere, aristocratic women played important roles as musical hostesses and patrons throughout the 19th century, although their contributions have rarely been acknowledged, either by scholars of women's patronage who have worked almost exclusively with patronage in continental Europe or the United States[65] or by historians of music in Britain who have tended to dismiss the roles played by both male and female patrons. Frank Leo Schuster, for example, is now remembered only as Elgar's financial supporter. But Maude Valérie White, writing in 1914, felt that he was 'so well known as one of the most ardent music lovers in London, that it is hardly necessary to explain who he is' and described his Westminster house as 'one of the chief centres of musical London'.[66] The concerts heard both there and at the 'Hut', Schuster's house at Bray-on-Thames, provided a wide range of music both old and new. In March 1908 Schuster's guests heard music by Fauré, performed by Swinton, Grainger and the composer, and an important early performance of Smyth's *Songs* of 1907 for mezzo soprano and chamber ensemble, although Smyth complained afterwards that the music did not start until after midnight and the room was stifling.[67]

Notable women patrons included Lady Gladys de Grey who had been partly responsible for the early appearances of Wagner in London. Her musical passions were sometimes regarded with amusement by her friends, one of whom reported in 1887 that she 'appears to have gone musically mad: - is constantly attended by a cohort of first violins and second trombones, none of them more than five feet high, from among whom she

---

[63] Unidentified press cutting, dated March 15, 1902. MBA.
[64] Her nine published songs include *Two Songs* to words by the Earl of Lytton (1885) and a setting of Kipling's 'The Love Song of Har Dyal' (1892).
[65] See, for example, Linda Whitesitt, 'Women's Support and Encouragement of Music and Musicians' ed. Pendle, *Women & Music*, pp.301-313 and Mona Mender, *Extraordinary Women in Support of Music* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1997).
[66] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.256.
[67] Ethel Smyth to Percy Pitt, 24 March 1908. BL: Percy Pitt Papers Egerton 3306, f.78.

shoots aloft like a poplar from a thicket of brambles'.[68] Another well-known musical hostess of the late 19th century was Angelina Goetz, described by Hermann Klein as 'this liberal and sympathetic patroness of the art'.[69] Several of her works had been published, under the name 'Angelina', from the late 1840s onwards, including *Eindruck und Ausdruck* (c. 1850), a collection of six German songs, and a *Marche Funèbre* for pianoforte (c. 1852), written for the funeral of the Duke of Wellington. Beneficiaries of her support included Lehmann, whose *In a Persian Garden* was first performed in Goetz's house.[70]

Other aristocratic women threw their considerable musical energies into philanthropic work. Dispensing charitable aid of all kinds to the impoverished working classes was a routine and expected part of an upper- or middle-class woman's life and one of the few ways in which they were able to work outside the home and maintain respectability.[71] In her memoirs Margot Asquith noted, with rather disturbing nonchalance, that 'Laura [her sister] and I had started a crèche at Wapping the year I came out; and in following up the case of deserving beggars I had come across a variety of slums'.[72] Musical charity varied from organising and performing in concerts for the benefit of favourite charities to taking what was seen as morally improving, 'high-class' music to the working classes, in the form of free concerts in working-class areas or even in hospitals, lunatic asylums and workhouses. Both women and music were regarded by many late Victorians as purveyors of moral purity in an increasingly immoral world and the combination of the two made perfect sense.[73]

---

[68] Eds. Jane Ridley and Clayre Percy, *The Letters of Arthur Balfour and Lady Elcho 1885-1917* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1992), p.39.

[69] Hermann Klein, *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London 1870-1900* (London: William Heinemann, 1903), p.432.

[70] See below, chapter 5.

[71] See, for example, Barbara Corrado Pope, 'Angels in the Devil's Workshop: Leisured and Charitable Women in Nineteenth-Century England and France' in ed. Bridenthal and Koonz, *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, pp.296-324.

[72] Ed. Mark Bonham Carter, *The Autobiography of Margot Asquith* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1962), p.42. After Laura's death Margot spent much time with the women who worked in one particular East End factory and took them to the country every summer 'in three large wagonettes behind four horses, accompanied by a brass band'. *Ibid.*, p.44.

[73] Dave Russell has written 'The view of music as an object of social utility and balm for society's many evils remained extraordinarily common until at least 1914'. Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914: A Social History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p.17. On attitudes towards women, see chapter 1 above.

Miranda Hill, sister of the noted philanthropist Octavia Hill, founded the Kyrle Society which in 1880 advertised in *The Musical Times* for volunteer singers among 'all who are interested in hospitals and workhouses ... to provide music as a means of recreation for the inmates'.[74] Mary Gladstone recorded taking part in several concerts in the East End of London. One of these events was

> very good fun. We all played or sang or did something. ... I some Brahms, wh. was liked. Was terrified but not forgetful. About 800 people'.[75]

For women from backgrounds such as Gladstone's who were not interested in challenging the status quo, such occasions provided their only opportunity to appear on the public stage. After the deaths of a close friend and of one of her children in the late 1870s, Lady Helen Radnor cut down her busy social life, which had frequently included being asked to sing after dinner, and became involved in the People's Entertainment Society. She regularly performed at concerts for 'the working men of Battersea' and started singing classes in Bermondsey.[76]

Encouraging 'the people' to make music themselves was a philanthropic act clearly manifested in the competitive festival movement. Many of the organisers of these festivals were women, most notably Mary Wakefield (1853-1910), who established the renowned festival in her home district of Westmorland and is regarded as the leading figure of the movement. Wakefield's engagement with music was typical for a woman of her class. She studied privately with Alberto Randegger and was an extremely talented singer whose wealthy middle-class family disapproved of her appearing in public despite the fact that she usually only sang at charity concerts, including those held by the People's Concert Society in Whitechapel.[77] Her biographer and contemporary, Rosa Newmarch, suggests that it was not only the weight of respectability that led her to stop singing:

> She stood face to face with the embarrassing problem ... whether a woman is justified in earning money she does not actually need, and how far she may, for her own delight, give her services without payment, at the risk of depriving some poorer sister of her daily bread.[78]

---

[74] *The Musical Times* 21 (December 1880), p.600.
[75] Masterman, *Mary Gladstone (Mrs Drew)*, p.152.
[76] Countess-Dowager of Radnor, *From a Great-Grandmother's Armchair*, p.102-105.
[77] See, for example, *The Musical Times* 20 (June 1879), p.319.
[78] Rosa Newmarch, *Mary Wakefield: A Memoir* (Kendal: Atkinson & Pollitt, 1912), p.41.

Wakefield turned instead to composing (several of her songs were widely sung at the end of the 19th century), lecturing on music and establishing the festival at Kendal.[79] Her work in developing the competitive festival grew out of her strongly-held beliefs about musical education and experience for a wide range of people. She put much energy into furthering the movement, lecturing at The International Congress of Women in 1899 on 'Musical competitions, a means of musical education'[80] and helping to found the Association of Musical Competitive Festivals in 1904.[81] She was also interested in collecting folksong, an area in which many women, notably Lucy Broadwood, Marjorie Kennedy Fraser and Mary Neal, also worked.[82] In an article on Wakefield's achievements in *The Musical Times* William McNaught wrote: 'It is not too much to say that no other of her sex in this country has done so much as Miss Wakefield to stimulate and foster popular musical study'.[83] Dave Russell has summarised the importance of the festival movement:

> Choirs were brought into existence, especially in rural areas, which would almost certainly never have begun but for the festivals. In this sense they really did add to the foundations of popular musicality. Moreover, by providing a large 'market' for composers and by raising the standard of choral technique to arguably the highest it had ever attained in this country, they called into being a body of part-songs by Elgar, Bantock, Delius and others which would otherwise never have been written. The festival movement was a critical part of the English 'musical renaissance.[84]

Wakefield's multi-faceted career also shows just how diverse the musical activities and achievements of middle- and upper-class women amateurs could be.

Some upper-class women were not content to stay in the amateur world of music making and did turn professional, although this was a step that usually met with considerable opposition. The soprano Cecilia Hutchinson (1851-?) was the daughter of a Captain in the Bengal Native Infantry who was killed in the Indian Mutiny. She studied in France and Italy, married a Captain in the Royal Artillery in 1875 and 'was well known as an amateur before deciding, about the end of 1880, to adopt the status of a

---

[79] Known first as the Wakefield Choral Competition, then the Westmorland Musical Festival and, after Wakefield's death in 1910, as the Mary Wakefield Westmorland Festival.
[80] *The Musical Times* 40 (August 1899), p.547.
[81] Russell, *Popular Music in England*, p.41.
[82] See, for example, Scholes, *The Mirror of Music* II, pp.782-3.
[83] William McNaught, 'Miss Wakefield' *The Musical Times* 41 (August 1900), p.529. On Wakefield, see also Derek Hyde, *New Found Voices. Women in Nineteenth-Century English Music* (Cornwall: Belverdere Press, 1984), chapter 4.
[84] Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914*, p.43. There were also numerous part-songs by women published during the period.

professional singer'.[85] David Greer's biography of the singer Elsie Swinton provides a more detailed account of Swinton's move from amateur to professional status and the inevitable disapproval of her mother and husband. In a retrospective diary entry of 1906 Swinton wrote:

> My lifelong ambition to become a professional singer became so acute and imperative, that I at last made up my mind. George and my mother made many objections, but they all seemed to me as nothing, and now they are quite pleased and interested. It sounds very easy just as I write it down, to suddenly become professional, but it entailed hours and hours of argument, and much searching of heart. ... I have never regretted it for one moment, indeed it has been the greatest happiness and joy to me every day.[86]

Despite Swinton's undoubted public success and personal sense of fulfilment, by the outbreak of the First World War she had retired from the public stage, unable to resolve the persistent conflict with husband and mother brought about by her adoption of a professional career. Instead, she took up charitable work for the YWCA, a much more respectable occupation for a married woman of the early 20th century.

For performers, the precise moment of turning professional was clearly defined. Swinton's professional debut was made at a concert which was no different from the many at which she had previously performed, except that she was paid. Emily Soldene proudly noted in her memoirs the occasion on which she earned her 'first five-pound note'.[87] In her biography of her husband Gervase, Winefride Elwes recorded his first professional engagement at the age of 36:

> What pleased him more than anything else was the modest fee which arrived a few days later - the first money he had ever earned in his life - and I vividly remember him standing with a one-hundred-franc note in his hand and saying, 'You cannot imagine how thrilled I am at having earned this. I want to frame it and keep it for ever'.[88]

It was not only as singers that female amateur performers achieved success and renown. Violet Gordon Woodhouse (1871-1948), for example, was regarded as one of the leading harpsichord and clavichord performers of her day, a rival to her contemporary Wanda Landowska. Woodhouse's promotion of previously unexplored composers, such

---

[85] Anon, 'Mrs Hutchinson' *The Lute* (December 1891), p.181.
[86] David Greer, *A Numerous and Fashionable Audience: The Story of Elsie Swinton* (London: Thames Publishing, 1997), p.76.
[87] Soldene, *My Theatrical and Musical Recollections*, p.14.
[88] Winifride and Richard Elwes, *Gervase Elwes: The Story of his Life* (London: Grayson and Grayson, 1935), p.123.

as Domenico Scarlatti, and of the clavichord, her favourite instrument, played an important, but usually unacknowledged, part in the British early music movement of the early 20th century. Like Swinton, Woodhouse turned professional for a while, but purely for financial reasons, and as soon as the immediate crisis was over she happily retired from appearing in public.[89]

While singing and playing the piano had been acceptable domestic occupations for women for centuries, playing other instruments was more problematic, at least for middle-class amateurs. Wind instruments were regarded as an almost entirely male preserve although the diaries of the highly unconventional Anne Lister (1790-1841), nicknamed 'Gentleman Jack' by her Yorkshire neighbours, show that her pastimes included playing the flute.[90] The most extreme change of public opinion was seen in attitudes towards upper-class women playing the violin. In 1860 a writer in the *Spectator* was able to state with confidence that 'female violinists are rare, the violin being, we do not know why, deemed an unfeminine instrument'.[91] The London performances of foreign-born soloists, such as the Milanollo sisters Teresa (1827-1902) and Marie (1832-48) and Wilhelmine Norman Neruda (1839-1911), together with reports of the French-born Camille Urso (1842-1902), doubtless made the idea of a woman playing the violin seem less strange.[92] The first female violin student was accepted at the Royal Academy of Music in 1872 and by the 1880s women had taken the instrument up in large numbers.[93] In 1902 William Cobbett wrote that 'whereas thirty years ago the lady amateur violinist or cellist was regarded by many worthy folk with much the same disapproval as the lady smoker, nowadays she outnumbers the male

---

[89] For further details of Woodhouse's extraordinary life and career see Jessica Douglas-Home, *Violet: The Life and Loves of Violet Gordon Woodhouse* (London: The Harvill Press, 1996).

[90] Ed. Helena Whitbread, *I Know My Own Heart: The Diaries of Anne Lister 1791-1840* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), p.xxiv. Whitbread does not recognise that it was unusual for a woman to play the flute. As late as 1914, a Royal Academy student was to write that 'girl students of wind instruments are comparatively rare'. Mollie Penn, 'The Clarinet as an Instrument for Girls' *The Music Student* VI (1914), p.193.

[91] Quoted in Scholes, *The Mirror of Music* I, p.343.

[92] On the Milanollo sisters see Reich, 'European Composers and Musicians', p.118 and Myles Birket Foster, *The History of the Philharmonic Society of London: 1813-1912* (London: John Lane, 1912), p.192. There are several variants of Norman Neruda's name. Her first name is also sometimes given as Wilma, presumably a shortening. Her maiden name was Neruda and after her first marriage to Ludwig Norman, she was known as Norman Neruda (sometimes hyphenated and sometimes spelt Normann Neruda). After her marriage to Sir Charles Hallé she was known as Lady Hallé. See ed. George Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 2 (London: Macmillan, 1880), pp.451-2 and Scholes, *The Mirror of Music* I, p.346.

[93] Scholes, *The Mirror of Music* I, p.343. See also Marion M. Scott, 'British Women as Instrumentalists' *The Music Student* 10:9 (May 1918), p.337.

player'.[94] This development was regarded by at least one writer as part of the whole general atmosphere of change facing society in 'this age of progressist tendencies'.[95] Others saw it as a specific manifestation of women's increasing demands for equal rights.[96]

The increasing numbers of women violinists who wished to play with others and display their talents in public doubtless accounted for much of the significant rise in amateur music making taking place both inside and outside the home in the 1880s.[97] This decade saw the creation of many amateur orchestras such as The Strolling Players Amateur Orchestral Society, founded in 1882, or the Westminster Orchestral Society, which gave its first important concert in 1885.[98] Such orchestras not only used a combination of amateurs and professionals for their concerts but also usually consisted of both male and female instrumentalists.[99] The orchestra for the Cheltenham Festival in the 1890s, as presumably for many provincial festival orchestras outside London, consisted of both men and women, professionals and amateurs. In 1893 women outnumbered men in the first violin section.[100] At London's 13th triennial Handel Festival in 1900 the massive orchestra of 381 players included 73 women, playing violins, violas, cellos, clarinets while 'one valiant lady, Miss Geruch, asserted herself as a performer on the drums'.[101] Women most frequently played stringed instruments in such orchestras but the Westminster Orchestral Society had women in the wind as well as the string section and in his review of the Richmond Orchestral Society, quoted earlier, Shaw pointed out that one of the bassoonists was a woman, still unusual enough an occurrence in the 1890s to draw comment.[102]

---

[94] W. W. Cobbett, 'The British Amateur. Orchestral and Chamber Music' *Musical News* (17 May 1902), p.478.
[95] *The Monthly Musical Record* (September 1887), p.212.
[96] See, for example, *The Musical Times* 34 (July 1893), p.405.
[97] On the increase in amateur music making, see for example *The Lute* III:6 (June 1885), p.138.
[98] Cobbett, 'The British Amateur. Orchestral and Chamber Music', p.478.
[99] For their 12th season, in 1894, the Strolling Players had 6 women and 16 men in the first violin section, 5 women and 22 men in the second violin section and 2 women among the 14 cellists. For the 13th season the women players included a double bassist. There were no women on the Society's committee and the Annual Orchestral Dinner held in 1895 was for 'Gentlemen only'. BL Programmes: c369. At a concert in June 1897, a reviewer for the *Musical Times* noted that the Westminster Orchestral Society consisted of 60 executants including 'more than a dozen ladies'. *The Musical Times* 38 (July 1897), p.463.
[100] First violins: 11 women and 9 men; Second violins: 7 women and 15 men; Cellos: 1 woman and 8 men. Programme for 1893 Cheltenham Festival, p.8. I am very grateful to John C. Milner for supplying me with copies of programmes for the Cheltenham Festival.
[101] 56 violinists, 10 violists, 4 cellists and 2 clarinettists. This article pointed out that in 1897 there had been 55 women players and 47 in 1894. 'Bass Trombone', 'Musical Notes' *Lady's Pictorial* XXXIX (23 June 1900), p. 1134.
[102] Women bassoonists in orchestras continued to draw comment. See review of Putney Philharmonic

Many women found performing opportunities in the growing numbers of amateur all-women orchestras and bands. These provided a certain novelty value which was very useful for raising charitable funds and offered the retiring female violinist a more respectable activity than playing in an orchestra with men. One of the earliest recorded appearances of such a group is 'An Orchestra of Ladies' playing Haydn and Boccherini at the 1880 Musical Festival in Newbury. The critic for *The Musical Times* felt that such an opportunity would broaden the musical horizons of the instrumentalists by exposing them 'to a higher class of music than that to which they have been so long accustomed in the drawing-room' and added, with what may or may not have been a touch of irony:

> Twenty years ago the idea of an "Orchestra of Ladies" would have been received with derision; but we have now begun to acknowledge the absurdity of limiting the utterance of so beautiful a language as music to the male sex. Presuming, however, that they intend to challenge a public verdict upon their performance, it is a question whether, with a band of such powerful attraction, we can hope to secure perfectly independent critics.[103]

The following year the Dundee Ladies' orchestra gave their first concert, playing music by Weber and Mendelssohn.[104] In 1885 the Swedish music teacher Hildegard Werner started the Ladies' Mignon String Orchestra in Newcastle-upon Tyne. Writing in the *Swedish Music Journal* in 1892, Werner subtly stressed the moral purity of this undertaking: 'The young lady amateurs are always dressed in white when they perform, and they play purely for the sake of their own pleasure'.[105] The Rev. E. H. Moberley's Orchestra consisted of women from Wiltshire and Hampshire and started giving regular London concerts in 1892 when it numbered 70 players (with four men playing double bass).[106] One journalist declared that 'for purity of tone and precision no amateur orchestra that we have ever heard has surpassed Mr Moberley's Ladies' String Orchestra'.[107] Not all groups received such praise. In 1893 Shaw found himself at a concert where the performers included the Ladies' Amateur Harp, Mandoline, and Guitar Band, 'consisting of thirty-two damsels, of whom three played the harp, four the

---

Society *The Musical Times* 41 (June 1900), p.403 and article on the York Symphony Orchestra *The Musical Times* 44 (May 1903), p.309.

[103] *The Musical Times* 21 (December 1880), p.600.

[104] *The Musical Times* 23 (February 1882), p.82.

[105] Margaret Myers, *Blowing her own Trumpet: European Ladies' Orchestras & Other Women Musicians 1870-1950 in Sweden* (Göteborg: Göteborg University, 1993), p.144.

[106] See Scholes, *The Mirror of Music* II, p.732 and *The Musical Times* 33 (June 1892), p.346.

[107] Anon, 'Sex and Music' *The Musical Times* 33 (June 1892), p.338.

violin, six the guitar, and nineteen the mandoline. It is disquieting to find that there are nineteen people in England who can play the mandoline; and I sincerely hope the number may not increase'.[108]

The best known of these early women's orchestras was Viscountess Folkestone's (later Lady Radnor's) String Band. Looking for ways to enhance her charitable musical work, Radnor remembered an afternoon party at the Duchess of Sutherland's villa in Chiswick where she had heard 'a very fine Orchestra playing under the trees, entirely composed of Austrian ladies from Vienna'.[109] She assembled 24 young string players and 24 women as a chorus, carefully stage-managing their first performance in 1881 with the instrumentalists in 'high white dresses with large distinctive bows on the shoulder, of different colours - blue, pink, dark blue, crimson, brown and yellow: for the various instruments'. The female aristocratic performers gave the concert considerable curiosity value. It was sold out 10 days beforehand and raised the staggering sum of £1,000 for the Royal College of Music. The reviewer for *The World* was impressed:

> Imagine a string band of twenty four young girls of the highest station from about 12 to 17 years old, beautiful for the most part, playing magnificently, producing a pianissimo which would do honour to a professional band; the chorus consisting of twenty four Ladies (many of them Peeresses of the Realm). ... Lady Folkestone handled the baton like a Costa.[110]

Radnor continued to give concerts annually for the next 17 years with the orchestra increasing in popularity and size until at the final concert in 1896 it consisted of 82 women with 120 more singing in the chorus. Reviewers continued to be extremely complementary, one writing in 1887 of

> the eminently artistic spirit which pervaded the proceedings, as regards the selection as well as the performance of the music, which might, indeed, serve as a model to kindred societies; for such precision, correct intonation, demarcation of light and shade, piquancy and *entrain*, have seldom if ever characterised any other instrumental amateur performance, male or female, and rarely been surpassed, as far as the chorus is concerned, in a London concert-room.[111]

---

[108] Shaw, *Music In London 1890-94* III, p.115-116.

[109] Countess-Dowager of Radnor, *From a Great-Grandmother's Armchair*, p.43. There were several Viennese Ladies' orchestras touring Europe and the States in the 1870s, including those conducted by Marie Grünner, Marie Schpiek and Josephine Weimlich. See Myers, *Blowing her own Trumpet,* pp.147-149 and Jan Bell Groh, *Evening the Score: Women in Music and the Legacy of Frederique Petrides* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1991), pp.66-7.

[110] Radnor, *From a Great-Grandmother's Armchair*, p.112.

[111] *The Monthly Musical Record* (September 1887), p.212.

Such reviews contrast sharply with Smyth's description of the group which is dismissive both of the opportunities it offered its members and of the quality of its performances:

> I well remember that no one looked on Lady Folkestone's String Band of women-amateurs as an outlet for serious musical energy and passion, but merely as an aristocratic fad; a resource for such bored and elegant ones as to-day eke out the hours with feeble bridge.[112]

Parry, who was far more appreciative, composed his *Lady Radnor's Suite* for the orchestra and the first performance, with Radnor conducting from memory, was given in June 1894.[113] The American showman Phineas T. Barnum wanted to cash in on the group's money-making potential and offered to take them to the United States 'paying all expenses, and giving any sum I liked to name to charity'.[114] Lady Radnor refused.

Most of these orchestras consisted only of string players.[115] But the increasing numbers of women amateurs taking up wind instruments ensured that some groups, such as the English Ladies' Orchestral Society, included wind players. At its first public concert, given at Chelmsford in 1893, this orchestra performed Weber's clarinet concertino and a cornet solo, both played by women.[116] The Society was organised by Mary Venables and Marian Arkwright and conducted by J. S. Liddle, whose earlier involvement with women's orchestras had included conducting the 'Orchestra of Ladies' at the Newbury Festival in 1880. Like the other amateur women's orchestras, all money raised by the Society was donated to charity and like many other mixed-sex amateur orchestras professional musicians were brought in for concerts. The Society continued to perform at venues throughout the country for at least 11 years, with a repertoire that included modern works such as Parry's popular Third Symphony.[117]

These amateur orchestras were not the only ensembles of women musicians to be found in Britain in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Throughout the period there were increasing numbers of women, whether from the artist-musician or middle-class backgrounds, who needed to earn a living and decided to do so through their music.

---

[112] Ethel Smyth, *Female Pipings in Eden* (Edinburgh: Peter Davies, 1933), p.7.
[113] See Jeremy Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry: His Life and Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p.313.
[114] Radnor, *From a Great-Grandmother's Armchair*, p.114.
[115] Another aristocrat-led string orchestra was Lady William Lennox's Orchestra whose 28 members performed wearing black gowns with a pink bow on the right shoulder. *Musical News* (25 June 1904), p.616.
[116] *Musical News* (2 December 1893), p.483.
[117] See, for example, *Musical News* (20 January 1900), p.55; *The Musical Times* (July 1900), p.483; *Musical News* (25 June 1904), p.616. The Society also appears to have been known as the English Ladies Orchestral Union.

There were many women, like Swinton, who entered the profession through a need for self-fulfilment and self-expression rather than a need to support themselves or their families, but for many others, such as the Bradford pianist who lost her job in 1882, there was no option but to work for money. Distinctions are never entirely clear cut. Some women needed to supplement small inheritances with paid work and many unexpectedly found themselves in a position where they needed to earn a living, through death or financial disaster, while others, slightly less unexpectedly, found themselves in a position where they no longer needed to do so, usually through marriage. Although Reich's artist-musician class is a useful classification, her rigid distinction between the amateur and professional worlds of women musicians is based almost entirely on research into continental European musicians and is somewhat misleading as far as Britain is concerned.

Once they had received a musical education, either from their families or the more formal training available from one of the music schools, women were faced with a somewhat limited field of professional musical work. Many of the opportunities available to their male contemporaries were closed to them. Jobs that remained the sole preserve of men in the 1880s and 90s included playing in the high-profile London symphony orchestras, posts as conductors and most positions within the church.[118] No woman would have been offered Bantock's post as musical director at New Brighton or Parry's position at the Royal College, for example. However there were jobs available, and opportunities increased throughout the period. In the *Englishwoman's Yearbook* of 1900 an article on 'Music as a Profession' encouragingly pointed out that

> Women may enter the music profession as solo singers or instrumentalists, teachers, orchestral players, organists; also as operatic chorus singers or music-hall artistes. A few women become piano-tuners.[119]

Professional women soloists, mostly, but by no means exclusively, pianists and singers, had been a common sight in the British concert hall for generations. Clara Schumann,

---

[118] While women such as Ann Mounsey Bartholomew and her sister Elizabeth Mounsey worked as church organists throughout the period, they were almost never employed in the large prestigious churches or cathedrals. Most organist positions were very badly paid and women were sometimes expected to do more than play the organ. In 1895 *The Musical Times* alerted its readers to a vicar who was advertising for a 'lady organist, a thorough artist' who would also act as a housekeeper and plain cook for £30 a year. *The Musical Times* 36 (November 1895), p.740. On women organists see Jane Schatkin Hettrick, 'She Drew an Angel Down: The Role of Women in the History of the Organ 300 B.C. to 1900 A.D.' *The American Organist* 13:3 (March 1979), pp.40-46.

[119] Ed. Emily Janes, *The Englishwoman's Year Book* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1899), p.149.

who appeared frequently at the Monday and Saturday Popular concerts, was always a strong favourite. In 1887 *The Musical Times* reported people queuing from 'a very early hour' with 'supplies of bodily sustenance' in order to hear her play.[120] Several British-born women, from Lucy Anderson (1797-1878) to Arabella Goddard (1836-1922) and Fanny Davies (1861-1934), one of Schumann's many pupils, achieved considerable international fame as solo pianists. As Cyril Ehrlich has pointed out, no British-born man achieved a comparable reputation in the 19th century.[121]

The German-born but British-educated pianist Agnes Zimmermann (1847-1925) played chamber music, including her own works, throughout the country and in Germany to great critical acclaim. Other renowned chamber music performers included the violinist Emily Shinner (1862-1901) who studied with Joachim in Berlin and after her return to England in 1881 formed, with Cecilia Gates, Florence Hemmings and a Miss Holiday, the first professional all-women string quartet, which made its debut in 1887.[122] For a long time the cello was regarded as an unsuitable and undignified instrument for women to play. In 1901 a writer in *The Monthly Musical Record* declared that 'the 'cello in more than one respect is not a lady's instrument'.[123] Nevertheless in 1898 one of the first acclaimed women cellists, May Mukle (1880-1963), was playing concertos by Piatti and Dvorak at Bournemouth.[124] Mukle was the daughter of a mechanical musical instrument manufacturer, all of whose children worked as musicians. She was a member of the renowned Clench Quartet (with Nora Clench, Lucy Stone and Cecilia Gates) and later the Langley-Mukle Quartet (with Beatrice Langley, Marjorie Hayward and James Lockyer).[125] During the second decade of the 20th century, Mukle toured throughout the world with the viola player Rebecca Clarke and later played with her in the English Ensemble, an all-woman piano quartet.[126] Another renowned British woman cellist was

---

[120] *The Musical Times* 28 (April 1887), p.216.

[121] Cyril Ehrlich, 'Not Just First Performances: Writing Concert History' paper at British Musicology Conference, King's College, London (April 1996).

[122] *The Monthly Musical Record* (May 1887), p.115. Marion Scott and Katharine Eggar give the fourth member of this quartet as Lucy Stone, rather than Miss Holiday. It is possible that Stone replaced Holiday. Marion Scott and Katharine Eggar, 'Women's Doings in Chamber Music: III Women in the String Quartet' *Chamber Music* (supplement to *The Music Student*) 3 (October, 1913), p.12.

[123] *The Monthly Musical Record* (December 1901), p.277.

[124] Stephen Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Composers* (London: Thames Publishing, 1995), p.43. On Mukle and other early women cellists see chapter 25, 'Ladies on the Bass Line', in Margaret Campbell, *The Great Cellists* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1988), pp.200-209

[125] The Clench Quartet disbanded sometime before 1913, when Lucy Stone entered a convent. They had made a feature of premiering music new to Britain, including Debussy's String Quartet. Scott and Eggar, 'Women's Doings in Chamber Music', p.13.

[126] Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century*, p.160 and Liane Curtis,

Beatrice Harrison (1892-1965) who made her debut in 1907 and premiered the Delius cello concerto in 1921.[127]

The first British violin virtuoso was a woman, Marie Hall (1884-1956). Writing in 1946, Edmund Fellowes noted that

> her name is not now very generally remembered. Yet she stands alone among British-born violinists in the same rank as the great foreign virtuosi, Sarasate, Kubelik, Mischa Elman, Heifitz, and even Kreisler.[128]

At her London debut in 1903 Hall was encored six times for her performance of Tchaikovsky's violin concerto.[129] Various legends grew up around her 'discovery', including the probably apocryphal story that as a child she had played the violin in the streets of Bristol. Hall's father was a musician, who was working at Newcastle's Empire Music Hall when his daughter was born. She had her first lessons from him and then from Hildegard Werner. The family, who moved to Malvern and then Bristol, did not have enough money for Hall to accept the scholarship that she had won to the Royal Academy of Music but her cause was taken up by a group of music-lovers, including Fellowes and possibly Elgar, and she eventually studied with Ševčík in Prague. After her marriage in 1911 to impresario Edward Baring she appeared less frequently in public, although in 1920 she gave the first performance of Vaughan Williams's *The Lark Ascending*, which was dedicated to her.[130]

The story of Hall's childhood shows how precarious a musician's livelihood could be, something echoed by Greta Kent in her recollections of growing up in a musical family

---

'"Moments of Being": Rebecca Clarke and Friends' paper at British Musicology Conference, King's College, London (April 1996). Clarke also apparently played in an all-woman quartet with the d'Aranyi sisters and Guilhermina Suggia (who was later replaced with Mukle). Other early British women's quartets included the Edith Robinson Quartet (based in Manchester) and the Lucas Quartet (consisting of four sisters). See Scott and Eggar, 'Women's Doings in Chamber Music', p.14.

[127] Scholes, *The Mirror of Music* I, p.359. Beatrice and her violinist sister May were the best known of the four Harrison sisters, whose mother had been forbidden to perform in public by her own parents and made every effort to ensure that her daughters would have successful careers. May (1891-1959) studied with Leopold Auer in St Petersburg and made her debut in 1904. David Candlin and Tully Potter, programme notes for 'May Harrison' Symposium 1075 (1989). See also ed. Patricia Cleveland-Peck, *The Cello and the Nightingales: The Autobiography of Beatrice Harrison* (London: John Murray, 1985).

[128] Edmund H. Fellowes, *Memoirs of an Amateur Musician* (London: Methuen, 1946), p.79-80.

[129] Hall performed the concerto with Henry Wood and the Queen's Hall Symphony Orchestra. In an article on Hall in *The Musical Times* that year, a critic wrote: 'We may be proud of her nationality, and wish for her a long and brilliant career'. *The Musical Times* 44 (March 1903), pp.186 and 173.

[130] See Fellowes, *Memoirs of an Amateur Musician*, pp.80-81 and 183; Scholes, *The Mirror of Music*, I p.343-4 and Stephen Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Composers* (London: Thames Publishing, 1995), pp.97, 128 and 156.

a decade later.[131] Ironically, although Hall was able to make a career as an international soloist, had she been less talented, she would not have been able to make a living playing in any of the major symphony orchestras.[132] She would, however, have found a place, as did Greta Kent and Kent's grandmother, mother, aunts and sisters, in one of the many professional all-women bands and orchestras. Most of the musicians in these ensembles came from the artist-musician class, or as the double bass player and conductor Rosabel Watson (1865-1959), explained:

> Most female orchestral players are daughters, sisters and even wives of professional men (who are sensible enough to take advantage of this profitable career for their women folk, although at the same time extremely jealous of their success).[133]

In 1918 Marion Scott wrote that 'both as player and conductor, as a musician herself and the inspiration and organiser of other women's music, it is not too much to say that Miss Watson's position is unique'.[134] Her Aeolian Ladies' Orchestra, which played at many suffrage events in the early 20th century, was one of the best known of the professional all-women orchestras. From the 1890s into the 1940s, Watson directed all-women orchestras in the music for numerous plays in London theatres, often arranging the music herself.[135] She was particularly associated with Shakespearian productions, working at Stratford for at least 12 years,[136] and worked with Edy Craig's Pioneer Players.[137] One of the earliest recorded appearances of the Aeolian Ladies' Orchestra was at a concert, conducted by Watson and organised with the pianist Anne Mukle, sister of May, in 1894.[138] In retaliation to an article in the *Musical News* claiming that women's orchestras were all entirely amateur (an accusation carrying the unspoken suggestion that they were therefore second-rate), Watson pointed out that in 1898 her

---

[131] Kent, *A View from the Bandstand*, p.14.

[132] It is not often acknowledged that by the end of the 19th century women did work in professional mixed orchestras, usually those playing for light opera or music hall. See Kent, *A View from the Bandstand*, p.7 and Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century*, p.158.

[133] *Musical News* (17 March 1900), p.247.

[134] Scott, 'British Women as Instrumentalists', p.337. As well as running her own orchestra, Watson also played in both Lady Radnor's orchestra and in the English Ladies' Orchestral Society.

[135] See relevant volumes of J. P. Wearing's *The London Stage* (see bibliography for publication details).

[136] For details of her work with the Fellowship of Players in the 1920s see J. P. Wearing, *The London Stage 1920-1929: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1976) and with Wolfit, see Ronald Wolfit, *First Interval: The Autobiography of Ronald Wolfit* (London: Odhams Press, 1954), pp.175 and 206. I am very grateful to Christopher Wilson for details of Watson's work at Stratford.

[137] Watson was, for example, the musical director for the Pioneer Players' production of Chekhov's *The Bear* in 1920 (Wearing, *The London Stage 1920-1929* I, p.6) and for a bill of three plays by women mounted by Craig in 1922 (*ibid.*, p. 260).

[138] *Musical News* (12 May 1894), p.473.

orchestra, based entirely in London, had earned £1,466 11s 6d.[139] Many other professional all-women orchestras and bands played somewhat lighter music than the Aeolian Ladies (who included Grieg and Liszt in their repertoire) and were often engaged to work in music halls or at seaside resorts. By 1911 at least one in every eight musicians working in theatres, tea shops, music halls and the new cinemas was a woman.[140]

Women's bands and orchestras included two run by a Mrs Hunt - Les Merveilleuses and Les Militaires, who dressed in blue skirts and Hussar jackets with 'little red and gold caps set jauntily on the side of the head'.[141] A benefit concert at the Waterloo Panorama in 1890 given by the 20-strong Les Merveilleuses included the finale from Mendelssohn's piano concerto in G minor, played by the hard-working Anne Mukle who was a member of the orchestra.[142] In 1907, Mrs Hunt was still touring Europe with a group called Mrs Hunt's English Ladies' Orchestra.[143] At the Woman's Exhibition at Earl's Court in 1900 the music was supplied by the Ladies' Khaki Band, the Swedish Hussar Ladies' Band and the 60-strong Elite Grand Orchestra.[144] Other ensembles included The Royal Navy Ladies' Orchestra conducted by Madame Sydney Jones; Madame Angless's Ladies Orchestra and The Grey Ladies' Orchestra.[145] Whereas amateur women musicians and those studying at the music schools started to take up wind instruments only in the 1890s, some of the professional women's bands had included wind players for many years. The instruments in a picture of Kent's grandmother's ensemble, the Anglo Saxon Ladies Band, taken in about 1880, include a flute, cornet and clarinet together with various strings. Kent's mother, Nellie Baldwin, played a range of instruments, including the trombone.

---

[139] *Musical News* (17 March 1900), p.247.
[140] 201 in theatres, 182 in music halls and 141 in the new cinemas, with corresponding numbers of male musicians 2,219; 1,194; 319. Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain*, p.237. It should be noted that the figures are taken from the 1911 census which was boycotted by many suffragists and suffragettes. See Jane Atkinson, *The Suffragettes in Pictures* (London: Museum of London/Sutton Publishing, 1996), pp.98 and 194.
[141] *Women's Penny Paper* (25 October 1890), p.7. This report also misleadingly claims that 'Both bands were started by her some few years ago, in the hope of inaugurating a new line of employment for women. In fact, Mrs Hunt was the originator of the idea of ladies' orchestras'. Viennese Ladies' Orchestras had been touring Europe and the United States since 1870. See footnote 109 above.
[142] *Women's Penny Paper* (13 December 1890), p.115.
[143] Myers, *Blowing her own Trumpet*, p.173.
[144] *Lady's Pictorial* XXXIX (9 June 1900), p.1042.
[145] See Kent, *A View from the bandstand.*

All the professional and many of the amateur women's orchestras were conducted by women. Florence A. Marshall (1843-?) was the conductor of the South Hampstead orchestra, an orchestra of both men and women, amateurs and professionals, founded in 1886.[146] The orchestra's 13th annual concert at St James's Hall in 1898 presented a typically ambitious programme consisting of Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony, Bizet's *Jeux d'enfants*, Brahms's Violin Concerto, Schumann's 'Genoveva' overture and the introduction to Act III of Wagner's *Lohengrin.*[147] Marshall was also a composer and used the orchestra to perform her own music.[148] Smyth was not the only other composer to conduct her own orchestral music. In 1907 Ella Overbeck was conducting two of her orchestral suites in Plymouth[149] and three years later Margaret Meredith conducted the Leeds Philharmonic Society in a performance of her *Sursum Corda* at Harrogate.[150] But the directors of the professional women's orchestras were the only women of the time to be paid for conducting and to make it the main focus of their musical careers.[151]

In the true spirit of the 'new woman', during the last decade of the 19th century many women instrumentalists began to object to their exclusion from the symphony orchestras. A heated debate took place in the letters pages of the *Musical News* in 1893, started by an impassioned plea from 'A lady student of strings':

> We are duly qualified to take our places in the orchestra. Why are we not there? What is to become of us, from a practical point of view, when, with all our acquirements, we are called upon to face the world? Are we to sit and sigh with our untuned lyres beside us? What wonder if we rebel against such a fate! ... Unity is strength. Sex should not dominate in art. We should all have the same chances of success.[152]

The controversy continued for several weeks with men accusing women of wanting 'to supplant "the sex"... which is the real meaning of equality in the female mind' and

---

[146] *The Musical World* LXIV (5 June 1886), p.366. Marshall, born Florence Thomas, was usually known as Mrs Julian Marshall. In 1881 she had played the piano for the first concert given by the Dundee Ladies' orchestra. *The Musical Times* 23 (February 1882), p.82.

[147] Ed. Carter, A. C. R. *The Year's Music 1899: Being a Concise Record of All Matters Relating to Music and Musical Institutions Which Have Occurred During the Season 1897-8, Together With Information Respecting the Events of the Season 1898-9* (London: J. S. Virtue, 1899), p.168.

[148] See, for example, the 1889 performance of her *Nocturne* for clarinet and orchestra reviewed in *The Musical World* LXVII (8 June 1889), p.639.

[149] *The Musical Times* 47 (January 1907), p.48.

[150] *The Musical Times* 51 (December 1910), p.804 and Anon, 'Some New and Successful Choral Works by Margaret Meredith' *The London Musical Courier* XXXII (18 November 1911), p.301. This work was performed throughout Britain also became popular in Germany and the United States.

[151] Conducting remains one of the most difficult of music industry careers for women to enter. See Sophie Fuller, 'Dead white men in wigs: Women and classical music' ed. Sarah Cooper, *Girls! Girls! Girls! Essays on Women and Music* (London: Cassell, 1995), pp.29-31.

[152] *Musical News* (22 April 1893), p.372.

claiming that a 'twelve years' rough apprentice-ship at theatres and music halls would affect an educated, refined, and sensitive girl physically, and probably morally'. The women retaliated that the men simply feared 'the invasion of fresh competitors in a field where work is already scarce and profits scanty'.[153]

The same biological, social, and economic arguments continued to surface for many years, with added refinements such as Wallace Sutcliffe's assertion in the *Orchestral Association Gazette* of 1894 that women players are weaker than men because 'according to physiologists, there is one muscle entirely absent from the female arm'.[154] It was not until 1913 that one of the major orchestras, Henry Wood's Queen's Hall Orchestra, accepted women instrumentalists - four women violinists and two women violists.[155] In orchestras throughout the country during the war, women musicians took the places of the men who had been called up to fight. But when that conflict was over, women found that their particular battle had not been won and, despite the vigorous campaigning of Ethel Smyth, most symphony orchestras continued to exclude women for many years.[156]

Most instrumentalists also gave music lessons. As Smyth pointed out, one of the reasons that it was important for women to be accepted into the most prestigious orchestras was that they could then charge higher fees for their teaching, which had long been an acceptable and expected career option for women. [157] The period from 1871 to 1911 saw a large increase in the numbers of female musicians and music teachers, from 7,000 to 24,300, while the corresponding rise in numbers for men was 11,600 to 22,800.[158] The census returns for this period do not differentiate between the two categories and many musicians undoubtedly earned their living through a combination of performing and teaching, but given the still fairly limited opportunities for paid performing work, even in 1911, it seems reasonable to assume that many of these women worked mainly as music teachers. By 1911 women musicians and music teachers outnumbered men for

---

[153] See *Musical News* (29 April 1893), p.396; (6 May 1893), p.420; (13 May 1893), p.444; (20 May 1893), p.469; (27 May 1893), p.492 and (10 June 1893), p.540.
[154] Quoted in Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century*, p.158.
[155] See Henry J. Wood, *My Life of Music* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1938), p.286 and Arthur Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood: Maker of the Proms* (London: Methuen, 1994), p.142. One of these women was the viola player and composer Rebecca Clarke.
[156] See Kent, *A View from the Bandstand*, p.19 and Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers*, p.25.
[157] Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century*, p.161.
[158] Rounded figures from *ibid.*, p.235.

the first time. But particularly intriguing is a drop in the numbers of women between 1891 and 1901 from 19,100 to 18,700, compared to the huge rise in the previous 10 year period from 11,400 to 19,100. Why there should have been such a drop is puzzling. There was a general slowing down of the rate of growth throughout the profession, but the numbers of men working as musicians and music teachers still rose by over 1,000. Were women perhaps turning to other, more financially rewarding employment as opportunities opened in a wider variety of professions?

Just as women instrumentalists largely worked in the lower reaches of the profession, so women music teachers were not found in the most prestigious positions but were concentrated in the casual, peripatetic section of the profession. Henry Fisher's book on the music profession was aimed primarily at teachers and assumes that these teachers and his readers are men. He does include a short section on lady teachers and 'their want of sufficient qualification' but obviously feels that one of the teachers he quotes is being rather too generous in allowing that girl teachers and musical governesses 'are both very useful aids in taking young children, whom no professor of any merit wants to teach'.[159] A few women, including Oliveria Prescott at Cambridge and the members of the Shinner Quartet at London, taught at the new women's colleges, but most university posts were closed to them.[160]

Women had taught piano, singing and occasionally harmony at the Royal Academy of Music since its opening, but in Sterndale Bennett's extensive reorganisations of 1866 all the women professors were dismissed. The first to be employed after this date was the singing teacher Kate Steel, appointed in 1890.[161] By 1897 there were still only three full women professors, all teaching singing, although 10 sub-professors were giving lessons in piano, elocution and the violin as well. In the same year there were only two women teaching at the Royal College of Music, although less prestigious schools of music had many more women professors.[162] No women held any position of administrative authority at the main music schools, although during the First World War Ethel Bainton

[159] Fisher, *The Musical Profession*, pp.336-337.
[160] *The Monthly Musical Record* (May 1887), p.115.
[161] *Women's Penny Paper* (2 November 1889), p.14 and (29 November 1890), p.93.
[162] Lucie Heaton Armstrong, 'What can our daughters do for a living? Music as a Profession' *The Women's Signal* VII (12 August 1897), p.107 and (19 August 1897), p.122-123. The Guildhall School of music had 20 women professors and three official accompanists who were women, while the London Academy of Music had 23 women professors, including one cello professor.

took over her husband's position as principal of Newcastle Conservatoire while he was a prisoner in Berlin.[163]

In 1883 Stephen Stratton declared that 'we have women writers on music, biographers, and translators; women editors, lecturers, critics, librettists, and translators'.[164] Writing about music, as journalists, critics and musicologists, increasingly became an option for women in the last decades of the 19th century although since most reviews in daily papers or the musical press were published anonymously, it is difficult to know how many women were contributing such material. However, the male author, J. F. R., of an article 'Women as Music Critics' published in 1895, 12 years after Stratton's declaration, does not acknowledge the existence of any women critics, but rather predicts what they will and should be like when they appear sometime in the future. Believing that women are rarely capable of feeling any difference between a Palestrina mass and a Strauss waltz, J. F. R. nevertheless decided to have faith in women musical critics, especially if they think for themselves and

> write in their natural manner, avoiding fossilising traditions and conventions, and giving free play to their humour, waywardness, and whatever qualities they may chance to possess - why then I think that when the woman musical critic comes on to the field of action, she will produce some delightful, original, and valuable literature about music, and that it will be a good thing all round.[165]

This belief that women's work would and should be essentially different from that of men was one frequently expressed with regard to women's composition.[166]

While J. F. R. was looking to the future, there were actually plenty of women contributing to the musical literature of the present. In many ways their work was indistinguishable from that of their male contemporaries. In 1889 Wakefield published an important series of articles on 'Foundation Stones of English Music' in *Murray's Magazine*[167] and before her death in 1911 Hildegard Werner wrote for *The Strad*, *The Violin Times*, *The Musical Times* and *The Musical Standard* as well as for various Swedish journals. Georgina Pearce worked as the music correspondent for the socialist

---

[163] Foreman, Lewis. *From Parry to Britten: British Music in Letters 1900-1945* (London: Batsford, 1987) p.71.
[164] Stephen S. Stratton, 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art' *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 3 (1882-3), p.132.
[165] J. F. R., 'Women as Musical Critics' *The Monthly Musical Record* (March 1895), p.50.
[166] See chapter 3.
[167] Noted in *The Musical Times* 29 (November 1888), p.679.

Clarion newspaper, founded in 1891.[168] Younger music critics and writers included Christopher St John (1878-1961) [169] who wrote music criticism for two weekly papers before the First World War and worked as the music critic for the feminist journal *Time and Tide* after the war.[170] She was also Smyth's literary executor and biographer, doubtless chosen because of Smyth's high regard for her work:

> She just walks straight up to the object of her attention, tries to find out what its fashioner is driving at, and records her impressions in the strong, nervous, original English that goes with such a mind. ... All musicians who know her writing are furious that she is not on the Daily Press... Christopher St. John is of course another case of 'white-crow'; otherwise the all-maleism of our musical Press is undiluted.[171]

Women musicologists often seem to have chosen to work with topics that stood outside the mainstream of canonical works and composers. Margaret Glyn (1865-1946) was described in Eaglefield-Hull's *Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians* of 1924 as having done 'good work along the lines of natural intuitive rhythmic growth, and also in popularising the Elizabethan virginal music, which she claims as best foundation for school of instrumental composition [sic]. She is one of the best authorities on Tudor keyboard music'.[172] Three of the 56 contributors to the first volume of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, which appeared in 1879, were women.[173] Few of the longer and therefore 'important' entries are by women except for the 48-page article on song, written by Mrs Edmond Wodehouse.[174] But given women's particular association with song this is perhaps not such a surprising exception.

One contributor to both first and second editions of the *Dictionary* was Rosa Newmarch (1857-1940), one of the most prolific music writers and journalists of the period. Her particular association was with Russian music. She worked with the musicologist

---

[168] Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914*, p.53.

[169] Born Christabel Marshall, St John changed her name when she converted to Catholicism but her choice of a male name may also reflect her lesbianism. She was the lover of Edy Craig and notoriously had a brief affair with Vita Sackville-West. See Rose Collis, *Portraits to the Wall: Historic Lesbian Lives Unveiled* (London: Cassell, 1994), p.56.

[170] Christopher St. John (with Vita Sackville-West and Kathleen Dale), *Ethel Smyth. A Biography* (London: Longmans, 1959), p.xvi.

[171] Ethel Smyth, *A Final Burning of Boats Etc.* (London: Longmans, 1928), pp.46-7.

[172] Ed. A. Eaglefield-Hull, *A Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1924), p.188. Glyn's writings include *The Rhythmic Conception of Music* (London: Longmans, 1907); *Analysis of the Evolution of Musical Form* (London: Longmans & Co., 1909); *About Elizabethan Virginal Music and its Composers* (London: William Reeves, 1924) new editions published in 1934 and 1964; *Theory of Musical Evolution* (London: J. M. Dent, 1934).

[173] For the final volume of 1889, 8 out of 118 contributors were women.

[174] Mrs Edmond Wodehouse, 'Song' ed. Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 3, pp.584-632.

Vladimir Stasov in St Petersburg and probably did more than anyone else in early 20th-century Britain to promote the work of Russian composers. Her book on Tchaikovsky, published in 1900, was the first to appear in Western Europe and she translated several Russian opera libretti into English as well as writing a biography of Borodin and a general book on *The Russian Arts* (1916). She was a close friend and important influence on Henry Wood, working as 'official programme annotator' for the Queen's Hall Orchestra between 1908 and 1920, writing the first biography of Wood in 1904 and introducing him to the music of Sibelius and Janáček, among others. Her programme notes aimed at generating enthusiasm for the music in the listener, without giving dry or confusing analytical information but instead providing, in her own words, 'details in a poetic rather than prosaic light'.[175] Newmarch's biography of Wakefield, published in 1912, is a rare example of a female musicologist of the time exploring some of the issues facing women musicians. Newmarch's career displays the multifaceted involvement in the arts that also characterised the careers of many of her female contemporaries. After leaving school, for example, Newmarch had studied painting for two years at Heatherley's School of Art, and her published work includes two volumes of poetry: *Songs and Sonnets* (1903) and *Songs to a Singer* (1906).[176]

The women's orchestras and ensembles provide a vivid example of women organising together in order to survive and succeed in a world dominated by men. Such mutual support was an important feature of women's lives during a period when they were excluded from so much of the wheeling and dealing of the wider business world. Much of the co-operation between women was on an informal basis with friends helping each other out and banding together, whether they were professional instrumentalists forming ensembles or aristocratic hostesses providing space in their music rooms for friends to perform. In 1897 Lucie Armstrong was 'glad to see that women musicians are beginning to recognise the benefits of co-operation, and there are several companies of lady glee singers, lady mandoline players, and ladies' orchestras, which get a good many engagements during the season at concerts, parties and bazaars'.[177]

---

[175] M., 'Mrs Rosa Newmarch' *The Musical Times* 52 (March 1911), p.227.

[176] On Newmarch, see also Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood,* pp.58 and 122 and Wood, *My Life of Music*, p.231-232.

[177] Lucie Heaton Armstrong, 'What can our daughters do for a living: Music as a Profession' *The Women's Signal* VII (26 August 1897), pp.138-139.

The first formal organisation of women musicians, the Royal Society of Female Musicians, had been founded in 1839 by a group of leading women singers, performers and composer, including Lucy Anderson, Charlotte Dolby and Ann Mounsey. The aim of the society was to provide 'for the relief of its distressed members' since the Royal Society of Musicians, founded in 1738 for a similar purpose, refused to admit women as members. This led to the absurd situation whereby it gave support to the widows of its male members but never to female musicians on their own account.[178] After 27 years the male Society agreed to take women as members and the two groups combined forces. For nearly 50 years, despite the appearance of numerous societies for women in the other arts, there was no other organisation of women musicians. Katherine Eggar later remarked that 'musicians were not as awakened as women in other professions, and badly needed a jolt in their egotistical outlook'.[179] Such a jolt came in the form of the Society of Women Musicians, founded in 1911 by the singer Gertrude Eaton and the composer and musicologist Marion Scott. The establishment of such a society was doubtless influenced by other contemporary women's organisations although Eggar, chair of the inaugural meeting, trod careful ground in her opening speech:

> Perhaps in the minds of some there is a lurking fear that we are a Suffragist Society in disguise; our only connection with the Suffragist Movement is a similarity of Ideals. In both political and musical life there is a great deal of wire pulling and Party policy; one does not need to know much about musical dealings in general, to know this. The suffragists saw there was a great deal in Political matters which needs purifying and they believed that women could do a great deal to effect reform. We see a great deal that is corrupt in Artistic life, we believe that most women desire a higher Ideal in Musical transactions, but they have been unable to fight against the monster of Commercialism which rules in the Musical World.[180]

As well as Eaton, Eggar and Scott, the 37 women at this first meeting presented a mixture of composers and performers and of amateurs and professionals from a variety of backgrounds and experiences, including Ethel Barns, Rebecca Clarke, Emily Daymond, Alma Haas, Cécile Hartog, Agnes Larkcom, Liza Lehmann and May and Anne Mukle. Messages of support and apology sent from Marian Arkwright, Nora

---

[178] William H. Cummings, 'Royal Society of Musicians' and 'Royal Society of Female Musicians' in ed. Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 3, pp.187-188 and programme for Grand Concert 5 June 1850 Hanover Square Rooms. BL d488m.

[179] Katherine Eggar, 'Marion Scott as Founder of the Society of Women Musicians' *Memorial to Marion Scott* (London: Society of Women Musicians, 1954), p.5.

[180] 'Some notes taken at the Inaugural Meeting of the SWM', annotated typescript. RCM: SWM archive.

Clench, May Harrison, Agnes Nicholls and Rosabel Watson. Other early members included Marshall, Smyth and White.

The Society had three main objects, all of which stressed communality and co-operation:

> 1) To provide a centre where Women Musicians can meet to discuss and criticise musical matters.
> 2) To give Members the benefits of co-operation.
> 3) To bring Composers and Executants into touch with each other.[181]

At the end of the first year the Society had 152 female members and 20 male associates, including W. W. Cobbett and Thomas Dunhill who both gave the Society valuable support in its early days.[182] Liza Lehmann was the first in a distinguished line of presidents that also included Cécile Chaminade and Fanny Davies. Professional musicians were particularly encouraged to join by keeping their subscription rate lower than that for non-professionals. During its first year the Society organised the formation of a choir and a library, gave several private concerts and a public concert of members' works at the small Queen's Hall, hosted six lectures on topics ranging from 'Indian Music' through 'The Music Copyright Bill' to 'The Brass Instruments of the Orchestra' and held a Composers' Conference at which the speakers included Eggar, Scott, Ralph Vaughan Williams and Richard Terry.[183]

In many ways the Society of Women Musicians can be seen as a culmination of the growing sense of confidence and conviction that characterised women musicians throughout the period of the British Musical Renaissance. Like all women of the time, musicians faced a complex mixture of opportunity and discrimination in a world that was rapidly changing almost beyond recognition, partly through their own persistence and determination. As they broke down employment barriers and found strength in co-operation women also conquered their own lack of belief in themselves and their

---

[181] Programme for First Public Concert of Members' Works. 25 January 1912. RCM: SWM archive.

[182] Dunhill was the first male associate and in 1915 devoted one of his chamber music concerts to works by members of the Society (Eggar, Lehmann, Scott and Ethel Bilsland). *The Musical Times* 56 (April 1915), p.231. In 1918 Cobbett donated the Cobbett Free Library of Chamber Music to the Society (Percy Scholes, 'The Society of Women Musicians - A Model for Men' *The Music Student* X:9 (May 1918), p.335.

[183] Society of Women Musicians, *First Annual Report 1911-1912*. RCM: SWM archive. By 1913 the Society had also formed an orchestra, which collaborated with Richard Terry on a series of performances of the 'lesser-known works of Bach at popular prices'. *The Musical Times* 54 (July 1913), p.444. The SWM dissolved in February 1972. The founders would doubtless have been disappointed that the Diamond Jubilee Concert of the previous year contained only one work by a woman out of a total of eight.

abilities. Despite a continual backlash women's achievements were recognised as unstoppable. In the words of a journalist, writing about women's orchestras in 1895:

> in any case it is now too late to protest even if we wished to do so, for the ladies have already taken the matter into their own hands, and it would be a bold man in these latter days who would venture to oppose what they propose.[184]

[184] *Musical News* (6 July 1895), p.5.

Chapter 3: Women as Composers

> That no woman has ever been a great composer is an accepted fact; that she is never likely to become so, more than a probability.[1]

Many musicians in this period, whether amateur or professional, male or female, wrote and published a few musical compositions, although they would probably not have defined themselves as 'composers' and have not been considered as composers by later historians. For others, defined by themselves and by others as composers, writing music was the central aspect of their musical identity and the most important, although rarely the sole, focus of their musical activity. The only musicians who could devote themselves exclusively to composition were either those who had no need to earn a living from music or those who decided to concentrate on producing work in the few styles and genres, such as popular song, that would earn them enough money to make a living.

The generation of women composers whose music first appeared during the 1880s and 1890s established and maintained their musical careers in ways that were as diverse as the music that they wrote. Most came from wealthy middle- or upper-class backgrounds and while some were able to live off inherited incomes or the financial support of husbands or fathers; others earned their living through the musical activities that were available to all women musicians, from performing and teaching to writing musical criticism and organising concerts, as well as directly through their own compositions. Many of the issues facing these women as they established themselves in the various musical worlds of the late 19th and early 20th centuries were exactly the same as those facing any other woman musician. Access to education, attitudes towards women's capabilities, the blurred boundaries between professionalism and the amateur world or between public and private spheres, all played a part in each woman's career. Women composers faced a complex reaction to their work from the mainstream press and the musical establishment: it included encouragement and opportunity as well as dismissal and constraint. They also came up against the issues of class and nationality that confronted composers of both sexes. Exploration of the many different aspects of women's position and reception within the musical world helps us reach a broader

[1] Anon, 'Women as Composers' *The Musical Times* 28 (February 1887), p.81.

understanding of the British Musical Renaissance and the important, although now mostly forgotten, part within it that was played, both individually and collectively, by the wide variety of women who worked as composers.

As well as many similarities there were also important and often subtle differences between those women who were primarily performers and those who were primarily composers. The distinction between amateur and professional, for example, was always harder to make in the case of composers than performers, since earning money directly for composition was so difficult that the definition of a professional as someone paid for their work becomes meaningless:[2] Parry, who did not rely on his composition in order to survive, once calculated that in 20 years, during the early part of his career, he made no more than £25 from his compositions while Smyth stressed the importance that her 'small but independent income' played in her successful career.[3]

On 3 September, 1886, just before the start of that year's Three Choirs Festival, Mrs Constantia Ellicott, wife of the Bishop of Gloucester, wrote to Mr A. M. Broadley, a local musical enthusiast:

> I shall be most happy to see you after the oratorio on Tuesday afternoon. I am 'at home' all through the week so pray look in whenever you like. Besides Lady Westbury and Miss Simpson my guests are as follows: Lord and Lady Norton and Miss Adderley, Mr and Mrs Power, Mr and Mrs Travers, Revd H. R. Haweis, Mr Frederic Cowen, Mr Lionel Monckton, Professor Thomas Wingham, Mr Alfred Barnett, Mr Henry Lazarus, Mr William Wing and Mr W. de Manby Sergison. So you see music is well represented - all these seven gentlemen being artists - with the exception perhaps of Mr Monckton who wishes to be considered an amateur for fear of spoiling his career as a Barrister - but he writes charmingly.
>
> Perhaps you are not aware that I have an artist in my own daughter. She is bringing out an Overture (her second Orchestral work) at the Tuesday Evening Concert and to judge from its reception by the band at the rehearsal on Wednesday morning I think it is likely to produce a sensation.
>
> My daughter was a student at the R. A. M. and is in all respects a member of the musical profession and not an amateur. You may be amused by my

[2] For a general discussion of the issue of professionalism as it relates to women composers, see Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.80-119. Citron's work focuses on the situation in 19th-century Germany and France and in 20th-century North America. The situation in late 19th-century and early 20th-century Britain was in many ways more complex than that presented by Citron. For example, women did have access, albeit limited in some genres, to music publishers and they did work as journalists.

[3] Charles L. Graves, *Hubert Parry: His Life and Works* (London: Macmillan, 1926), p.286 and Ethel Smyth, *A Final Burning of Boats Etc.*(London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928), p.16.

> emphatic underlining but she is always annoyed at being spoken of as a 'talented amateur'.[4]

This letter shows that the distinction between amateur and professional status for composers was not only open to self-definition but also coloured with additional shades of meaning. For Rosalind Ellicott, being continually referred to as an amateur composer was a slight which diminished her considerable achievements, while any suggestion that Lionel Monckton might be seen as a professional musician would have lowered his standing and reputation in the legal world.

Defining a composer as professional often meant bringing a whole variety of criteria into consideration, including prestigious performances, critical recognition or moving within establishment circles. Neither Parry nor Smyth is now regarded as an amateur, although, given their class and financial security, ensuring that they were not dismissed as amateurs was as important to them as it was for Ellicott. In her memoirs Smyth was fierce in her disdain for British amateurs and careful to place considerable distance between them and herself.[5] Yet in many ways she was a typical upper-class amateur who could, for example, afford to be diverted from her musical work by, in her own words, 'an inordinate flow of passion in three directions - sport, games and friendship',[6] distractions for which she was criticised by later writers.[7]

In an age when respectable women from the middle or upper classes were not expected to have public careers or professions, women were more easily and more frequently categorised and dismissed as amateur composers than their male contemporaries.[8] Parry's reputation or career pattern would doubtless have been somewhat different had he been a woman. In some ways his early life paralleled that of many of his female contemporaries, following a pattern of private tuition in music and occasional performances at public concerts with considerable support from upper-class amateur

---

[4] Anthony Boden, *Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester. Three Choirs: A History of the Festival* (Gloucestershire, Alan Sutton, 1992), p.70. Rosalind Ellicott's life and work are discussed in Chapter 6 below.

[5] See, for example, Ethel Smyth, *As Time Went On...* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936), p.189.

[6] *Ibid.*, p.298.

[7] See, for example, Christopher St. John (with Vita Sackville-West and Kathleen Dale), *Ethel Smyth. A Biography* (London: Longmans, 1959), p.89.

[8] For an impassioned diatribe, too long to quote here, against the 'aristocratic lady, young, and well connected' who publishes her songs at the expense of 'the poor musician' see L.E. 'Amateurs', *The Monthly Musical Record* (April 1885), p.75.

musicians.[9] But as well as music within the home, Parry's early experience of music was also as a church-based activity, with lessons from church organists and direct exposure to liturgical music, something women were unlikely to experience in quite the same way. His education at Eton and Oxford, both establishments that excluded women, stressed very different qualities and subjects to those that most women of a similar background would have found emphasised by their governesses or school teachers. The focus of a boy's education was Latin and Greek rather than continental languages, and on sports rather than watercolour painting. Like many women of his class, Parry faced strong parental disapproval of a professional career in music, but unlike most women he had been brought up to lead a public, active life which would involve both work and a career. The disapproval was of music rather than a professional career. Once he had won his battle to become a musician, doors opened for him which remained shut for his female contemporaries.

Like Parry, many women composers, especially those from the upper classes, received a private musical education, taking lessons in harmony and counterpoint or orchestration from leading figures in the musical world. Other women who went on to achieve considerable success, especially as songwriters, had a minimal education. Florence Aylward (1862-1950), one of Chappell's best-selling songwriters of the early 20th century, had organ lessons from a young age and played the organ at her father's church from the age of 9. But her other musical education consisted only of a year's piano lessons and another year studying orchestration with Henry Gadsby. She herself remarked:

> The rest of what I know (which isn't much), I got from my long-suffering governesses. I don't know anything about harmony except that consecutive fifths and octaves are to be avoided, and I wrote entirely by the light of nature and in blissful ignorance of all rules.[10]

The many potential composers seeking a more thorough and formal musical training, were faced, like all women musicians, with the obstacles of respectability and parental opposition rather than direct discrimination from educational establishments. Training in composition had been available to girls as well as boys since the earliest days of the

[9] On Parry see Jeremy Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry: His Life and Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
[10] Percy Cross Standing, 'Some Lady Composers: Miss Florence Aylward' *Lady's Pictorial* XXXIX (9 June, 1900), p.1062.

Royal Academy of Music.[11] No-one entered the Royal Academy specifically to study composition until 1868 when two male students were admitted with 'Composition and Harmony' as their first study. Women were quick to follow. In the following year a Mrs Yelverton was admitted to study 'Composition and Singing' and over the next two years the only composition student accepted was Oliveria Prescott.[12] Not all students who entered the Royal Academy intending to study composition were listed in the student records with composition for their first study. White's principal study, for example, is listed as the piano although her memoirs make it clear that she entered the Royal Academy specifically to study composition.

For other students, doubtless encouraged by a supportive community and the successful example of other women Academy students, composition only gradually became the main focus of their work. From both White's memoirs and the programmes of the Royal Academy Orchestral Concerts it becomes apparent that women students were not expected to work exclusively in smaller genres but were actively encouraged to compose in genres other than song.[13] In 1905 the composer Emily Josephine Troup (1854/5-1912), who had herself studied at the Royal Academy in the 1870s, provided further encouragement by establishing a scholarship in her name for 'British-born lady composers, particularly of orchestral works'.[14]

Students were quick to realise the range of opportunities available at the Royal Academy, quite apart from the actual teaching in harmony, counterpoint and orchestration that they received. White found the decision to study there an easy one to make:

> At the Royal Academy there was an orchestra composed of professors and students, and a choir composed of students alone; important orchestral and choral works were constantly being performed there, and, as a student, I would have the right to attend these rehearsals whenever I pleased. I would also have the chance of playing in the orchestra. This was a tremendous inducement, but when I heard that those who made composition their principal study were able

[11] In a report of 1824 John Murray told Lord Burghersh that 'Some of our present pupils are making rapid strides in composition, and promise great talent....two of the girls shew great talent in this line'. Rev. W. W. Cazalet, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music* (London: T. Bosworth, 1854), p.136.
[12] RAM Archives: 'Students date of entry and departure 1837-1873'. Nothing more appears to be known about Mrs Yelverton. She was recommended by George Macfarren and her entry notes 'Very Clever'.
[13] On White's education see Chapter 4.
[14] This scholarship offered 33 guineas a year and was tenable for five years. *The Musical Times* 46 (July 1905), p.481.

> to have their scores rehearsed, and sometimes actually performed at the Student's Orchestral Concerts at St James's Hall, I hesitated no longer.[15]

The education available at the Royal Academy in the 19th century has often been criticised by later historians and compared unfavourably to study abroad or at the Royal College of Music, once that institution had been established in 1883.[16] But it is important to recognise the part that the Royal Academy played in providing a space where women were taken seriously as composers and given both training and performance opportunities at a crucial stage in their careers. The list of women who studied there in the later 19th century and went on to make names for themselves in the field of composition includes Ethel Barns, Ethel Boyce, Dora Bright, Mary Carmichael, Katherine Eggar, Rosalind Ellicott, Ethel Harraden, Amy Elise Horrocks, Alicia Adelaide Needham, Oliveria Prescott, Maude Valérie White and Agnes Zimmermann.

Similar opportunities were available at the less prestigious Guildhall School of Music, which produced, among others, the composers Frances Allitsen and Edith Swepstone. Encouragement and opportunity for women composers studying at the Royal College of Music does not seem to have been as forthcoming. The Royal College student concerts contained fewer works written by students in general than those at the Royal Academy or the Guildhall, and noticeably fewer by women.[17] Stanford taught composition at the Royal College from its opening in 1883 but it was not until 1907 that he took on his first female composition student there.[18] Studying composition at the Royal College does not seem to have been a particularly appealing prospect for many potential students. The open scholarships of 1904, for example, attracted only one composition candidate, who was male.[19] An important opportunity that was available to all students, wherever they studied, was the rehearsal or performance of their works by a professional orchestra through the Patron's Fund. This was established in 1903 and the first works by women were heard at the Fund's concert held at the Bechstein Hall in December 1905.[20]

---

[15] Maude Valérie White, *Friends and Memories* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914), p.137.

[16] See, for example, Frank Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1966), pp.29-30.

[17] The rarity of student works in College programmes was noted by the critic reviewing two songs by Ella Overbeck performed at a concert held in 1891. *The Musical Times* 32 (March 1891), p.154.

[18] The student was Rebecca Clarke. Liane Curtis, 'A case of identity' *The Musical Times* (May 1996), p.15.

[19] *The Musical Times* 45 (April 1904), p.236.

[20] 'Between sleep and waking' by a Miss Davenport and a dramatic setting of 'Helen of Kirkconnell' by Mabel Jennings. 72 works had been submitted in all and 12 were played at the concert. Both Jennings and

The German education system was much less likely than the British to be supportive of the woman composer, and some German conservatoires refused to admit women to certain classes. In 1878 an article on music schools in the *Allegemeine Deutsche Musik-Zeitung* had claimed that allowing women to study composition would lead to the feminization and consequent deterioration of music.[21] Nearly 25 years later, in 1902, the American composer Mabel Daniels described the Munich Conservatory, where she was studying, in a letter home:

> You know that five years ago women were not allowed to study advanced counterpoint at the conservatory. In fact anything more advanced than elementary harmony was debarred. The ability of the feminine intellect to comprehend the intricacies of a stretto, or cope with double counterpoint in the tenth, if not openly denied, was seriously questioned.[22]

Sometime before 1910, Adela Maddison, who was at that time living and working in Germany, wrote to Delius that she could 'find no sympathetic soul in Berlin - they all have a contempt for anything done by a woman in the composition line!'.[23] Although several of her contemporaries, including Carmichael, Ellicott and White, did spend some time studying composition in Germany, Smyth seems to have been unique among women composers in undertaking her entire education in Germany and in finding encouragement for her work there.[24]

Once composers had finished their education, many had to find a way to make a living and all needed to find a hearing for their work. Women who had no external financial support had the same, somewhat limited, options for work as other women musicians in addition to a few ways of making money directly through their composition. Like other women, many composers chose to earn money through teaching, although they were rarely employed by the music schools as teachers of harmony and counterpoint or composition. Loder's appointment at the Royal Academy as a professor of harmony in

---

Davenport were taught privately. *The Musical Times* (January 1906), p.43.

[21] Judith E. Olson, 'Luise Adolpha Le Beau: Composer in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany' ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* (London: Macmillan, 1986), p.291.

[22] Quoted in ed. Carol Neuls-Bates, *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present* second edition (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), p.220.

[23] Letter from Maddison to Delius, 11 February [before 1910]. Delius Trust. On Maddison see chapter 6.

[24] Smyth does not even seem to have considered studying at the Royal Academy of Music, although she would have found there the exposure to orchestral music that she was later to stress as an essential part of a composer's training and one not easily available to women (see Chapter 7). See, for example, Ethel Smyth, *Female Pipings in Eden* (London: Peter Davies, 1934), pp.8-9.

1844 was unusual, although not unique. Few women composers seem to have taught or studied at any of the universities that were open to women except Prescott, who taught harmony and counterpoint for the correspondence system at Newnham, one of the pioneering women's colleges at Cambridge.[25] Some women taught composition privately, although records of such activity can be hard to uncover. Landon Ronald studied composition with Loder privately and acknowledged that 'her influence on my early musical days was deeply marked'.[26] Amy Woodforde-Finden studied with Amy Horrocks[27] and Lucy Broadwood had some composition tuition from Lehmann.[28] White was doubtless not alone among composers in being asked to teach her songs to aristocratic amateur singers.[29] But for most women, working as a teacher meant, in the words of Smyth, teaching 'scales to stupid children in the suburbs'.[30]

Several composers also worked as professional performers. Such women tended to come from the artist-musician class, although in many cases family backgrounds can be hard to establish. Marie Wurm (1860-1938) came from a family of Bavarian musicians who had settled in Southampton, where her mother gave music lessons and her father worked as an organist. Two of the other Wurm daughters, Matilda and Adela (who both, like their sister Alice,[31] changed their name from Wurm to Verne), became acclaimed pianists.[32] Marie studied music in Germany and Britain, winning the Mendelssohn scholarship for composition in 1884.[33] She also worked as a pianist and attracted considerable attention for a recital she gave at the small Queen's Hall in 1894 at which

---

[25] Prescott was also one of the few women composers to work as a critic and journalist. She was a correspondent for *The Musical World* in the 1880s and 90s as well as publishing two general books about music. Her articles include, 'Musical Style and How to Cultivate It' *The Musical World* LXIV (20 March 1886), p.179; 'Some thoughts on the Day-Macfarren Theory of Harmony' *The Musical World* (10 November 1888) pp.861-2 and 'Notes from the Gamut of a Painter' *The Musical World* LXX (6 September 1890), pp.708-9 and (29 November 1890), p.947-8. The books are *Form or Design in Music* (London: Duncan Davison, 1880) and *About Music and What It Is Made Of: A Book for Amateurs* (London: Methuen, 1904).

[26] Landon Ronald, *Variations on a Personal Theme* (London, 1922), p.17.

[27] Eds. H. Saxe Wyndham and Geoffrey L'Epine, *Who's Who in Music: A Biographical Record of Contemporary Musicians* second edition (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1915), p.231.

[28] See below, chapter 5.

[29] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.166

[30] Ethel Smyth, 'England, Music and - Women' *The English Review* 22 (1916), p.196.

[31] Alice Verne-Bredt (as she was known after her marriage) organised a successful concert series at the Aeolian Hall in London, known as the Twelve O'Clock Concerts, in the early 20th century at which her own chamber music was frequently performed, including her Phantasie Trio which won an additional Cobbett prize in 1908. *The Musical Times* 49 (June 1908), p.397.

[32] On the Wurm/Verne family in general see Mathilde Verne, *Chords of Remembrance* (London: Hutchinson, 1936).

[33] *The Musical Times* 25 (February 1884), p.94. Wurm was the second woman to win this prestigious award. The first was Maude Valérie White, see chapter 4.

she improvised the entire programme, including a four-part fugue and a four-movement sonata, on themes given to her in sealed envelopes by Frederick Bridge, J. A. Fuller Maitland and other members of the audience.[34] In the 1890s she moved to live and work in Germany where, among other activities, she established a women's orchestra.

Other performers who were well known as composers include the violinist Ethel Barns (1874-1948) and the pianists Dora Bright (1863-1951) and Agnes Zimmermann (1847-1925).[35] In demand as performers and with a certain degree of control over the programmes that they played, such women had many opportunities for ensuring that their own music was given a hearing. Barns, for example, frequently performed her own violin sonatas and other works for violin and piano at the chamber music series which she established with her husband, the singer Charles Phillips. She also played her own *Concertstück* for violin and orchestra at the Proms in 1907.[36] Mary Carmichael (1851-1935) was a renowned accompanist, frequently heard at the Monday and Saturday Popular Concerts, who achieved considerable success with her solo- and part-songs.[37] Even composers who were not primarily performers often helped to promote their music by playing or accompanying it themselves. Lehmann was surprised to be paid £30 for accompanying her song-cycle *The Daisy-chain* at its first public performance, since she had not thought of demanding a fee for performing her own work.[38] For other composers, such as White, accompanying their songs or other works at a variety of concerts was an important part of their working life, bringing in much needed income.

Publishing could provide another important source of money, although only for composers of songs and short instrumental works suitable for amateurs. The potential profitability of songwriting encouraged women who fell on hard times to use their musical accomplishments to help them out of a crisis. One example is Ellen Wright, who became a successful and best selling songwriter in the 1890s:

---

[34] *The Musical Times* 36 (March 1895), p.427; *The Monthly Musical Record* (March 1895), p.65 and ed. Anon *The Year's Music 1896: Being a Concise Record of British and Foreign Musical Events, Productions, Appearances, Criticisms, Memoranda, etc.* (London: J. S. Virtue, 1896), p.5.

[35] On Bright see chapter 6. On Barns and Zimmermann see Sophie Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers: Britain and the United States, 1629-Present* (London: Pandora, 1994), pp. 44-46 and pp.345-347. In addition to published works, manuscript scores by Barns survive at the British Library and by Zimmermann at the Royal Academy of Music Library.

[36] *The Musical Times* 48 (November 1907), p.740.

[37] See Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers*, pp.84-85 and Nigel Burton, 'Mary Grant Carmichael' ed. Rhian Samuel and Julie Anne Sadie *The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* (London: Macmillan, 1994), p.105. On Carmichael's song cycle *The Songs of the Stream*, see chapter 5.

[38] Liza Lehmann, *The Life of Liza Lehmann* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1919), p.94.

> Though from a child she had ever been, so to speak, "music-mad", she did not seriously attempt the study of music as a profession until the sudden death of her husband, only a few months after marriage, obliged her to turn her talent to account.[39]

For most women, getting their work into print was not only important for financial reasons but also as a vital indicator of their status and reputation as composers. Women's relationships with individual publishers could be supportive, although the continual demand for music in a style that was popular enough to sell in large quantities could be frustrating.[40] William Boosey, a shrewd businessman who worked first at Boosey and then, from 1894, at Chappell, acknowledged that women 'have been extraordinarily successful as song writers'. He encouraged many of those he published, including Aylward, del Riego, d'Hardelot, Lehmann, Temple, White and Woodforde-Finden, often by sending them texts for songs.[41] But underlying this support was always his belief that women had never been, and by implication would never be, successful at writing anything other than songs or dance music.

Most composers, whether male or female, had great difficulty in getting any other type of music, or indeed those songs and instrumental works that were deemed unsuitable or unsaleable, into print. Many orchestral, chamber or choral works remained in manuscript. Those who could afford it resorted to paying for publication and the copying of parts themselves. For others, performances of orchestral and choral work involved hours of hard work in the preparation of scores and parts. Smyth's close friend the Empress Eugénie paid for the publication of her early compositions, including the Mass in D. Printed chorus editions of this lengthy large-scale work were essential for the Royal Choral Society premiere at the Royal Albert Hall in 1893.[42] White had parts copied 'at a good deal of expense' for an orchestral performance that then fell through in 1915.[43]

During the late 19th century there were increasing opportunities for performances of all kinds of music in both public and private venues throughout Britain, although it

---

[39] Percy Cross Standing, 'Some Lady Composers: Mrs Ellen Wright' *Lady's Pictorial* XXXIX (12 May 1900), p.877. See also 'Our Portrait Gallery No. 4' *The Vocalist* (July 1902), p.99.
[40] See, for example, the experiences of White and Lehmann, chapters 4 and 5.
[41] William Boosey, *Fifty Years of Music* (London: Ernest Benn, 1931), pp.28-30.
[42] St. John, *Ethel Smyth*, pp.82 and 88.
[43] Maude Valérie White, *My Indian Summer* (London: Grayson and Grayson, 1932), p.255.

remained hard for an unknown native composer to get his or her music heard. The problems for any composer of getting music played were widely acknowledged, as was the fact that such performances often involved considerable work and expense. In 1890 a journalist for *The Lute* explained that

> To secure a performance of his sonata, or quartett, or symphony the author must needs incur the expense of a dear entertainment, a luxury that few professors can indulge in with a light heart.[44]

Women had varying degrees of success in achieving performances of their works. Well-established and prestigious public series such as the Monday and Saturday Pops or the concerts given by the Philharmonic Society in London performed very little music by any contemporary composers and almost none written by women. The pianist Leopoldine Blahetka and the violinist Maria Milanollo had played their own concertos at the Philharmonic Society in 1832 and 1845, but then nothing by a woman was heard until songs by White and Clara Schumann were performed in the early 1880s.[45] Both Ellicott and Smyth unsuccessfully offered orchestral works to the Philharmonic later in the decade,[46] and the first woman of this generation to have a work performed by the Society was Bright, whose Fantasia in G minor for piano and orchestra was premiered in 1892.[47]

Although they found it hard to gain a hearing from the more conservative organisations and venues, in general what might now be regarded as a surprising range of music by women was heard throughout the country in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Both August Manns at the Crystal Palace in London and Dan Godfrey in Bournemouth established professional orchestral concert series that were renowned for promoting music by British composers, and both performed many works by women.[48] Henry Wood's Promenade Concerts at the Queen's Hall in London were also known for imaginative programming, and Wood, as might be expected from the man who was the first conductor to employ women in his symphony orchestra, included several works by

---

[44] *The Lute* (March 1890), p.99.

[45] Myles Birket Foster, *The History of the Philharmonic Society of London: 1813-1912* (London: John Lane, 1912), pp.110, 192, 373 and 387.

[46] See Philharmonic Society Papers, BL Loan 48. Smyth's somewhat rambling, incoherent letters contrast sharply with Ellicott's brief business-like correspondence. On Ellicott's dealings with the Society see chapter 6.

[47] See chapter 6.

[48] See Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and Stephen Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Composers* (London: Thames Publishing, 1995).

women both at these and other concerts given by his Queen's Hall Orchestra.[49] The amateur Westminster Orchestral Society also made a feature of playing new British music, and their programmes included several works by women, often providing them with those essential but elusive second or third performances. The Society's series of concerts of works by living British composers in 1889, for example, included second performances of Boyce's March in E and Bright's piano concerto.[50] Bright's *Airs and Variations* for orchestra were written specifically for the Society in 1890,[51] and Ellicott's *Fantasia* for pianoforte and orchestra in A minor was given a second performance by the Society in 1897.[52] Other amateur orchestras also provided women with performance opportunities: the Strolling Players' Orchestral Society, for example, premiered Ellicott's overture 'to Spring' in 1886,[53] while in 1897 the Stock Exchange Orchestra gave the first performance of Swepstone's elegiac overture *Les Ténèbres*.[54]

Swepstone, a composer whose personal details and musical scores appear to have disappeared almost without trace, was to be particularly well represented by Godfrey at Bournemouth, with 12 of her orchestral works performed there, often more than once, between 1899 and 1916.[55] Another Guildhall student whose orchestral music was performed by the Stock Exchange orchestra was Clarisse Mallard.[56] Many women who lived outside London found performance opportunities for orchestral music with local orchestras. One notable example is Ella Overbeck (1874-?), who had several orchestral works performed at Frank Winterbottom's Symphony Concerts in Plymouth, sometimes conducting them herself.[57]

---

[49] See David Cox, *The Henry Wood Proms* (London: BBC, 1980) and Arthur Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood: Maker of the Proms* (London: Methuen, 1994), especially pp.142-3.
[50] *The Musical World* LXVII (16 March 1889), p.166 and *The Musical Times* 30 (July 1889), p.425.
[51] *The Musical World* LXX (24 May 1890), p.416.
[52] *The Musical Times* 38 (July 1897), p.463.
[53] *The Musical World* LXIV (27 February 1886), p.142.
[54] *The Musical Times* 38 (March 1897), p.171.
[55] See Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey* and Dan Godfrey, *Memories and Music: Thirty-five Years of Conducting* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1924). The works played at Bournemouth 1899-1916 were the suites *Daramona* and *The Ice Maiden*, the overtures *Les Ténèbres* and *The Horn of Roland*, the tone poems *A Vision*, *The Wind in the Pines*, *Moonrise on the Mountains* and *Woods in April*, the marches *Mors Janua Vitae* and *The Roll of Honour*, the prelude *Paola and Francesca* and the Symphony in G minor.
[56] Mallard's dates are unknown. The works performed by the Stock Exchange orchestra were *Elfentanz* and an Overture in E minor. *The Musical Times* 36 (January 1895), p.50 and *The Musical Times* 37 (May 1896), p.335.
[57] These works included an Introduction and Caprice, the overture *Antigone*, *Phedre* for strings and harp, *Danse Russe*, *La Reine de neige* and the suite *Salome*. See *The Musical Times* 45 (May 1904), p.306; 47 (June 1906), p.413 and 48 (January 1907), p.48.

While songs by women were heard wherever songs were sung, from the Philharmonic Society concerts and the London Ballad concerts to the stages of the Music Halls, it was harder to find conductors and directors willing to programme larger vocal works and notoriously difficult for any British composer to achieve performances of opera. Nevertheless several cantatas and other works for voices and orchestra by women were heard at public concerts, although Ellicott and Alice Mary Smith seem to have been the only women whose music was regularly performed at any of the prestigious provincial choral festivals. Smyth was never reconciled to her neglect by these organisations and in 1912 wrote to *The Musical Times*:

> I am much gratified at your devoting so much space in your last two numbers to me. In view of the appreciation the Press of this country has recently shown me, and still more perhaps given the testimony from abroad, in which temptation to an over-favourable estimate of home produce cannot play a part, it may surprise you to hear that no single composition of mine has ever been performed at any British Festival, though I regularly implore for even a bare ten minutes.[58]

Smyth was one of many commentators who complained regularly about the state of British opera in its own country.[59] Her own grand operas were premiered in Germany, while works on a similarly large scale by Frances Allitsen and Adela Maddison never achieved British performances. But grand opera by women did occasionally gain a hearing in Britain. In 1886, for example, Ida Walter's *Florian*, to a libretto by a Miss D. Latham set in 14th-century Germany, was produced at the Novelty Theatre in London with a cast that included Ben Davies. The reviewer in *The Times*, probably Francis Hueffer, patronisingly acknowledged 'the courage and the talent shown by Miss Walter in her arduous undertaking' although *The Morning Post* bestowed 'unreserved praise'.[60] Hearing of another opera by a woman a few days later, a journalist for *The Musical World* observed that

> the familiar adage that "it never rains but it pours" is as true to-day as at the remotely antique period when it was first invented. At present it pours lady-composers of operas.[61]

---

[58] *The Musical Times* 53 (April 1912), p.232.
[59] See, for example, 'An Iron Thesis on Opera' in Smyth, *A Final Burning of Boats Etc.*, pp.180-199 or Smyth, 'England, Music and - Women'.
[60] Quoted in *The Musical World* LXIV (24 July 1886), p.475
[61] *The Musical World* LXIV (31 July 1886), p.486

Women found most success with lighter operatic works which carried less weight of prestige and expectation than grand opera, as well as being considerably cheaper and easier to stage and therefore less of a financial risk. Julia Woolf's comic opera *Carina* received 116 performances at the Opéra Comique in 1888 and *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* proudly claimed that it was 'greeted with greater enthusiasm than any musical composition lately brought out in London'.[62] Woolf (1831-1893) had studied at the Royal Academy in the 1840s and her music for *Carina* was seen as returning to the 'old-fashioned' style of Balfe and Wallace. Other works were more up-to-date and many women used libretti that depicted the contemporary woman as she was or even as she might be in the future. Ethel Harraden's one-act operetta *His Last Chance*, with its thoroughly modern heroine played by Loie Fuller, ran at the Gaiety Theatre for nine months in the early 1890s, although her comic opera *The Taboo* was a failure, lasting for only seven performances at the Trafalgar Theatre in 1895.[63] Hope Temple's one-act operetta *The Wooden Spoon* was performed for two weeks at the Trafalgar Theatre in 1892. The central character of this slight work was as headstrong as Temple herself was reputed to be.[64] Well-known as a popular songwriter, she married André Messager in 1895 and is usually credited with assisting him in the composition of his operetta *Mirette*, premiered at the Savoy Theatre in 1894.[65]

Moira Luttrell's two-act operetta of 1908, *The Frozen Princess*, to her own libretto, is a retelling of the Sleeping Beauty story in which the Princess wakes up in 1950 to a world

---

[62] Kurt Gänzl, *The British Musical Theatre* 1 1865-1914 (London: Macmillan, 1986), pp.338-9 and *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* XIX (1888), p.446. Gänzl describes the reviews as 'mixed' although the critic for the *Athenaeum* claimed that: 'Her score is far above the average of such things in musicianship, and indeed surprised many by the excellence of the writing, particularly for orchestra'. *The Athenaeum* 3180 (6 October 1888), p.456.

[63] Percy Cross Standing, 'Some Lady Composers: Miss Ethel Harraden' *Lady's Pictorial* XL (7 July, 1900), p.12 and Gänzl, *The British Musical Theatre* 1 1865-1914, pp.408 and 540-1. In a letter to Harraden, George Grossmith felt that her music lacked 'strength and character' although he also felt that 'as a whole the work does you great credit - and there is not a vulgar bar in it. It would be better perhaps if there had been'. The critics were not so polite. Grossmith to Harraden, 6 September, 1894. Ethel Harraden Papers, Marylebone Library Acc. 1215.

[64] One of Messager's early biographers described her as 'une séduisante anglaise...dont la vogue était grande en Angleterre. ... Fort jolie, elle ne manquait ni d'esprit, ni de répartie, voire même d'ironie; spontanée et impulsive - quoique réfléchie - elle avait facilement l'esprit en flèche. Ah, ces flèches! Comme elle savait les décocher!... principalement à son mari qui lui en retournait d'autres, aussi aiguisées, d'où querelles, bonderies, ruptures!' Henry Février, *André Messager, mon maître, mon ami* (Paris: Amiot-Dumont, 1948), p.89.

[65] See, for example, Michel Angé-Laribé, *André Messager, Musicien de Théâtre* (Paris: La Colombe, 1951), p.90.

where gender roles have been reversed - women shoot, smoke and pilot aeroplanes while men cook and clean. Prince Radium complains that

> there are so few things a man can do. We may agitate as we like, and cannot even get a vote in our own Parliament, for the women won't even give us a fair hearing. Then if we go in for office work, they pay us only half what they do themselves; and in the professions, directly we show that we have more brains than they have, they prevent our practising.[66]

The Frozen Princess appears to have been privately printed and may well have been performed at suffrage galas and extravaganzas.

Like opera, chamber music was a genre whose promoters generally relied on established classics to guarantee an audience. The best known chamber music concerts of the late 19th century were undoubtedly the Monday and Saturday Pops at St James's Hall, a series which programmed very little contemporary British music. Composers turned instead to private concerts and to the public concerts organised by the Musical Artists' Society. This organisation seems to have performed more women's music than any other of the time. Based at St Martin's Hall in Charing Cross Road, London, it had been founded in 1874, and over 20 years later its aims were explained as follows:

> Affords opportunity to Composers for the performance of their works. Executants have also the advantage of public appearances. ... The Concert Programmes are made up of Chamber Music, either entirely new or of acknowledged excellence, and at each Concert one or more Standard Classical Works will be introduced.[67]

Many women took this important opportunity for their works to be performed to a 'large and appreciative audience'.[68] Composers whose works were heard at the Society's concerts in the 1880s and 1890s included Boyce, Bright, Chamberlayne, Ellicott, Emily Lawrence, Loder, Emma Lomax, Swepstone and Wurm. Smith's choral ballad *The Red King* was given a posthumous premiere by the Society in 1885.[69] Concerts often

---

[66] Moira Luttrell, *The Frozen Princess* (London: Elson, [1908]). Nothing appears to be known about Luttrell and no other music written by her has survived. Her music for this work is simple, tuneful and fluent although the word setting is somewhat awkward.

[67] Ed. A. C. R. Carter, *The Year's Music 1899: Being a Concise Record of All Matters Relating to Music and Musical Institutions Which Have Occurred During the Season 1897-8, Together With Information Respecting the Events of the Season 1898-9* (London: J. S. Virtue, 1899), p.136. The Society disbanded the same year. It was described by W. W. Cobbett as providing a series of semi-private concerts, although he does not make this 'semi-private' nature clear. The concerts appear to have been open to members of the public as well as members and associates of the Society. Ed. W. W. Cobbett, *Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music* second edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1963) II, p.185.

[68] *The Lute* (March 1890), p.99.

[69] *The Musical Times* 26 (July 1885), p.403.

included several works by women, something still only rarely found in concert programming over a hundred years later. The Society's 41st concert, given in 1886, for example, included string quartets by Ellicott and Prescott as well as works by Walter Macfarren and Tobias Matthay,[70] while the 73rd concert, in May 1895, presented a programme of string quartets by Beethoven and Haydn, a work for two pianos by Bright, a violin sonata by Ellicott and various vocal pieces including a quartet by Emma Lomax.[71] Prescott was particularly closely associated with the Society. At least eight of her works were performed at the Society's concerts during this period[72] and she also appears to have been the only woman on the Society's Council, serving for at least seven years in the 1890s.[73] It seems likely that her presence and example encouraged so many other women to be involved.

Towards the end of the century composers started organising public concerts consisting entirely of their own works, a variation on the benefit concerts mounted by performers and a development commented on in *The Musical Times* of 1894.[74] Women were among the first to take advantage of this trend. In London such occasions included concerts of her songs given annually by Hope Temple at Prince's Hall or Steinway Hall between 1888 and 1892,[75] a chamber concert at Prince's Hall in 1891 by Amy Horrocks,[76] two concerts in 1894 and 1899 by Cécile Hartog,[77] a concert at St James's Hall in 1898 by Mary Carmichael,[78] a concert at the Aeolian Hall in 1908 given by Katherine Eggar (mistakenly claimed by Cobbett's *Cyclopedic Survery of Chamber Music* to be the first public London concert given by an Englishwoman of her own chamber works),[79] and concerts at the Aeolian Hall by Elizabeth Chamberlayne and Margaret Glyn in 1912[80]

---

[70] *The Musical World* LXIV (5 June 1886), p.366.
[71] Ed. Anon, *The Year's Music 1896: Being a Concise Record of British and Foreign Musical Events, Productions, Appearances, Criticisms, Memoranda, etc.* (London: J. S. Virtue, 1896), p.122.
[72] Including two further string quartets and a piano quartet in G. See *The Musical Times* 29 (July 1888), p.429; *Musical News* (8 April 1892), p.342 and *The Musical Times* 35 (June 1894), p.411.
[73] The earliest mention of Prescott on the council seems to be her re-election in 1890 and she was still the only woman on the council in 1896. See *The Musical World* LXX (25 January 1890), p.65 and *The Musical Times* 37 (February 1896), p.119.
[74] *The Musical Times* 35 (August 1894), p.514.
[75] *The Musical World* LXVI (16 June 1888), p.476 and *Musical News* (6 May 1892), p.437.
[76] Including her Sonata in G for pianoforte and cello; *Eight Variations on an Original Theme* for piano quartet; piano pieces and songs. *The Musical Times* 32 (June 1891), p.341.
[77] *The Musical Times* 35 (July 1894), p.482 and *The Musical Times* 40 (August 1899), p.536.
[78] *The Musical Times* 39 (March 1898), p.193.
[79] Including her Quintet in D minor for piano and strings, Suite for cello and piano, piano pieces and songs. *The Musical Times* 49 (July 1908), p.467 and ed. Cobbett, *Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music* I , p.371.
[80] *The Musical Times* 53 (May 1912), p.320 and (December 1912), p.807.

and by Amy Woodforde-Finden in 1913.[81] The most avid promoter of her own music was White, who gave numerous concerts throughout the country from 1892 onwards.[82]

Such enterprises involved considerable financial risk, although when successful they could raise large sums of money. But, as with publishing, there were additional benefits. Reviewers were given the opportunity to evaluate works across the range of a composer's output and the concerts served as advertisements for a composer's published work in much the same way that performers regarded the concerts that they organised as 'a striking mode of advertisement' for their work as teachers.[83] Mounting their own concerts was also a way for women to bypass the middle management structure of promoters, agents and programme committees, many of whom still had a low opinion of women's capabilities.

Before the Society of Women Musicians was founded in 1911 the specific promotion of music written by women seems to have been rare. There was no musical equivalent of the Society of Female Artists, established in 1857, which mounted regular shows of women's work.[84] But records do survive of a few occasions when women's music was specifically promoted as the work of women. In 1885 two concerts consisting entirely of piano pieces by women were given by Jane Roeckel (who composed under the pseudonym Jules de Sivrai) in connection with the Loan Exhibition of Women's Industries. The programmes, reported by *The Monthly Musical Record* to be 'full of interest', included music by Jules Brissac (Emma Macfarren), Hensel, Loder, Elizabeth Philp, Schumann, Smith and Zimmermann.[85] In 1894 Prescott discussed the inclusion of 'compositions of women, performances by women, and it maybe conducting by women' in a proposed Imperial Exhibition of Women's Work.[86] A few years later, in 1904, the Lyceum Club was founded, one of the growing number of women's clubs in London. The Lyceum, regarded as a somewhat exclusive club, was specifically run for women involved in the arts.[87] It had a musical advisory board and gave frequent concerts which

[81] *The Musical Times* 55 (January 1914), p.47.
[82] See chapter 4.
[83] Henry Fisher, *The Musical Profession* (London: J. Curwen, 1888), p.84.
[84] Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists* (London: The Women's Press, 1987), p.69.
[85] *The Monthly Musical Record* (May 1885), p.116. 10 years later the same journal was reporting a concert held in Denmark in which the music was played and composed entirely by women. *The Monthly Musical Record* (November 1895), p.260.
[86] Oliveria Prescott, 'Imperial Exhibition of Women's Work' *Musical News* (4 August 1894), p.101.
[87] Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920* (London: Virago, 1985), p.298.

were praised for doing 'such good work in obtaining a hearing for modern music, and that of women in particular'.[88]

However minimal the organised promotion of women's music may have been, the support given by individual women to other women was invaluable and remains a little explored aspect of British musical life in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Needless to say, not all women who were in a position to offer performance opportunities were necessarily particularly supportive of women composers. None of the women's orchestras, for example, whether amateur or professional, seems to have deliberately chosen to perform music by women.[89] Their directors may have felt that such programming might have opened them to labelling as radical 'new women' or militant suffragettes, and there was doubtless considerable pressure for these ensembles to prove themselves by playing the mainstream repertoire of well-known classics. Looking back to the first decade of the 20th century from the 1950s, Eggar remembered that 'the attitude of women musicians to each other was on the whole selfish', a somewhat sweeping generalisation which was doubtless prompted by her desire to highlight the importance of the Society of Women Musicians.[90] This organisation undoubtedly focused on women composers, rather than performers, in its earliest days. The first public event was a concert of members' works which included music by Barns, 'Lewis Carey' (Lucy Johnstone), Eggar, Lehmann, Scott, Smyth and White.[91] Apart from promoting members' works through concerts, the Society gave composers much practical help in the form of lectures and talks on the music business and on particular aspects of compositional technique. The Fortnightly Composers' Meetings organised by Eggar gave composers an invaluable opportunity to try out their works in an informal and unthreatening environment.

---

[88] Eds. Saxe Wyndham, H. and L'Epine, Geoffrey. *Who's Who in Music: A Biographical Record of Contemporary Musicians* second edition (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1915), p.15.

[89] At a concert in Cambridge in 1900, the English Ladies' Orchestral Society performed Marian Arkwright's overture *The Blackbird's Matins*, and this was presumably not the only time that they played music by their hard-working and devoted secretary. *Musical News* (20 January 1900), p.55.

[90] Katherine Eggar, 'Marion Scott as Founder of the Society of Women Musicians' *Memorial to Marion Scott* (London: Society of Women Musicians, 1954), p.5.

[91] The Smyth work that was performed comprised the two movements of a string quartet that she had written in 1902. It was doubtless this performance that prompted her to finish the work by composing another two movements 10 years after she had written the first two. An article by Marion Scott on the violinist Albert Sammonds gives a vivid picture of the Society's dealings with a somewhat difficult Smyth over the 1912 performance. Marion Scott, 'Albert Sammonds' *The Monthly Musical Record* (February 1931), p.35. In 1928 Smyth was to claim that the work had never been performed unless in a concert organised by herself. Smyth, *A Final Burning of Boats Etc.*, p.25.

But in the three decades before the formation of the Society of Women Musicians in 1911 women did find considerable support and community with other women. Given the social barriers that were still in existence between most women and men, women's closest friendships and working relationships tended to be with other women. The importance of female support networks for Victorian feminists has been widely demonstrated, and many women musicians found help and encouragement through informal networks that were largely or exclusively female.[92] Examples of working friendships between women composers include the critical encouragement given to each other by Lehmann and White and the correspondence between Chamberlayne and the Swedish composer Elfrida Andrée, who felt a solidarity in their struggles to get their work published and performed. Chamberlayne addresses one of her letters to 'Dear Sister in the beautiful art of Music'.[93] No-one else promoted Ethel Boyce's work to quite the same extent as her friend Dora Bright.[94] Boyce also found considerable support for her work from Miss Holland and her amateur choir, which gave regular public concerts for charity. Holland, sister of Lord Knutsford, was described by a contemporary as 'one of the most earnest and indefatigable amateur musicians in London'.[95] In 1890 she gave the second performance of Boyce's cantata *The Lay of the Brown Rosary* (Elizabeth Barrett Browning) and the following year organised what was probably the premiere of *The Young Lochinvar* (Walter Scott) for baritone solo, chorus and orchestra.[96] Both cantatas had been published in piano score by Novello in 1890 and are substantial works which must have needed dedicated rehearsal.[97]

While some women fought to be accepted in professional organisations and the mainstream establishment, it was in this privileged world of the middle- and upper-class amateur that many found particular support. Lehmann, who had often performed at society parties during her career as a singer, found an invaluable performance space at such occasions during her career as a composer. White readily acknowledged the

---

[92] Barbara Caine, *Victorian Feminists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp.13-14.
[93] Letter dated 2 July 1893. In this letter Chamberlayne also mentions that she has just finished her second symphony. The correspondence between the two women survives in Sweden and I am very grateful to Eva Öhrström for supplying details of the letters (Öhrström to present author, 28 May 1995).
[94] See chapter 6.
[95] *The Musical World* LXX (24 May 1890), p.413.
[96] *Ibid.* and *The Musical Times* 32 (March 1891), p.169.
[97] The manuscript full scores of both works are at the Royal College of Music Library: Add. Mss 5042a and 5042b.

importance of this world and many of its female singers in her early career as a songwriter.[98] Even Smyth, despite her disdain for the British amateur, had works performed at private parties.

While external support and friendships were often extremely important, a composer's family and living situation also had a crucial impact on her career. For some women a network of friends replaced the support of their immediate family, especially if their choice of career was regarded with disapproval, while for others both remained equally important. It was usually women who created a musical environment within the middle-class home. Sisters and mothers were often a significant source of encouragement, as they also were for many male composers. Mary Carmichael was reported to have said, on her final sick bed: 'How glad I am my eldest sister, when I was 8 years old, made me learn a little piece by Bach; she put me on the right road'.[99] Both Smyth and White had sisters who provided either financial or emotional support throughout their lives, while both Ellicott and Lehmann were encouraged to compose by their mothers.

The particular set of restrictions placed on married women presented the Victorian woman who wanted a career as a composer with a serious dilemma. Was it possible to retain any kind of career if she married? In 1882 a female correspondent writing to *The Musical World* argued that the main reason why so few women achieved success as composers was that such activity and ambition were simply incompatible with marriage. Reporting on this letter, Stephen Stratton painted a vivid picture:

> Now in that partnership where both give up individual liberty, the greatest sacrifice in that respect falls to the woman. Suppose the husband to be endowed with a musical wife, he would be far better pleased on returning home to find his dinner ready than to be asked, instead of dining, to listen to the most charming composition which might have monopolised that wife's attention all day.[100]

Virginie Linders, writing in the radical magazine *Shafts* in 1892, was more direct: 'Artistic duties demand the whole strength and devotion of a lifetime; women have given up these duties for the sake of personal gratification; their genius and talent have been recklessly stifled'.[101]

---

[98] See chapters 4 and 5.
[99] M. E. G. of H., Obituary *The Times* (21 March 1935), p.16.
[100] Stephen S. Stratton, 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art' *Proceedings of the Musical Asssociation* 3 (1882-3), pp.128-9.
[101] Virginie Linders, 'Women and Music' *Shafts* (3 December, 1892), p.68.

However, unlike a performer, a composer was able to maintain a career without becoming a public figure. Several women turned to composing instead of performing after they were married, realising that composition was a musical outlet that could be pursued without offending propriety or a husband's sensitivity and pride. Clara Rogers, who came from a family of musicians and had established a very successful career as a singer and a teacher, married an American lawyer in 1878 at the age of 34. She remembered wondering whether it would be 'proper for me to keep up my musical activities after marriage. I felt, without any prompting, that it would be right for me to retire from public life'. But simply running a house and socialising held little attraction and, with the agreement of her husband, she compromised, giving up performing but continuing to teach, host musical evenings in Boston and gradually concentrate her musical energies on composition.[102]

Establishing and sustaining a name is central to the success of any artist. For married women, maintaining a consistent name, and therefore identity, could be problematic. In the long tradition of families from the artist-musician class, women who married other musicians usually faced no restrictions on either composing or performing. Many of these women, such as Ethel Barns, kept their maiden names for their professional careers, as did some women who did not marry professional musicians, such as Lehmann or Bright. Keeping their original names was not an unusual act for professional women of the late 19th century. In 1889, Florence Fenwick Miller, who on marrying in 1877 had made an announcement in *The Times* that she was keeping her maiden name, eloquently explained:

> The name expresses the individuality; and to resign that name which stands on the covers of my books, and in the reports of my speeches in the columns of many newspapers, would be to sink my whole past life and work in oblivion.[103]

A few musicians and composers adopted the solution arrived at by the singer Charlotte Dolby who, after her marriage to the violinist Prosper Sainton in 1860, used the name Charlotte Sainton-Dolby. For some married women, a return to using their own first name (usually without the title Mrs) while retaining their married surname indicated a

---

[102] Clara Kathleen Rogers, *The Story of Two Lives. Home, Friends, and Travels* (Plimpton Press 1932), p.4.
[103] *Women's Penny Paper* (23 February 1889), p.1.

change in status from amateur to professional or an increased seriousness of purpose. In her early published works, for example, Maddison appeared as Mrs Brunning Maddison but became Adela Maddison once she had begun to explore her own individual musical voice.[104]

A few composers seem to have successfully negotiated marriage and even motherhood while maintaining their careers.[105] But like their contemporaries in other professions, many women composers of this time, including Allitsen, Arkwright, Boyce, Carmichael, Prescott, Ellicott, Zimmermann, Smyth and White, simply never married. Some probably never seriously considered marriage as an option, realising the restrictions that such a relationship would inevitably place on their individuality and independence. Smyth always refused to marry Harry Brewster, the one man with whom she had a sexual relationship, writing to a friend in 1894: 'No marriage, no ties, I must be free'.[106] Smyth's avoidance of marriage may also have been connected to her lesbianism. As scholars of lesbian history have shown, the lives of women whose primary emotional attachments were to other women, whether these relationships were sexual or not, have usually been misrepresented:[107] Mary Wakefield lived for two years with the writer Valentine Munro Ferguson and when Ferguson died in 1897, Wakefield was left, according to her first biographer Rosa Newmarch, with a sorrow 'to which, even ten years later, Mary Wakefield could hardly endure to allude'.[108] Yet Derek Hyde's outline of Wakefield's life focuses only on a possible love affair with a man in her youth, diminishing not only the lesbian possibilities of Wakefield's life but also the extent to which she lived, worked and was inspired by a community of women.[109] Smyth's openness about her attraction to women was unusual, and for most of her contemporaries such relationships remained a shadowy but important possibility, offering women an emotional world which did not revolve round the constraints of husband and children.[110]

---

[104] See chapter 6.
[105] See, for example, the discussion of Lehmann's attitude towards her marriage and children in chapter 5.
[106] Quoted in Louise Collis, *Impetuous Heart: The Story of Ethel Smyth* (London: William Kimber, 1984), p.72.
[107] See, for example, Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: The Women's Press, 1985).
[108] Rosa Newmarch, *Mary Wakefield: A Memoir* (Kendal: Atkinson & Pollitt, 1912), p.111.
[109] Derek Hyde, *New Found Voices. Women in Nineteenth-Century English Music* (Cornwall: Belverdere Press, 1984), pp.126-137.
[110] On Maddison's relationship with Martha Mundt and her connections to circles of lesbian and bisexual women, see chapter 6.

Countless scholars have written about the importance that a sense of a female tradition can have on women's creativity.[111] While some composers of this generation acknowledged the inspiration they found in the example of other individual women, usually their contemporaries, there was little acceptance of a previous female musical tradition. Yet since the 1860s a group of British women had been writing and publishing music and achieving undoubted popularity and financial success. Almost all these women were songwriters, such as Claribel (1830-1869), Dolores (1819-1878), Virginia Gabriel (1825-1877), Maria Lindsay (1827-1898), Caroline Norton (1808-1877) and Charlotte Sainton-Dolby (1821-1885). There is no doubt that the popular success of their music and the fact that many of them were household names in mid-Victorian Britain changed the concept of a woman composing music, even if only in certain styles and genres, from a curious exception to an everyday possibility. While the work of these women does not seem to have provided later generations with a female heritage in which they felt a sense of pride, by the later 19th century the female composer, although stereotyped as a popular songwriter, had become an accepted figure. Eggar, writing in 1918, was one of the few later women composers to acknowledge her predecessors:

> The re-awakening of the women of this country to a share in the making of its music occurred more or less at the same time as the first faint beginnings of belief in the possibility of a native school of composition. Side by side with the men of the hymn-tune and anthem period, there grew up the female song-writer, at first too shy to appear in print except under some such disarming pseudonym as *Dolores* or *Claribel*, but gradually increasing in boldness and numbers.[112]

The work of these songwriters provides a fascinating parallel to that of contemporary women painters and novelists during a time of intense female creative expression and growing dissatisfaction among women with their position in society. The pioneering work of Derek Scott has shown that these women hold an important place within the culture of the much-derided Victorian drawing-room song.[113] Most of them came from upper-class backgrounds, although both Claribel (pseudonym of Charlotte Alington

---

[111] See, for example, Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, pp.66-68. Citron does not discuss the possibility that there was a female tradition for women in the 19th century.

[112] Katherine Eggar, 'The Creative Spirit in Women's Music' *The Music Student* 10:9 (May 1918), p.334.

[113] Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1989). Scott has explored the work of some of these women further in his article 'The Sexual Politics of Victorian Musical Aesthetics' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119:1 (1994), pp.91-114.

Barnard) and Norton at times relied on their work to support their families.[114] It is too easy to dismiss this music as sentimental rubbish and indeed it seems likely that this kind of dismissal, typical of most post-war writing on Victorian popular song, may have come to apply to all mid-Victorian song precisely because it was a genre that not only embraced stylistic features, from sentimentality to simple tunefulness, that were regarded as 'feminine', but also appeared to have been dominated by women.[115] The widespread acceptance of this domination can be seen in the adoption of female pseudonyms by male composers who were hoping to enter the profitable popular music market, such as the composer Alfred William Rawlings who published under the name Florence Fare.[116] A detailed re-assessment of the songs and careers of the mid-Victorian women songwriters, perhaps particularly those of Virginia Gabriel, is overdue.[117]

Women continued to be associated with song throughout the 19th and into the 20th century as the popular, financially successful tradition of women's songwriting was continued by women such as Florence Aylward, Guy d'Hardelot (1858-1936); Teresa del Riego (1876-1968); Hope Temple (1859-1938) and Amy Woodforde-Finden (1860-1919). There were many practical reasons for women to concentrate on this particular genre. Songs could be performed without involving male-dominated organisations and structures such as orchestras, and as well as being sung on the public platform, songs could be performed within the private or semi-private sphere of the drawing-room, a space where women usually dominated. Writing songs did not need a knowledge of orchestration and could be undertaken without involving complex formal structures,

---

[114] For a brief summary of Claribel and Norton's careers, see Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers*, pp.86-88 and 121-123. See also Phyllis Smith, *The Story of Claribel (Charlotte Alington Barnard)* (Lincoln: J. W. Ruddock, 1965); Alice Acland, *Caroline Norton* (London: Constable, 1948) and Alan Chedzoy, *A Scandalous Woman: The Story of Caroline Norton* (London: Allison and Busby, 1992). Norton's legal battles are discussed in many books on Victorian feminism. See, for example, Margaret Forster, *Significant Sisters: The Grassroots of Active Feminism 1839-1939* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), pp.13-52.

[115] For dismissals of mid-Victorian song, see, for example, Frank Howes, 'Music' ed. Simon Nowell-Smith, *Edwardian England 1901-1914* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.435, or Sydney Northcote, *Byrd to Britten: A Survey of English Song* (London: John Baker, 1966), p.81. See below for a discussion of the 'feminine' in music.

[116] Male authors had been publishing novels under female pseudonyms since the 18th century. See Dale Spender, *Mothers of the Novel* (London: Pandora, 1986), p.4 and Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (London: The Women's Press, 1989), p.5. As far as music was concerned, the phenomenon seems to have been associated only with songwriting. The two leading female composers of popular piano works at this time both took male pseudonyms, Jules Brissac (Emma Macfarren) (1824-1895) and Jules de Sivrai (Jane Roeckel) (1834-1907).

[117] Scott's work provides an invaluable starting point and further reassessment might usefully build on the discussions of sentimentality in work such as Peter J. Rabinowitz,' "With Our Own Dominant Passions": Gottschalk, Gender, and the Power of Listening' *19th-Century Music* 16 (1992-3), pp. 242-252.

which meant that those women who had not managed to receive a thorough musical education could still produce successful songs. Song was also one of the very few genres which produced music that could be financially rewarding, an important consideration for many women who needed to use their musical skills to support themselves or their families but still found that many professional positions within the musical world were not open to them.[118] After the successes of the earlier songwriting generation, composing songs was not regarded as an unusual activity for women. This meant that the next generation of songwriters was working within an acknowledged tradition of female creativity, even if the genres and styles in which they were writing were increasingly regarded as almost worthless by the Renaissance establishment.

Many of these later popular songwriters were as well known and loved as those of the earlier generation. Guy d'Hardelot claimed that her most famous song, 'Because', sold 200,000 copies in the five years after it was first published, and by the time of her death in 1936 it was reputed to have sold a million copies.[119] D'Hardelot was the pseudonym of Helen Rhodes, the French-born daughter of a British sailor and the singer Helen Guy, a pupil of Manuel Garcia.[120] Her sister also became a composer, known by her married name Edith Dick.[121] After studying at the Paris Conservatoire, d'Hardelot took up a professional career as a musician following the success of her first song 'Sans Toi' and settled in London in the 1890s.[122] She once defined her method of composition as 'the eminently practical and womanly one of sticking at it till it is done', explaining that she often had to compose at midnight, after a day's work teaching and running her household.[123] Her publisher, William Boosey at Chappell, claimed that the secret of her success was the dramatic climax with which each song ended, something he called the 'd'Hardelot ending'.[124]

---

[118] Not all popular songwriters achieved lasting financial success. In 1918 the Irish composer Alicia Adelaide Needham, whose many Irish songs had caught the fashionable fascination with Celtic culture, was awarded a Civil List Pension of £50 'in consideration of her work as a composer, and of her straitened circumstances'. *The Musical Times* 59 (August 1918), p.374.

[119] 'How I Write my Songs: Some Secrets Told By Madame Guy D'Hardelot' *Everywoman's Encyclopedia* VII, p.4526. Fawcett Library: unreferenced cutting. See also Obituary *The Times* (8 January 1936), p.8.

[120] Before she married William Rhodes, d'Hardelot was known by her mother's name Guy, suggesting that her parents may not have been married.

[121] Anon, 'Popular Lady Composers: Mrs Edith A. Dick and "Guy d'Hardelot" ' *The Strand Musical Magazine* 2 (1895), p.250.

[122] Obituary *The Times* (8 January 1936), p.8. See also Percy Cross Standing, 'Some Lady Composers: "Guy d'Hardelot" ' *Lady's Pictorial* XXXIX (5 May, 1900), p.708.

[123] 'How I Write my Songs', p.4525.

[124] Obituary *The Times* (8 January 1936), p.8.

D'Hardelot's songs were rivalled in popularity only by those of Paolo Tosti, Hermann Löhr and the phenomenal success of Woodforde-Finden's *Four Indian Love Lyrics*. Born Amy Ward in Chile, where her father was the British consul, Woodforde-Finden studied music privately in London before moving to India where she married an officer in the Bengal Cavalry. The *Four Indian Love Lyrics*, settings of poems by Laurence Hope (pseudonym of another Bengal Cavalry wife, Adela Florence Cory), were originally turned down by every publisher Woodforde-Finden approached, so in 1902 she paid for publication herself.[125] Promoted by the singer Hamilton Earle, they soon became extremely popular and by 1920 had been issued in French translation and in arrangements for piano alone, violin and piano and military band.[126] Arrangements of the most popular number, 'Kashmiri Song', for 'salon orchestra' and for various vocal combinations, continued into the 1950s.[127]

The popularity of the *Four Indian Love Lyrics* can partly be explained by the Edwardian obsession with the East, an unspecific orientalism that encompassed the cultures and artefacts of India, China, Japan and the Middle East. From the mid-1860s, when Lazenby Liberty opened his shop on Regent Street in London and started selling Japanese woodcuts and rich, decorative fabrics, the British had been fascinated by consuming what they felt to be representative of distant, 'exotic' parts of the world.[128] These attitudes were reflected in music as well as in the visual and decorative arts and probably reached a peak in the Edwardian decade. In 1914 an article on 'The Modern Drawing-Room Song' in *The Times* drew attention to 'the Oriental or *quasi*-Oriental song, written by a thoroughly Western composer'.[129] The East was a common setting for the most popular British musicals, from Sullivan's *The Mikado* (1885) and Sidney Jones's *The Geisha* (1896) to Frederic Norton's *Chu Chin Chow* which ran for a

[125] After their potential success became apparent they were reissued by Boosey in 1903.
[126] *Quatre Chants Indous* (Boosey, 1905); *Four Indian Love Lyrics* arranged for the pianoforte by the composer (Boosey, 1913); *Four Indian Love Lyrics* arranged for violin and pianoforte by S. Dyke; *Four Indian Love Lyrics* (and other works) arranged by James Ord Hume (Boosey's Military Journal, 1909).
[127] 'Pale hands I loved' arranged for salon orchestra by F. Hartley (Boosey, 1939); 'Kashmiri Song' chorus and piano adaptation by Noble Cain (Boosey and Hawkes, 1946); 'Pale hands I loved' arranged for female voices by Victor Thorne (Boosey and Hawkes, 1955) etc.
[128] John Holloway, 'Literature' ed. Ford, Boris. *Victorian Britain* The Cambridge Cultural History Volume 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.100. In her memoirs Lehmann quotes the remarks of a friend after hearing her song-cycle *In A Persian Garden*: 'The local colour is *too* wonderful. I *have* so enjoyed it - I simply felt as if I was *at Liberty's*!' Lehmann, *The Life of Liza Lehmann*, pp.88-89.
[129] Article quoted in *The Music Student* VI:12 (August 1914), p.242.

staggering 2,238 performances from August 1916.[130] Oriental subjects and texts, if not always oriental sounds, were also frequently found in the work of concert hall composers, perhaps particularly those of Bantock.[131] There was also growing interest in the actual music of Eastern countries with numerous performances and publications of Indian, Chinese or Japanese music.[132] Some Western composers were fascinated by music from such different cultures. Both Sullivan and White, for example, tried to notate Arab music when travelling in North Africa.[133]

For any composer, but particularly for women, the choice of such distanced, 'Other' imagery and setting allowed them a certain freedom, especially to express a sexuality that might have seemed shocking when placed in a British context. Hope's poems are full of violent and erotic imagery, illustrated by Woodforde-Finden with harmonic and melodic inflections, such as the pentatonic opening to 'Kashmiri Song', which suggest a vaguely 'exotic' atmosphere while never moving too far from the traditional tunes and rhythms of an unadventurous Edwardian musical style.[134] Woodforde-Finden continued to produce a steady flow of song collections and cycles using distant locations, although always setting the poetry of Western writers. None of these later works even approached the success of the *Four Indian Love Lyrics*.[135]

It would be too simplistic to divide 19th-century British women composers into two distinct groups, the popular songwriters of the 1860s and the later generation who continued this work but also branched out into a wider range of musical genres and styles. There were, for example, several composers born before 1830, such as Ann Mounsey Bartholomew (1811-1891), Kate Loder (1825-1904), Clara Angela Macirone

---

[130] Philip L. Scowcroft, *British Light Music - a personal gallery of 20th-century composers* (London: Thames, 1997), p.71.

[131] Bantock's 'passion for Eastern art and poetry' is well documented. A friend once remembered being told 'how he sometimes dreamed of what appeared to be a past incarnation when he lived in an Oriental town'. Sydney Grew, *Our Favourite Musicians from Stanford to Holbrooke* (Edinburgh and London: T. N. Foulis, 1922), p.146.

[132] See, for example, review of the recently published *Shogaru Shoka Japanese Folk-Songs* ed. Isawa Shuyi in the *Athenaeum* (27 May 1905), p.666 or the article on 'Chinese Musical Instruments' in *The Musical Standard* illustrated series XI (1899), p.93.

[133] See chapter 4.

[134] Scott has suggested that the opening of 'Kashmiri Song' may use the rag 'multani'. Derek B. Scott, 'Orientalism and Musical Style' *Critical Musicology Journal* (http://www.leeds.ac.uk/music/info/CMJ/cmj.html) 1.3.97.

[135] Later works include settings of lyrics by Charles Hanson Towne: *A Lover in Damascus* (1904), *Five Little Japanese Songs* (1906), *A Dream of Egypt* (1910) and *The Myrtles of Damascus* (1918) and by Frederick John Fraser: *On Jhelum River* (1905), *The Pagoda of Flowers* (1907), *Aziza* (1909) and *The Eyes of Firozée* (1914).

(1821-1914), Caroline Reinagle (1818-1892) and Elizabeth Stirling (1819-1895), whose music, covering almost every conceivable genre and style, was first heard in the early Victorian period but who continued to work throughout the century.[136]

Macirone's career demonstrates a similar pattern of work to that adopted by many later women, and her virtually complete absence from any history of 19th-century music shows how easily figures of undoubted interest can simply disappear. Her mother was a singer and her parents obviously encouraged their daughters to follow artistic careers - Macirone's sister became a painter. She herself studied at the Royal Academy of Music and then became a Professor of Piano there, a job she lost when all the female teaching staff were dismissed in 1866.[137] Her other activities provide a vivid snapshot of the job opportunities available to women composers, and included writing articles for magazines, such as *The Girl's Own Paper*,[138] organising annual concerts featuring her own music at Hanover Square Rooms for 18 years (from 1846 to 1864),[139] and running the music departments at Aske's School for Girls in Hatcham[140] and the Church of England High School for Girls in Baker Street.[141] She published over 75 songs and part-songs, some of which were written for use in the schools in which she taught. Her other music included chamber works, liturgical and sacred music.[142] She was seen to break new ground for women, with Brown and Stratton claiming that she composed the first service by a woman ever to be used in a church,[143] and her work was widely praised. Felix Mendelssohn was reported to have said, on receiving a copy of her sacred song 'Benedictus' in 1847: 'It shows the feeling and at the same time the skill with which you practise our beloved art, may you continue to write many beautiful things'.[144] As late as 1910, when Macirone was nearly 90, a writer in *The Musical Times* noted that 'her part-songs still hold a place in choral societies' repertoires'.[145]

---

[136] See above on Loder and on Bartholomew, Reinagle and Stirling see Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers*, pp.50-52, 265-266 and 298-99.
[137] RAM records: Students date of entry and departure - 1837-1873 and J. Brown and Stephen Stratton, *British Music Biography* (Stratton: Birmingham, 1897), p.263.
[138] Macirone's article for that magazine, 'A Plea for Music', was reported in *The Musical Times* (November 1884), p.632. See also Brown and Stratton, *British Music Biography*, p.263.
[139] *Women's Penny Paper* (2 November 1889), p.14 and *The Musical Times* 51 (June 1910), p.380.
[140] *The Musical Times* 19 (February 1878), p.80.
[141] *The Musical Times* 22 (January 1881), p.24.
[142] Her chamber works include a suite for cello and piano which was played at a concert given by the Musical Artists' Society in 1889, when she was nearly 70. *The Lute* (December 1889), p.87.
[143] Brown and Stratton, *British Music Biography*, p.263.
[144] *Women's Penny Paper* (2 November 1889), p.14
[145] *The Musical Times* 51 (June 1910), p.380.

Macirone lived to see the intense media debate of the 1880s and 90s over whether women were able to compose 'great' music. Her own views on women as composers were reported in the *Women's Penny Paper* in 1889:

> She thinks that as a composer woman will express herself more naturally in the smaller musical forms, but that her new-born devotion to the violin will increase her range and vision. She wishes some women would learn the viola or 'cello and other instruments.[146]

The composer whose work played an important role in initiating much of the debate over women and composition was nearly 20 years younger than Macirone and led a very different life and career. Daughter of a lace merchant, Alice Mary Smith (1839-1884) studied music privately and did not work in any public capacity as a musician. Her first published songs were printed in the late 1850s, and in 1861 a piano quartet was played through by the Musical Society of London. This organisation, founded in 1858 by amateur and professional musicians with wide-ranging aims which included giving concerts and readings of new music, had three categories of members: fellows, associates and lady-associates.[147] Despite this distancing of women by placing them within a category firmly marked as 'Other', the Society gave invaluable support to Smith in the early years of her career by performing several of her works including a string quartet in D, a Symphony in C minor and two overtures, *Endymion* and *Lalla Rookh.*

After her marriage to lawyer Frederick Meadows White in 1867, Smith continued both to compose and to use her own name for her publications. In the 1870s and early 1880s her classically-influenced orchestral and choral music was regularly heard at venues such as the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts, the New Philharmonic Society Concerts, at concerts outside London in Bradford, Cambridge, Liverpool and Oxford as well as at the Norwich and Hereford Festivals. Such numerous performances of large-scale works at prominent venues were unusual, especially for a woman composer. During the last years of her life she concentrated on writing works for chorus and orchestra, such as the widely performed *Ode to the North-East Wind* (1878), doubtless finding, like so many

---

[146] *Women's Penny Paper* (2 November 1889), p.14

[147] J. A. Fuller-Maitland, 'The Musical Society of London' ed. George Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1880) II, pp.431-432.

British composers, that the strong British choral society tradition made it easier to obtain performances of such works than of purely instrumental music.

Some of the numerous obituaries that appeared after Smith's early death in 1884 misleadingly claimed that she was the first woman to have written orchestral music, and almost all described her as the country's leading 'lady' composer.[148] In a paper given to the Royal Musical Association in 1883 on 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art', Stephen Stratton claimed that a recent performance of Smith's cantata *The Passions* 'has given rise to much comment, and re-started the subject of women's musical genius'.[149] Her work and prominent position in musical life, brought into focus by her early death, were used to prove that women were capable of producing complex, extended musical forms[150] and that there was a place for 'feminine perception and expression' in music.[151] As a married woman who did not engage in other musical activities but who nevertheless was writing large scale works, she made a more suitable figurehead than a composer like Macirone who was unmarried and fiercely professional.

Stratton's ground-breaking 1883 article was one of many that appeared in the late 19th and early 20th centuries discussing the position of women in musical life, attempting to explain why there had never been a 'great' woman composer and asking whether there ever would or could be one in the future. It is no coincidence that these articles started appearing at a time when not only Smith's music but orchestral, chamber and vocal works by many different women were receiving widespread exposure. This was also a time when assumptions about women's roles in many different fields were being challenged with a new urgency and during which there was a growing interest in any manifestation of an imminent Renaissance of British music. Like their male contemporaries Mackenzie, Parry or Stanford, women such as Bright, Ellicott or White were producing work that was heard at some of the most prestigious concert venues in the country and breaking down the firmly rooted idea that the British were not capable of achieving greatness in musical composition.

---

[148] See, for example, Anon, 'Mrs Meadows White' (obituary) *The Musical Times* 26 (1885), p.24.
[149] Stratton, 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art', pp.115-146. When asked to comment in the discussion following the paper, Frederick Meadows White reassured the audience that 'there is nothing inconsistent with the little eminence my wife has attained in music with the good management of domestic affairs'.
[150] See *The Lute* III:1 (January 1885), p.8. Her example was also, conversely, used to argue that since she was the only woman composer to have written symphonies, such things were beyond the grasp of other women. See Anon, 'Women as Composers' *The Musical Times* 28 (February 1887), p.81.
[151] Anon, 'The Feminine in Music' *The Musical Times* 23 (October 1882), p.521.

The writers of the articles about women and music argued fiercely for one of two opposing positions - either women would never be capable of writing 'great' music or, given time, encouragement and education, they eventually would. All the writers seemed to have an unspoken agreement as to what constituted 'great' music; certainly none of them ever defined or challenged the concept. This continual focus on an undefined 'greatness' neatly side-stepped the inescapable fact that some women were finding considerable success with their music, measured by critical acclaim, performance and publication. It was certainly not possible to argue that women were incapable of writing music that would find an appreciative audience, just music that would achieve an undetermined excellence. The writers also unanimously agreed that there was not now and never had been a woman who could be called a 'great' composer.

A feature of many of these articles was a list of female composers which was used either to show that women were beginning to write music which demonstrated their 'skill as composers',[152] or conversely to prove that they were incapable of writing anything of high artistic value. This latter was the aim of A. L. S. in *The Musical News*:

> Their warmest admirers would hardly care to instance Fanny Hensel, Sainton-Dolby, Virginia Gabriel, Mrs Bartholomew, Miss Alice Mary Smith, or Miss Rosalind Ellicott as really great composers. They have done good and useful work, not to be despised or underrated; but where is the female Mascagni or Dvorak, or Tchaïkowsky, or Coleridge-Taylor?[153]

The longest list of composers was provided by Stratton, who, having criticised Grove's *Dictionary of Music* for including only 30 women composers, supplied over 380 names, from 'Comtesse Beatrixe de Die' to Ellicott and her contemporaries.

As well as making lists, writers were keen to find 'firsts' among women, and considerable effort was spent finding female composers from the past. The production of Walter's *Florian* in 1886 initiated a widely reported debate in the *St James's Gazette* and *The Times* as to whether she was the first woman, apart from Louise Bertin, to compose an opera. Eventually the names of 25 continental female opera composers were produced, including Maria Theresa von Paradis and Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre, while the first production of an opera by a British woman was claimed by the son of Mrs

[152] Joseph Verey, 'Women as Musicians' *The Monthly Musical Record* (September 1885), p.196. Verey's list consisted of Gabriel, Sainton-Dolby, Smith and Zimmermann.
[153] A. L. S., 'Women and Music' *Musical News* (21 July 1900), p.64.

Gilbert Abbot à Beckett who had had two operas staged in the 1840s.[154] Such debates and the historical exploration that they encouraged provided an increased sense of female tradition as well as the invaluable acknowledgement that women had been producing music for centuries.

Considerable attention was paid in the British musical press to the work of continental women composers and not only to those who spent time living, working or promoting their music in Britain. Fanny Hensel's music was well known in late 19th-century Britain, something that may come as a surprise to those who think that her music has only been 'rediscovered' in the last 20 years. An 1879 review of a new edition of her part-songs claimed that they 'are already known to most lovers of part-music',[155] while a performance of her Piano Trio in Birmingham in 1894 was highly praised[156] and a reviewer of the Augener edition of her *Songs without Words* for piano wrote in 1886 that it was not necessary 'to repeat in this place the statements made concerning her share in the invention of the style to which this example belongs'.[157] But Hensel, together with Nannerl Mozart, was also used by one writer as proof that all women lack 'the special gifts which are summed up in the word genius' since in the Mendelssohn and Mozart families this genius had famously manifested itself in the sons and not the daughters.[158]

The achievements of contemporary European women composers played an important part in the continuing media debate and were often held up as proof of women's abilities, subtly reinforcing the idea that the British were in general less successful as composers than their continental colleagues.[159] In 1884 *The Monthly Musical Record* reported:

> Lady composers are now coming to the fore. At the second of M. Broustet's concerts (Hôtel Continental) a *Suite* by Mme de Grandval was well received.

---

[154] 'One merit must by all be granted to Miss Walter's *Florian*, it has brought the claims of lady-composers prominently before the public, and has dispelled an erroneous impression very generally entertained - the impression, we mean, that no English-woman had previously written an English opera'. *The Musical World* LXIV (24 July 1886), p.470. See also *The Musical Times* 27 (August 1886), p.467.

[155] *The Musical Times* 20 (March 1879), p.159.

[156] *The Musical Times* 25 (March 1884), p.150.

[157] *The Monthly Musical Record* (February 1886), p.41.

[158] Anon, 'Fanny Mendelssohn' *The Musical Times* 29 (June 1888), p.339. The author of this article ignores Hensel's compositions until the final paragraph, when Felix's high opinion of them is mentioned together with approval for his refusal to allow them to be published.

[159] There was a similar critical reaction to the work of the painter Rosa Bonheur. After she exhibited her famous painting 'The Horse Fair' in London in 1855 she was presented as a good example to women painters in Britain throughout the later 19th century. See Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, pp.4 and 20.

> ... At one of M. Colonne's concerts was applauded a symphonic poem, Pologne, by Mme Augusta Holmès. ... While these ladies prosper in France, Fraulein L. A. le Beau is winning golden opinions in many a German town.[160]

The music of Cécile Chaminade (1857-1944) and Augusta Holmès (1847-1903) attracted particular attention, although an early reference to Holmès managed to misspell and thereby masculinize her first name as Auguste.[161] Nevertheless in the late 1880s and 90s the progress and reception of her large-scale works were followed closely, with close scrutiny paid to her opera *La montagne noir*.[162] In July 1894 a journalist noted:

> After *Otello* the *Montagne Noir* of Mlle Augusta Holmès is to be produced, and her work will be looked for with much interest, for she is probably the most vigorous and accomplished of living female composers. If she cannot write a great opera, we may doubt whether any woman ever will.[163]

But unless they themselves came to promote it, the work of women composers from overseas was seldom heard in Britain. Despite the interest in her achievements, when Holmès died in 1903 one of her obituaries remarked that 'her music is practically unknown in England'.[164]

A change in the reception of Chaminade's music reflects an increasing backlash against the work of women composers as the century drew to a close. One early review by Frederick Corder neatly displays his prejudices against both women and the French, but ultimately gives high praise to Chaminade's music:

> French writers are, as a rule, sad slaves to their own God, Gounod; but I have lately remarked one who is producing genuinely new music. This is, singular to state, a lady, Mdlle. Chaminade. She is probably the first of her sex who has been accused of originality, but a single glance at her six Etudes (op. 35) will prove the truth of the charge.[165]

In 1890 the Paris correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph* talked of her 'brilliant orchestration'[166] and in 1893, describing her first visit to Britain the previous year, a

---

[160] *The Monthly Musical Record* (January 1884), p.21.

[161] *The Monthly Musical Record* (April 1884), p.92. The journalist responsible may not have imagined that a woman could be the author of the symphony under discussion.

[162] See, for example, 'Foreign Notes' *The Musical Times* 32 (November 1891), p.681.

[163] *The Monthly Musical Record* (July 1894), p.161. The critics were generally disappointed with the work, although reviewer for *The Musical Times* felt that the premiere was the 'most important musical event of the past month'. *The Musical Times* 36 (March 1895), p.185. See also *The Monthly Musical Record* (March 1895), p.65.

[164] *The Musical Times* 44 (March 1903), p.177. According to Smyth, Henry Wood performed Holmès's symphonic poem *Irlande*, presumably in Britain. Smyth, *A Final Burning of Boats* etc., p.80. The performance is not mentioned in Arthur Jacobs's biography of Wood.

[165] Frederick Corder, 'New Music' *The Musical Times* 29 (February 1888), p.85.

[166] *The Musical Times* 31 (January 1890), p.19.

writer in *The Monthly Musical Record* called her 'a composer of merit'.[167] This was the first of many visits from Chaminade who became increasingly popular with the public just as the critics were beginning to dismiss her music. In 1896, for example, her *Concertstück* for piano and orchestra was described in *The Musical Times* as 'a trivial composition, for all its pretentious sonority'.[168]

Two visiting women who were especially praised by the critics were the Belgian composer Juliette Folville (1870-1946)[169] and the Norwegian composer Agathe Backer Grøndahl (1847-1907), who first appeared at a private concert and was soon in great demand as pianist and composer.[170] The only American composer to have attracted much notice was Amy Beach (1867-1944), whose violin sonata received a glowing review in the *London Graphic* in 1901.[171] Much more attention was paid by the British press to the many American pamphlets and books on the subject of women and music, such as Fanny Raymond Ritter's *Woman as Musician: An Art-Historical Study* of 1876 or George Upton's *Woman in Music* of 1880.[172]

In the British articles on women as composers endless comparisons were made between the successes of women in the other arts, particularly writing and painting, and what was presented as women's lack of success in composition.[173] Many of the writers were bemused by the fact that although music was widely accepted to be an art, above all others, of emotion, and therefore should be particularly appropriate for women (who had so long been closely associated with the realm of feeling), they nevertheless appeared to have failed to express themselves in music. Adding to the puzzlement was the fact that,

---

[167] 'The Year 1892' *The Monthly Musical Record* (January 1893), p.2.
[168] *The Musical Times* 37 (December 1896), p.808.
[169] See, for example, *The Musical World* LXVI (12 May 1888), p.375 and *The Monthly Musical Record* (August 1888), p.185. On Folville see James R. Briscoe, 'Eugénie-Emilie Juliette Folville' eds. Julie Anne Sadie and Rhian Samuel, *The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* (London: Macmillan, 1994), p.172.
[170] *The Musical World* LXVII (22 June 1889), p.399.
[171] Quoted in Walter S. Jenkins, *The Remarkable Mrs. Beach, American Composer. A Biographical Account Based on her Diaries, Letters, Newspaper Clippings, and Personal Reminiscences* ed. John H. Baron (Michigan, Harmonie Park Press: 1994), p.50.
[172] See, for example, Stratton, 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art' or *The Musical Times* 27 (September 1886), p.529. The United States also produced Otto Ebel, *Women Composers: A Biographical Handbook of Woman's Work in Music* (Brooklyn: F. H. Chandler, 1902) and Arthur Elson, *Women's Work in Music* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1904).
[173] See, for example, 'The Feminine in Music', p.521 or 'Women as Composers', p.80. Stratton provided a long and detailed list of women's successes in a wide variety of professions and activities.

with so many women encouraged to learn to play or sing as a suitably lady-like accomplishment, music was regarded as an essential part of the feminine sphere.

Those claiming that women would never be able to write 'great' music usually based their arguments on the perceived biological or psychological differences between men and women. Woman's association with intuition and emotion rather than logic and reasoning often played a key role in such arguments although this usually involved lengthy explanations as to why music, the art of the emotions, was in fact also an art that needed discipline and reason. In a response to Stratton's paper, Ferdinand Praeger, while claiming that 'there is no one who has a greater devotion to the female sex, or a greater appreciation of their wonderful powers than I have', argued that women's 'gift is not in *invention*':

> With the cleverest women .. their genius was all instinct. ... Woman is different from man. We are all their slaves. They reign over us just by that instinct, but that very instinct lacks the reasoning power to go step by step, which is one of the most important items in composition.[174]

The anonymous female author of 'Women as Composers', defining music as 'an imaginative and emotional structure, built on a mathematical foundation', had no doubts about the reasons why a woman was never likely to become a great composer:

> To obtain music of the highest order the composer must have an imagination touched to the finest issues and the true mathematical instinct. Rare such a union must always be, and with the relatively smaller area to choose from, for we suppose no one would deny that the average capacity of women is enormously less than the average capacity of men, such a case is most unlikely to occur among women.[175]

Another woman, writing in a letter to *The Musical World*, simply felt that women's weaker brains and nerves prevented them succeeding in composition.[176] Some writers used more complex and 'scientific' biological arguments. The author of an article on 'Sex and Music' in *The Lancet* who felt that women's 'failure to evolve new harmonies or even new melodies is one of the most extraordinary enigmas in the history of the fine arts', suggested that the answer to the enigma might be found in 'such facts as Sir J. Crichton-Brown adduced in his recent oration on the inferiority of woman to man in the cerebral stratum of ideo-motor energy'.[177]

---

[174] 'Discussion' *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 3 (1882-3), p.134-135.
[175] 'Women as Composers', p.81.
[176] Reported in Stratton, 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art', p.129.
[177] Anon, 'Sex and Music' *The Musical Times* 33 (June 1892), pp.337.

The writers who believed that women would eventually be able to become 'great' composers usually avoided discussion of essential differences and argued that women had been excluded from a thorough musical education and other musical opportunities for so long that they could not be expected to compose to their full ability for some time. When challenged with the fact that women had always been taught music and that 'from the earliest ages and in all countries they have been inseparably associated with the artistic interpretation of music',[178] those defending women's future potential pointed out that in the past women had been taught music only as an accomplishment.[179] Joseph Verey wrote that

> it is only of late years that the fair sex have devoted themselves to that form of musical art, while for centuries men have made composition a serious study. And not merely in composition, but in many departments of music, women have been debarred, not so much because of any lack of talent, but rather on account of prejudice.[180]

Stratton, who argued succinctly that 'woman has not become great in this art, because she has had no fair chance hitherto',[181] was one of the earliest writers to question the widely-held belief in biological and psychological difference:

> Is there any difference between the male and female brain? Are the nervous systems of the sexes alike? It is generally believed that woman is only fit for such and such work, and that other kinds belong exclusively to man; but that law has been laid down by man, and from such decision woman should now have court of appeal.[182]

Biological arguments were still being challenged in 1910, when Ernest Newman wrote that 'till social and economic conditions enable women to make composition their life-work, as men can do, it is idle to dogmatise upon what the natural limitations of the feminine brain may or may not be'.[183]

The tone of the debate changed in the 1890s. Many of those claiming that there would never be 'great' women composers became more aggressive and defensive, doubtless as a reaction to the increasingly high-profile successes of various women composers as well as the increased publicity around the demands of the 'new woman'. In 1898 V. B.'s

---

[178] Anon, 'Fanny Mendelssohn', p.339.
[179] See, for example, Stratton, 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art', p.130.
[180] Verey, 'Women as Musicians', p.196.
[181] Stratton, 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art', p.130.
[182] *Ibid.*, pp.116-7.
[183] Ernest Newman, 'Women and Music' *The Musical Times* 51 (June 1910), p.359.

series on 'The Failures of Women in Art' for *The Sketch* included an article, 'In Music', which produced an eloquently severe diatribe:

> In the vast history of music there has never yet been an instance of a woman standing great and solitary communing with great musical thoughts and pouring forth immortal melody and harmony in the manner of a Bach or a Beethoven. There have been great interpreters of music among women. Lady Hallé is still with us in the height of her power to show the truth of this saying. But as a creator of great music, woman remains bound, restrained, cribbed, cabin'd, and confined. She has never composed the music of the world.[184]

A. L. S., writing in the *Musical News*, which seemed of all the music papers to take the most consistently negative stand against women,[185] inclined towards the vitriolic:

> It is impossible to find a single woman's name worthy to take rank with Beethoven, Handel, Mozart, Rossini, Brahms, Wagner, Schubert; we cannot even find one to place beside Balfe or Sir Arthur Sullivan. ... If we seek for what may be called the feminine element in music, we have to look for it among the works of men, for the simple reason that women have produced nothing that can be given serious consideration.[186]

Some arguments verged on what was even then regarded as the ridiculous. The author of an article in *The Musical Standard* of 1896 suggested that woman's failure as a composer was not just that she had 'a more limited emotional individuality than a man' but that she was biologically restricted by the fact that 'tenor can seldom and bass can never be an immediate utterance to her soul'.[187] Asked by the editor to deal with the many responses to the article, 'Autolycus' reported that 'the bulk of the letters holds that women have not shone in composition because they have not been given equal chances with men, but now that woman does everything that a man does, smokes, rides bicycles, and is in love with two or three people at the same time, all is going to be changed'.[188] But the only response he actually printed, while disagreeing with the original article, claimed that the real reason for woman's lack of success was that she 'is physiologically, an "arrested male" '.[189]

Those arguing that women would eventually achieve excellence frequently referred to the imminent arrival of the 'great woman composer', echoing the contemporary

---

[184] V. B. 'Failures of Women in Art: In Music' *The Sketch* 21 (1898), p.468.
[185] See also, for example, anon, 'Women Composers' *Musical News* (17 June 1905), pp. 561-563 or the detailed report on Marie Corelli's brochure 'Woman or - Suffragette' in *Musical News* (4 May 1907), pp.433-434.
[186] A. L. S., 'Women and Music' *Musical News* (21 July 1900), p.64.
[187] Anon. 'Woman in Music' *The Musical Standard* illustrated series VI (12 September 1896), pp.151.
[188] Anon. 'Woman in Music' *The Musical Standard* illustrated series VI (19 September 1896), pp.171.
[189] *Ibid.*

expectation of a 'great British composer'. In 1886 a review in *The Times* of Sullivan's *The Golden Legend* described it as a work which is 'likely to survive till our long-expected English Beethoven appears on the scene'.[190] The following year, André de Ternant used the phrase ''til the feminine Beethoven makes her appearance' in a series of articles on contemporary women composers.[191] Commentators waited throughout the 1880s and '90s and into the 20th century. In 1895 a reviewer for *The Monthly Musical Record* claimed that 'we shall surely hear before long of the great female composer who has so long been expected',[192] and a report in *Lady's Pictorial* of Dr H. A. Harding's paper 'Woman as Musician' at the 15th annual conference of the Incorporated Society of Musicians in 1900 noted that 'there was every hope ... that a pioneer woman, a courageous, pure and noble artist, would arise, and compel us to regard her as a composer as well as a musician'.[193] 10 years previously, in response to a report in *The Musical World* of a lecture on 'Woman and Music' given in the United States by Fannie Blomfield Zeisler,[194] an anonymous correspondent made a rare challenge to this need to find one 'great' composer:

> Probably the almost universal feeling that for a woman to shine as a musician was 'unladylike' has had a more depressing influence than even the lack of thorough musical training. *Tout vient à qui sait attendre*, and I do not think we need yet despair of the coming of a great female composer. But even if we never get the long-expected first-class one, why need we be always depreciating the excellent ones we do get because they do not reach the highest standard? [195]

An interesting warning note about the 'great woman composer' was sounded by E. A. C., possibly the composer Elizabeth Chamberlayne, in a letter to *The Musical World* in 1890:

> Why should we be impatient? let us hope on, wait, she will come. And when she does come, after all this talk, shall we be prepared to meet her? Shall we

---

[190] Arthur Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p.242.
[191] André de Ternant, 'Short Sketches of Contemporary Women Composers' *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* XVIII (1887), p.14. See also the 1877 article in *The Monthly Musical Record* quoted in Scott, 'The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aesthetics', pp.96-7. The female Beethoven was still being referred to in 1900, see Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, p.76.
[192] *The Monthly Musical Record* (November 1895), p.260.
[193] 'Bass Trombone', 'Musical Notes' *Lady's Pictorial* XXXIX (13 January 1900), p.59.
[194] 'Woman in Music' *The Musical World* LXX (16 August 1890), pp.654-655.
[195] *The Musical World* LXX (30 August 1890), p.684. The writer also suggested that Zeisler could have strengthened her case by mentioning the work of Sainton-Dolby, Smith, White, Ellicott and Smyth. The description that follows of the reception of Smyth's music in Germany suggest that the writer could be Smyth herself since almost no-one in Britain (as she was so frequently to complain over the next few years) knew anything about her or her music. If this letter is by Smyth it shows a rare acknowledgement of other women's work.

> give her the honour due to her name? or shall we ignore her as a thing incomprehensible?[196]

E. A. C. was not alone in believing that when the 'great woman composer' did appear, her music would be substantially different from that of men, although she does seem to have been alone in suspecting that when this different music did appear it might not be acknowledged by those in control of the musical world. Given the virtually unchallenged belief in essential differences between women and men, it is hardly surprising that almost everyone assumed that women's music should and would, in some unimaginable way that was never explained, be distinctly different from that written by men. The author of 'The Feminine in Music' believed that

> woman has failed as a creative musician because she has approached composition from the masculine side. ...
> The woman artist should always regard her art from a woman's point of view. Were this done distinctiveness would follow. The result may not compare with the works of men for strength and comprehensiveness, but that is neither necessary nor desired.[197]

Over 20 years later a commentator in *Musical News* was still making much the same point:

> We doubt whether women will ever write masculine music, nor is it particularly desired that they should. If they will be content to reflect in their compositions those specially feminine characteristics which are their greatest charm, they will secure for themselves an honoured position in creative art.[198]

One of the few writers to challenge such views was Stratton, who struggled to differentiate between femininity and femaleness:

> Women have received much advice to cultivate art from the feminine standpoint. What is feminine? Is working at the forge, driving barge horses, ruling a great empire? All these we allow women to do in this country. If a woman has what we call a masculine mind, is it not, she being a woman, really feminine? To my thinking these distinctions are somewhat arbitrary, and based upon the assumption of man's superiority.[199]

---

[196] *The Musical World* LXX (23 August 1890), p.676.
[197] 'The Feminine in Music', p.522. See also report on Zeisler's lecture in which she said that women needed to develop 'those qualities which specifically belong to woman; then and only then will we be the true equals of man, in different spheres, in different directions to be sure, but equal in the degree of greatness in those spheres to which they cannot follow us'. *The Musical World* LXX (16 August 1890), p.655.
[198] *Musical News* (15 July 1905), p.51.
[199] Stratton, 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art', p.131.

The belief that women would bring something excitingly different to music continued to be held by many later commentators. At the inaugural meeting of the Society of Women Musicians in 1911, Eggar spoke with passion and conviction:

> The conventions of music must be challenged. Women are already challenging Conventions in all kinds of ways. ... It is the Worker, the Toiler, the Philanthropist in Women that has been roused; the Artist of the Future is not yet here. Is not the time come for that Torch to kindle the flame on a new Altar to Art? Does not the world need a music that has not yet come? May it not be that the need shall be met by women?[200]

Smyth agreed, writing that

> few deny that the Brontës and Jane Austen brought a new note into our literature. Why then should not our musical contribution be equally individual and pregnant? And O I wish I were as sure of heaven as I am that so it will be![201]

Such views usually tied women's music to those 'feminine' qualities that were regarded as essential components of woman's difference, and are discussed further below. It seems an inescapable conclusion that, as E. A. C. had suggested, if a woman did find a musical voice that could be regarded by critics as distinctly feminine she would inevitably fail to be 'great' since 'greatness' had been defined by a series of 'masculine' attributes. Smyth appears to have been alone among commentators in actually listing the qualities that she felt women's music should and would possess, choosing energy and directness rather than the more stereotypical 'feminine' qualities merely hinted at by other writers.[202] But she was unable, or perhaps unwilling, to suggest examples of women's music that would demonstrate these qualities other than, by implication, her own. In an article in the progressive music journal *The Sackbut* in 1924 however, Yvonne Pert dismissed Smyth as a composer whose work was 'conceived according to masculine models'. Pert did point to specific contemporary composers, including Morfydd Owen (1891-1918), whom she felt were reflecting a still undefined femininity in their music. She focused in particular on the work of Poldowski (1879-1932), describing her as

> probably the most spontaneously feminine composer up to the present. Her work is instinct with the feminine quality of moods, the feminine reaction to images and atmospheres, the feminine impulses expressed in new varieties of

[200] 'Some notes taken at the Inaugural Meeting of the SWM', annotated typescript. RCM: SWM archive.
[201] Smyth, *Female Pipings in Eden*, pp.9-10. See also, for example, W. W. Cobbett who believed that 'the composer destined to achieve greatness in the future is more likely to be simply - herself; not woman pranked in male garb, but woman true to her own nature'. *Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music* II, p.593.
[202] Smyth's views on women's creativity are discussed further below.

> rhythm and harmonic colour, slight though these variations may seem. ... She has probably taken the first clearly conscious and decisive step towards the realization of femininity as an objective in musical art.[203]

Reviews of music by women composers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries reflect many of the issues and opinions expressed in these general articles about women and music. Concerts or works by individual women were often, although not always, identified and discussed specifically as the work of women. The woman in question was often seen as part of a growing female phenomenon in much the same way that British composers in general were being grouped and identified as initiating an exciting Renaissance of British music. So, for example, the reviewer of a private concert given by Marie Wurm in 1890 remarked:

> To the swelling list of British lady-composers graced by the names of Miss Holmès, Ethel M. Smyth, Dora Bright, Ethel M. Boyce, Rosalind Ellicott, and others, whose works go far to controvert the accepted notion that the *beau sexe* is destitute of the creative faculty in music, that of Marie Wurm must be added.[204]

Many writers could only grant success to one woman at a time. A startling number of composers were seen as rising above their female contemporaries:

> Madame de Pachmann's 'Theme et Variations' (Novello) affords welcome evidence of the fact, so frequently noticed of late, that the sterner sex no longer monopolizes the higher walks of the art. The earnestness, freedom, and power manifested in this piece are in strong contrast with the mawkish triviality usually associated with feminine efforts.[205]

In 1887 reviewers claimed that Hélène Heale's *Jubilee Ode* 'proves the composer to possess more than ordinary ability - far more, indeed, than the majority of lady musicians'[206] while Marie Wurm's compositions were seen to 'show her to be possessed of the gift of invention, and great cleverness in the use of form. We have reason, therefore, for stating and believing that she is one of the most talented lady composers

---

[203] Yvonne Pert, 'The Woman in Music' *The Sackbut* 5 (1924-5), pp.44-45. Poldowski was the pseudonym of Irene Wieniawska, later Lady Dean Paul. Of mixed Irish and Polish parentage, she was brought up in Brussels, studied music there as well as in Paris and London, and after her marriage to an Englishman was regarded as an English composer. Her music ranges from the dissonant and humorous to the atmospheric languor of her songs to the poetry of Verlaine. Although Poldowski's work was being heard from about 1908 onwards, much of her career and music fall outside the scope of this study. For further information see Anon, *Miniature Essay: Poldowski* (London: Chester, 1924) and Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers*, pp. 249-251.

[204] *The Monthly Musical Record* (August 1890), p.186.

[205] *The Musical World* LXVI (4 August 1888), p.607.

[206] *The Musical Times* 28 (July 1887), p.425.

now living'.[207] Perhaps surprisingly, the work of women composers was rarely directly compared to that of other women.[208] A comparison made in 1896 by a reviewer in *The Athenauem* between the songs of Allitsen and those of Chaminade stands out amongst the criticism of the time.[209]

Sometimes women's work was overtly acknowledged to be judged by different set of standards although remarks such as that made of a cantata by Boyce - 'As the effort of a lady student "The Lay of the Brown Rosary" is remarkable' - were fairly rare.[210] A more subtle array of gendered descriptions of women's music was far more common, and reviewers' choice of words displayed all their assumptions about what women's music should be like. Adjectives such as 'dainty', 'charming', 'graceful', 'tender', 'pretty' and 'refined' could all be used to describe works by male composers but were employed with a particular freedom and abundance when a woman's music was under discussion. This association of women's music with these stereotypical ideals of womanhood continued unabated throughout the 1880s and 1890s and far into the 20th century. Sometimes the qualities of the work seem to have been directly confused with those of the composer herself. The reviewer of a 'charming' song by Boyce neatly conflated song and composer in a final remark: 'We shall be glad again to meet with Miss Boyce'.[211] This conflation was highlighted when composer was also performer. One reviewer of Bright's Suite for pianoforte, for example, felt that it 'created a marked impression, both from the attractiveness of the music and the charmingly refined manner in which it was rendered'.[212]

The scoring of Hélène Heale's cantata *The Water-Sprites* for soprano and alto solo and female chorus highlighted this work's connection with the female, something clearly reflected in one reviewer's choice of words: 'The composition's music is distinguished by easy melodiousness, simplicity of form, and here and there by pretty, unpretentious

---

[207] 'Music in Leipzig' *The Monthly Musical Record* (January 1887), p.8.

[208] This was not the case with women novelists who were often compared to each other, with the implication that they all worked in an entirely different sphere from men. See, for example, Julie Holledge, *Innocent Flowers: Women in the Edwardian Theatre* (London: Virago, 1981), p.44.

[209] *Athenaeum* (9 May 1896), p.628. An American reviewer of Smyth's *Der Wald* found that 'Miss Smyth's instrumentation avoids the leaning towards violin episodes in unison, so noticeable in the orchestral works of other women - Chaminade and Holmès, for instance'. Quoted in *Musical News* (18 April 1903), p.372. For more of this particular review, see below.

[210] *The Musical Times* 31 (May 1890), p.281.

[211] *The Musical Times* 27 (October 1886), p.611.

[212] *The Musical Times* 27 (December 1886), p.719.

tone-painting'.[213] Ellicott's Piano Trio in G was seen as 'a graceful and refined work',[214] while another typical review described two pieces for cello and piano by Swepstone as 'pretty, unaffected pieces', adding that 'their melodies have a natural grace, and they are tastefully harmonised without being in the least difficult'.[215] In 1904 a *Musical Times* critic wrote that Ethel Barns's second sonata for violin and piano 'possesses a certain freshness of ideas which, combined with graceful and melodious themes, invest the music with no little attractiveness'.[216] This contrasts sharply with a review in the same journal in the same year of her Piano Trio, which 'in common with previous compositions by Miss Barns proved a tuneful, well written and tersely developed work'.[217]

Even large-scale orchestral pieces attracted the familiar set of adjectives. In 1881 Alice Mary Smith's overture *Jason* was described as 'charming', [218] while 16 years later Dora Bright's *Liebeslied* for orchestra was deemed 'a graceful and melodious piece scored in a picturesque and refined manner'.[219] A review of Bright's Piano Concerto in 1891 had managed, while bestowing considerable praise, to associate the work with the uniquely female accomplishment of needlework as well as the decorativeness expected of women themselves:

> The concerto is notable for its melodious character, it is direct in its appeal to our intelligence and feelings, being straightforward and natural, never mystic, involved or strained in tone. Perhaps its most remarkable feature is the elegance of the pianoforte passages of embroidery, which ornament the main themes, surrounding them with a delicate feminine grace emitted by the pianoforte as they are delined by the orchestral instruments.[220]

The word 'feminine' and its opposite 'masculine' (or 'virile') were frequently used in the music criticism of the late 19th century. Precise definitions were rarely forthcoming although one critic related 'masculine' music to 'firmness, vigour and strength' while 'feminine' music was 'graceful and elegant'.[221] Such a 'genderising' of music was by no

---

[213] *The Monthly Musical Record* (January 1886), p.16.
[214] *The Musical World* LXX (22 February 1890), p.156.
[215] *The Monthly Musical Record* (October 1892), p.224. In the previous year a reviewer in this journal had written of Swepstone that 'her most notable successes lie in the sphere of the tender and graceful'. *The Monthly Musical Record* (July 1891), p.158.
[216] *The Musical Times* 45 (April 1904), p.248.
[217] *The Musical Times* 45 (December 1904), p.809.
[218] *The Musical Times* 22 (June 1881), p.300.
[219] *The Musical Times* 38 (April 1897), p.241.
[220] *Musical News* (3 April 1891), p.85.
[221] Review in *The Daily Telegraph* of Smith's *The Passions*, quoted in William Scott Ball, 'Reclaiming a

means a recent development, although it was only now being applied to music actually written by women. The author of an article on 'The Feminine in Music' pointed out that

> we have long been familiar with the classification which assigns to the music of certain composers a masculine character, and to that of others an approximation towards feminine traits. For this reason Porpora was called the "wife of Haydn", and Schubert is sometimes spoken of as a feminine Beethoven.[222]

'Masculinity' indicated a variety of attributes which were always seen as positive. Music that was 'masculine' was driven and energetic, used complex forms and bold scoring and was usually written for large forces.[223] 'Feminine' music was identified with smaller, less complex formal structures and with music based on melody rather than counterpoint. Despite attempts at gallant praise for the feminine, the use of the word usually had decidedly negative overtones. A reviewer of Barns's *Concertstück* in D minor for violin and orchestra op. 20 at the 1907 Proms felt that 'though not strong the work is graceful, and may aptly be termed feminine in the best sense of the word'.[224] More overtly, Swepstone's overture *Les Ténèbres* had been praised 10 years previously as a work which 'is clever, vigorously scored, and has no touch of femininity'.[225]

Christine Battersby has claimed that 'it has not been generally recognised that it was "femaleness" - and not "femininity" - that was consistently downgraded in our culture'.[226] In *Gender and Genius* she gives a compelling account of the way in which, since the Romantic period, genius in Western culture has been allowed and even encouraged to be 'feminine' - intuitive, emotional, imaginative - but never actually female. Late 19th-century British music critics however did seem to feel that femaleness and femininity were especially linked in some way. In 1887, for example, a reviewer remarked: 'That the 'feminine' but by no means 'effeminate' in Schubert suits Madame

---

Music for England. Nationalist Concept and Controversy in English Musical Thought and Criticism 1880-1920' (PhD Ohio State University, 1993), p.67.

[222] 'The Feminine in Music', p.521. Stratton also referred to Friedrich Niecks's view of 'the feminine aspect of Schubert's genius compared with that of Beethoven, as suggested by Schumann'. Stratton, 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art', p.127. See also the discussion in Scott, 'The Sexual Politics of Victorian Musical Aesthetics', pp.95-6.

[223] Songs could be regarded as 'masculine' or 'virile'. William Boosey wrote of Maude Valérie White: 'There is, at times, something intensely virile about her music'. He does not explain what he means and may just be using the word to distinguish her work from that of other women songwriters. Boosey, *Fifty Years in Music*, p.28.

[224] *The Musical Times* 48 (November 1907), p.740.

[225] *The Musical Times* 38 (March 1897), p.171.

[226] Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (London: The Women's Press, 1989), p.8.

Norman-Neruda to absolute perfection, is nothing new'.[227] In music, both the female and the feminine were increasingly seen to be worrying, if not threatening, and second-rate.

There was a basic assumption that women would or should write 'feminine' music, while men would write 'masculine' music. By the late 19th century men who wrote music that was regarded as 'feminine', from Gounod to Sullivan, were usually downgraded in a British musical culture that was trying to build a new, strong and 'manly' native music. Needless to say, those women who wrote music that conformed to the 'masculine' rather than the 'feminine' stereotypes generated a sense of confusion and surprise. A report in 1888 of Holmès's symphonic ode *Ludus pro patria* noted that 'the finest number appears to be a martial piece, "Forgez une épée" in which one critic recognises, oddly enough, vigour, power and a manly energy.'[228] In the following year a review of Grøndhal's music found it to be 'remarkably original, attractive, and vigorous to a degree absolutely surprising in one so fair and feminine in appearance and manner'.[229] Shaw's review of the premiere of one of Smyth's works has been often quoted:

> When E. M. Smyth's heroically brassy overture to Antony and Cleopatra was finished, and the composer called to the platform, it was observed with stupefaction that all that tremendous noise had been made by a lady.[230]

Women were not inevitably castigated for writing 'masculine music', although for some critics, women's music simply could not succeed if it did not display typically 'feminine' characteristics. In a review of Smith's cantata *The Passions*, the *Daily Telegraph* critic (probably Joseph Bennett), drew on the idea of the long-expected 'great' woman composer and her distinctive musical style:

---

[227] *The Musical World* LXV (29 January 1887), p.77. The concept of 'effeminacy' here obviously implies an especially negative femininity (perhaps femininity when associated with men rather than with women) but it should be noted that at this time effeminacy was not particularly associated with male homosexuality. See Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment* (London: Cassell, 1994). For further discussion of effeminacy and music, see chapter 7.

[228] *The Musical World* LXVI (17 March 1888), p.206.

[229] *The Monthly Musical Record* (August 1889), p.184.

[230] George Bernard Shaw, *Music In London 1890-94* revised edition (London: Constable, 1932) II, p. 37. It is somewhat surprising that by 1892 most members of the British listening public were not aware that Smyth was a woman. Two years earlier the premiere of her Serenade for orchestra had elicited the following, somewhat familiar comment: 'But surprise rose to absolute wonder when the composer, called to the platform, turned out to be a member of the fair sex'. J. B. K. *The Monthly Musical Record* (June 1890), p.137.

> The work ... has about it nothing that can be called distinctly feminine, and, therefore, is not "epoch-making". For distinctly feminine music of a high order we have still to wait. ... we can easily imagine the opening up of a new world by the female composer who, with all the fine instincts and acute sensibility of her sex, writes music as a woman, and not as a more or less feeble imitator of man.[231]

Battersby has described the idea of the androgynous artist as 'integral to the Romantics' account of true genius'.[232] But although she argues that creative androgyny was a concept used only for biological males, at the end of the 19th century some critics writing about women musicians found a praiseworthy combination of the 'masculine' and the 'feminine'. A reviewer of 1887 described Zimmermann's performance as 'blending the feminine with the masculine element in admirable proportion'.[233] The concept was also applied to composition. In a review of a performance by Bright of her *Variations on an original Theme by Sir G. A. Macfarren*, her playing was seen to combine 'the genuine tenderness and warmth of womanly feeling with masculine vigour and energy' while the Variations themselves 'breathe the spirit of modern romanticism, and present, like her playing, a most attractive combination of alternate grace and power'.[234] Two pieces for violin and piano by Ethel Harraden were, in the same review, described with the 'feminine' adjectives 'charming and simple' as well as being awarded the more 'masculine' quality of 'considerable originality and power'.[235]

Sometimes critics explained a female performer's 'masculine' qualities in terms of overcompensation for their femaleness. The debut of the all-female Shinner Quartet in 1887 was criticised by one reviewer for 'an occasional excessive speed and somewhat exuberant power, possibly from a fear of appearing, like Rosalind, too feminine'.[236] The 'new woman' of the 1890s was characterised in the press by an alarming 'masculinity' and the ever alert Shaw related the increasingly 'virile' performance of women musicians to the wider political situation. In a review of a performance of Brahms's Violin Concerto in 1893 he wrote:

> Miss Wietrowetz is powerful, impatient, and, like all modern women, somewhat contemptuous of manly gentleness. I confess I am afraid of Miss Wietrowetz: she is so strong and wilful that even her playing gives me a

[231] Quoted in Ball, 'Reclaiming a Music for England', pp. 365-366.
[232] Battersby, *Gender and Genius*, p.7.
[233] *The Monthly Musical Record* (May 1887), p.114.
[234] *The Monthly Musical Record* (April 1889), pp.90-91.
[235] *The Monthly Musical Record* (December 1885), p.278.
[236] *The Monthly Musical Record* (May 1887), p.115.

> humiliating sense of being ordered about - positively of being henpecked. ... There is no longer any doubt about it: we of the nobler sex must give up the old assortment of 'manly qualities;' for they are passing away from us to the young women, who beat all our records with triumphant ease.[237]

Shaw seems to have had his own personal way of demeaning women's music by granting women the ability to produce flashy, popular music but nothing of any meaning or depth, playing on the contemporary belief in women's lack of logical reasoning powers. A performance of Bright's piano concerto in 1891 prompted the following:

> Somehow, there is an appalling soundness of the head and heart about our young English lady composers which prevents them from getting into the depths of tone poetry; but they certainly swim very engagingly on the surface.[238]

He found Smyth's Mass in D

> interesting as the beginning of what I have so often prophesied - the conquest of popular music by women. Whenever I hear the dictum, 'Women cannot compose', uttered by some male musician whose whole endowment, intellectual and artistic, might be generously estimated as equivalent to that of the little finger of Miss Braddon or Miss Broughton, I always chuckle and say to myself, "Wait a bit, my lad, until they find out how much easier it is than literature, and how little the public shares your objection to hidden consecutives, descending leading notes, ascending sevenths, false relations, and all the other items in your *index expurgatorius*!"
> What musician that has ever read a novel of Ouida's has not exclaimed sometimes, 'If she would only lay on this sort of thing with an orchestra, how concerts would begin to pay!' Since women have succeeded conspicuously in Victor Hugo's profession, I cannot see why they should not succeed equally in Liszt's if they turned their attention to it.[239]

There were many other ways in which the work of women could be subtly discredited, such as giving praise to composers for suitably modest ambitions. A reviewer of the published edition of Clara Macirone's *Rondino* for piano remarked:

> We are glad... to see that artists who desire not to rank themselves amongst the disciples of what may perhaps be termed the 'higher development' school of composition do not remain quite silent. A modest flower which we pluck by the wayside often contains the germ of some of our rarest exotics.[240]

---

[237] Shaw, *Music In London 1890-94* II, p.279. Such a view is remarkable similar to George Moore's contemporaneous view of women painters, as quoted in chapter 1: 'Women do things more easily than men, but they do not penetrate below the surface...'.

[238] Shaw, *Music In London 1890-94* I, p.160.

[239] Shaw, *Music In London 1890-94* II, p.234. Mary Elizabeth Braddon (1835-1915), Rhoda Broughton (1840-1920) and Ouida (Marie Louise de la Ramée, 1839-1908) were probably the most successful and widely read Victorian popular novelists, specialising in the sensation novel. For further discussion of women composers by Shaw in the same vein see *ibid.*, p. 37.

[240] *The Musical Times* 30 (July 1889), p.427. As late as 1925 a similar sentiment was expressed in a

One of the fundamental arguments about female creativity was that although women could recreate and imitate they were incapable of true creation, and innovative composition was simply beyond them.[241] Writing in 1900, A. L. S. explained:

> A large part of all music proceeds from the emotions, and in this respect woman is supposed to be more gifted than man. But music clearly depends on something more than feeling, something that goes beyond sensibility; and in that something woman would seem to be lacking. ... She can interpret, but she cannot create.[242]

The belief that women composers lacked true originality and could only produce work that imitated that of men was clearly reflected in the criticism of the period. Comparing the work of a composer to that of another, who may be better known to the reader, is a commonplace of reviewing. But the lists of composers to whom various women were seen to be overly indebted grew gradually longer and more strangely diverse, especially in the 1890s. As early as 1887 a reviewer of a Gewandhaus concert had remarked that 'the sonata for violin and piano by E. M. Smyth ... turned out to be the clever work of a lady who makes no pretensions to originality, but slavishly follows Brahms, and who possesses but little taste'.[243] In 1893 a reviewer of White's collection of piano pieces, *Pictures from Abroad*, wrote that

> In some of the numbers the influence of certain modern composers is somewhat strongly felt, as, for instance, Chopin in No. 2, Heller in No. 4. ... No. 3, with its quiet movement and choice harmonies, the expressive 'Katia' (no. 8), and the original Norwegian picture, Grieg notwithstanding, are, in our opinion, the gems of the set.[244]

Two years later Chaminade's *Concertstück* for piano and orchestra was described as

> a bright and lively work, opening with a distinct resemblance to Wagner's Overture to "The Flying Dutchman", and afterwards we are reminded of Liszt and Grieg, so that if Miss Chaminade is not original she is certainly eclectic.[245]

In 1900 a reviewer of Barns's first violin sonata made a similar point:

> The three movements severally suggest Grieg, Rubinstein, and Brahms, but although this may indicate lack of originality it also shows wide reading and familiar acquaintance with masters of musical art'.[246]

---

review of Adela Maddison's Piano Quintet. See *The Musical Times* 66 (October 1925), p.909.

[241] See, for example, report on Zeisler's lecture in *The Musical World* LXX (16 August 1890), p.654. This criticism was commonly applied to women working in all art forms. See, for example, Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, p.19.

[242] A. L. S., 'Women and Music' *Musical News* (21 July 1900), p.64.

[243] 'Music in Leipzig' *The Monthly Musical Record* (January 1888), p.10.

[244] *The Musical Times* 34 (April 1893), p.235.

[245] *The Musical Times* 36 (July 1895), p.454.

[246] *The Musical Times* 41 (January 1900), p.42. See also Adela Maddison's discussion of the critical reaction to her music in chapter 6.

Sometimes the connection between a perceived lack of originality and women was made startlingly clear, as in the following review of Ellicott's *Concertstück* for piano and orchestra:

> A mildly feminine or womanish composition is this Concert-stück, neatly put together, we admit, and ingeniously scored, but full of reminiscences from the texts to Schumann, Grieg, and others.[247]

Although plenty of examples can be produced to show critics subtly or not so subtly presenting women's music as second-rate and clearly distinct from that by men, there are also numerous examples to be found in which women's work was judged in gender-free terms, reflecting their acceptance as composers. There certainly appears to be nothing originating in the British musical press which reads quite as damningly of women's music as the following extracts from a review of Smyth's opera *Der Wald* in the American journal *The Musical Courier*:

> Not as the music of a woman should Miss Smyth's score be judged. She thinks in masculine style, broad and virile. ...
> Her climaxes are full-bodied, and the fortissimi are real. There is no sparing of brass, and there is no mincing of the means that speak the language of musical passion. In this respect (and it is not the only one) the gifted Englishwoman has fully emancipated herself from her sex.[248]

British critics did not always bring a woman's gender, either covertly or overtly, into their assessment of her music.[249] A few such reviews from just one year, 1890, include the description of Wurm's Piano Concerto in B minor as 'a work distinguished by so much originality, melodious charm, life, vigour and masterly workmanship'.[250] One reviewer of Prescott's *In Woodland - by Beech, and Yew, and Tangled Brake* wrote that 'the overture is happily conceived, contains much clever workmanship, and the various subjects are bright and arresting'.[251] Smyth's overture *Anthony and Cleopatra* was

> worthy of high praise. The themes are bold and striking, their development shows great command of the technical resources of the art, and the orchestration, though wanting a little in contrast, is rich in colour and exceedingly effective. Altogether the work gave us much pleasure, and our wonder at the coldness of its reception would have been great, were we less familiar with the capriciousness of public taste.[252]

---

[247] *The Musical Standard* illustrated series 5 (28 March 1896), p.203.
[248] Quoted in *Musical News* (18 April 1903), p.372.
[249] Despite Smyth's assertion that they did. Ethel Smyth, 'England, Music, and - Women' *The English Review* 22 (1916), p.193.
[250] *The Monthly Musical Record* (August 1890), p.186.
[251] *The Musical World* LXX (6 December 1890), p.969.
[252] *The Musical World* LXX (25 October 1890), p.857. The long and detailed review of Smyth's Mass in *Musical News* barely mentions her gender and remains remarkably free of gendered assessment. *Musical*

It was not always immediately apparent to critics that some composers were women. Apart from the few who used male pseudonyms there were others who obscured their gender by only using initials instead of their female first names. Few women used male pseudonyms in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. Of those who did, none claimed that they chose male names in order to make the reception of their work more favourable, although this may have been an unspoken factor in their choice. D'Hardelot admitted that the general public assumed she was a man, addressing correspondence to Guy d'Hardelot, Esq., but she made no attempt other than choosing a male pseudonym to disguise her sex.[253] Amanda Ira Aldridge explained that she took the pseudonym Montague Ring in order to keep her career as a singing teacher separate from her career as a composer.[254] Since women were completely accepted as popular songwriters in the late 19th century there was no need for them to disguise their sex.

One pseudonym had what seems to have been an unintentional ambiguity. Mary Frances Bumpus almost certainly chose to work under a pseudonym (Frances Allitsen), as had earlier composers who took female pseudonyms such as 'Claribel' or 'Dolores', in order to retain a suitably respectable anonymity.[255] The ambiguity arose from her use of the first name Frances, which, when spelt Francis, is a male name. In his book *A Century of Ballads*, Harold Simpson suggested a telling explanation for the confusion:

> Owing perhaps to the virility of her songs, Frances Allitsen is often credited by the public with being a man, and frequently receives letters addressed to F. Allitsen, Esq.[256]

Composers who were identified in their published works by their initials were always assumed to be men until they were well known enough to be identified as women. This was a common way for women to disguise their sex yet still retain their own individual

---

News (21 January 1893), pp.55-56. This review (and others) counter Smyth's own assessment of the Mass's premiere: '*Reception*: enthusiastic. *Press*: Devastating'. Ethel Smyth, *Female Pipings in Eden* (Edinburgh: Peter Davies, 1933), p.39.

[253] 'A Noted Woman Composer' *The Musical Leader and Concert Goer*. Fawcett Library: undated cutting. The portrait on the cover of Chappell's *Guy D'Hardelot Album* clearly identifies the composer as a woman, as do her numerous interviews.

[254] Herbert Marshall and Mildred Stock, *Ira Aldridge: The Negro Tragedian* (London: Rockliff, 1958), p.304.

[255] See chapter 5.

[256] Harold Simpson, *A Century of Ballads 1810-1910: Their Composers and Singers* (London: Mills and Boon, 1910), p.310. The mistake is repeated by Northcote who includes 'Francis Allitsen' in his list of the ten most popular Victorian songwriters. Sydney Northcote, *Byrd to Britten: A Survey of English Song* (London: John Baker, 1966), p.81.

identity. The first women student to be admitted to the Royal Academy of Art schools had applied using only her initial.[257] Cicely Hamilton explained her use of just initial and surname for her first play, written in the 1890s:

> Othos Stuart warned me it was advisable to conceal the sex of its author until after the notices were out, as plays which were known to be written by women were apt to get a bad press. My name therefore appeared on the programme in the indeterminate abbreviated form of C. Hamilton.[258]

Women composers who chose this form of identification at some point, usually an early stage, in their careers, included A. E. Horrocks, C. A. Macirone, E. M. Smyth and M. White.[259] They doubtless felt that this disguise would enable their work to be judged without preconceived assumptions and prejudices, although there is little evidence that any of them were assumed to be men for very long or that they were unwilling to give interviews or biographical details to the press. For a few years in the early 1890s Elizabeth Chamberlayne, who always published as E. A. Chamberlayne, was assumed in reviews of her sheet music to be a man.[260] This did not prevent her Mazurka in Ab for piano being described as 'graceful',[261] or Charles Santley refusing to perform one of her manuscripts.[262] Despite being widely acknowledged as Miss E. A. Chamberlayne in the favourable reviews of the 1895 Crystal Palace performance of her *Ariel* for flute, harp and strings,[263] a year later the critic for *The Musical Standard* still assumed she was a man in an extremely disagreeable review of the published editions of nine keyboard works.[264] Being presumed to be male certainly did not help Chamberlayne in any way.

---

[257] Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, p.47.

[258] Quoted in Julie Holledge, *Innocent Flowers: Women in the Edwardian Theatre* (London: Virago, 1981), p.44.

[259] All Smyth's early letters to the Philharmonic Society trying to gain performances for her work are signed E. M. Smyth. The Society still refused to programme the works. See above.

[260] See, for example, *The Monthly Musical Record* (July 1891), p.158 and (December 1893), p.273. Chamberlayne's first name was so little known that both Ebel and Elson in their pioneering books on women composers called her Edith. Otto Ebel, *Women Composers: A Biographical Handbook of Woman's Work in Music* 3rd edition (New York: Chandler-Ebel Music Co., 1913), p.33 and Arthur Elson, *Women's Work in Music* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1904), p.139.

[261] *The Monthly Musical Record* (May 1892), p.112.

[262] Charles Santley to E. A. Chamberlayne, 20 July 1895. BL: Add. Ms 68943.

[263] *The Musical Times* 36 (April 1895), p.234 and *Musical News* (2 March 1895), p.197.

[264] The review, criticising the works for amateurish composition, ended with the remark: 'This faulty writing is not pleasing to us'. *The Musical Standard* illustrated series 5 (9 May 1896), p.305. Chamberlayne responded in a letter printed two weeks later. While not defending herself against the charge of amateurism as such, she pointed out that she had studied with Prout and had written two symphonies and an opera among other large scale works. The response from the critic, who now realised she was a woman, was still as vitriolic: 'It was particularly desired to point to the amateurishness of our composer's work, although we did not then refer to her monotonous, unskilful, weak basses, the inexperienced effect of her melody, nor to the weakness there is throughout from a rhythmic point of view'. *The Musical Standard* illustrated series V (23 May 1896), p.337. Such an opinion of her writing contrasts sharply with the reviews of works such as *Ariel* or her Second Piano Sonata in other journals,

However, it seems likely that the detailed and gender-free reviews of E. Overbeck's work in *The Musical Times* in 1894 were written by a critic who did not realise that Overbeck was a woman.[265]

Over the years the media debate over women composers produced a complex set of arguments about women's creative musical capacities, many of which are still being discussed today. Women were presented with a diverse set of expectations and assumptions about their work, including a mounting pressure to create music, ideally reflecting their true femininity, that would provide Britain with a 'great' woman composer. The conflicting and complex critical reception of their music and that of women composers in general seems to have affected the attitudes of women towards their own self-image as composers in different ways. Many display the 'anxiety of authorship' or ambivalence towards creativity that Marcia Citron discusses in *Gender and the Musical Canon.*[266] Given the frequent insistence of the press that women were incapable of innovative creativity it is not surprising that many women refused to believe in the possibilities of their own talent. Aylward clearly demonstrated her assumption that her work was valueless when she sent William Boosey one of her earliest songs, asking him how much he would charge for printing 100 copies. The astute but honourable Boosey sent her £5 for the copyright and asked to see more.[267] White's self-deprecating attitude towards her musical abilities, as expressed in her memoirs, demonstrates a fundamental lack of confidence although she was probably also choosing to portray herself with a suitably lady-like modesty which obscures the vein of hard-nosed professionalism that is apparent in some aspects of her career.[268]

For many women, the contrast between what appears to be a lack of self-assurance and the evidence of their determined promotion of their music doubtless stems from the

---

and indeed with the evidence of the music itself.

[265] See, for example, *The Musical Times* 35 (January 1894), pp.45 and 48; (October 1894), pp. 689 and 690. When her orchestral works were performed in Plymouth in the early 20th century, Overbeck, who was of Russian origin although educated in Britain, called herself Baroness Ella Overbeck.

[266] Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.54-78.

[267] Standing, 'Some Lady Composers: Miss Florence Aylward', p.1062. See also Boosey, *Fifty Years of Music*, p. 29. 'I came across Florence Aylward through a chance manuscript sent through the post. One very rarely picks up anything worth having submitted in this way. I gave Florence Aylward the words of "Beloved, It is Morn" to set, and it was her big success'.

[268] See chapter 4.

perceived need for such displays of modesty. Landon Ronald wrote that Frances Allitsen, a composer who fought hard for performances of her music, was

> of a very retiring disposition, and if perchance some one should begin to sing her praises in her presence, she immediately attributes any "small success she may have achieved" to her masters.[269]

A. E. Keeton felt that Ellicott, a woman of remarkable tenacity and confidence where performances of her music were concerned, was 'inclined to underrate her own capabilities'.[270]

None of her contemporaries displayed the extreme confidence in their own abilities that can be seen in Smyth's forceful self-promotion, but many women composers had a strong sense of assurance, despite what must have seemed at times like a stream of condemnation from the press and the musical establishment. Some critics and journalists were distinctly discouraging of women's ambitions as composers. A review in *The Times*, for example, firmly steered Ida Walter towards writing in suitably ladylike genres: 'Whether Miss Walter will ever be able to write a good opera is doubtful, but her success in gentler and less ambitious forms of art may be safely prognosticated'.[271] The persistent suggestions that women should be writing 'feminine' music doubtless dissuaded women from writing in the most prestigious and, of course, 'masculine' forms and styles, whether opera, symphony or sonata.

Nevertheless there were many ways in which women found support and the determination to achieve success as composers. The radical women's papers of the period regularly presented examples of women breaking down barriers, confounding expectations and entering professions that had previously been closed to them. Women were also specifically encouraged by those sections of the media that did believe women were capable of composing music - by Stratton's article or André de Ternant's series of articles. Critics could also be encouraging. In his review of Chamberlayne's second piano sonata, for example, T. L. Southgate wrote:

> Miss Chamberlayne has distinct talent; she has essayed, not without some success, a type of music that few dare attempt, and one cannot but counsel her to continue in the path she has selected, and to go from sonata to concerto and

---

[269] Landon Ronald, 'Some Lady Song Writers' *The Lady's Realm* (1901), pp.479-480.
[270] A. E. Keeton, 'Some English Composers: Miss Rosalind F. Ellicott' *The London Musical Courier* V (30 June 1898), p.427.
[271] Quoted in *The Musical World* LXIV (24 July 1886), p.475.

> symphony; she has gifts and powers possessed by very few composers of music.[272]

J. B. K., reviewing Smyth's Serenade for orchestra, hoped that it would 'not, as with many promising composers, prove the climax of her creative faculties, but an earnest of many good things to come'.[273] Women composers also found practical and emotional support from other musicians, both men and women, although such support often came from outside the university, music school and festival circles of the mainstream establishment.

While some composers were bolstered by a sense of community, others felt a considerable sense of isolation, remembered by Eggar as 'the loneliness of the woman who wanted to compose - her lack of contact with other composers, of any opportunity to discuss and exchange experiences'.[274] Prescott provided a vivid description of such loneliness:

> My own little life of music is a very quiet one; chiefly comprised within the walls of my study, from whence I look out as from a watch tower upon the struggles, the sorrows, hopes, and joys of my fellows, having those of my own which they perhaps have little knowledge of.[275]

Prescott nevertheless had a strong self-image as a composer, doubtless bolstered by her work with groups such as the Musical Artists' Society or the National Society of Professional Musicians. She was by no means the only woman to fight for a place within this professional world of music, although her high profile in such organisations was unusual for a woman. Many women were proud of their acceptance by the establishment. Alice Mary Smith regarded her election as a Professional Associate of the Philharmonic Society as 'one of the highest honours of her Musical Life'.[276] But finding a place within these organisations could be hard for the middle- or upper-class woman who was usually assumed to be an unskilled amateur. Although the rules did not specifically exclude them, there were no women among the 48 original members and associates of the Society of British Composers, founded in 1905 with the object of

---

[272] *Musical News* (29 September 1894), p.260.
[273] J. B. K. *The Monthly Musical Record* (June 1890), p.137.
[274] Eggar, 'Marion Scott as Founder of the Society of Women Musicians', p.5.
[275] Oliveria Prescott, 'Brothers and Sisters' *The Musical World* LXX (25 January 1890), p.66.
[276] Frederick Meadows White to Francesco Berger, 10 December 1884. Philharmonic Society Papers BL Loan 48.13/35 f. 240. Clara Macirone was also elected an associate of the Philharmonic Society. *Women's Penny Paper* (2 November 1889), p.14.

'promoting the Publication and Performance of works by British Composers'.[277] By 1912 there were 13 women members and 19 women associates (the category of membership open to non-composers) out of a total membership of 215.[278] Some of the women who were elected as associates, such as Lady Euan-Smith, Fanny Hayes and Mabel Saumarez Smith, did have works included in the list of members' compositions, suggesting either that they did not identify themselves as composers, despite claiming a place for their work, or that the Council did not recognise them as composers.

Primary source material such as letters and diaries remains frustratingly sparse for the women composers of this generation, but from the surviving evidence it is clear that many women had a clear sense of their achievements and their place within the musical world. Prescott saw herself in a proud new tradition of women composers, as she indicated in her book *About Music and What It Is Made Of*:

> In a book written by a woman we may not omit the part which women have of late played in the orchestra of our musical world. Abroad, Mdlle Holmès, Mdlle Chaminade and others and in England Virginia Gabriel, Alice Mary Smith, Maude Valérie White, Rosalind Ellicott, E. M. Smyth - and, may we add, the present writer? - have, among others, done work which has its share of influence in the making of what is now the modern musical style.[279]

The memoirs and autobiographical writings of composers such as Smyth, White and Lehmann demonstrate a fundamental belief that their lives and careers were of interest and importance to others.[280]

Unfortunately, few women composers other than Smyth have left a clear idea of their own attitudes towards women's creativity. Prescott once claimed that 'women have to

---

[277] See *The Society of British Composers Year Book, 1906/07* (Middlesex: Society of British Composers, 1906).

[278] The members were Marian Arkwright, H. C. Dixon, Katherine Eggar, Cécile Hartog, Emma Lomax, Mrs Tobias Matthay, Margaret Meredith, Oliveria Prescott, Eleanor Rudall, Josephine Troup, Katharine Ramsay (the Marchioness of Tullibardine), Zenie Weisberg and Ethel Woodland while the associates included Lena Ashwell, Fanny Davies and Ethel Smyth's patron, Mary Dodge.

[279] Oliveria Prescott, *About Music, and What It Is Made Of: A Book for Amateurs* (London: Methuen, 1904), p.100.

[280] Although White gives a typically self-effacing, disingenuous and humorous explanation for writing her first volume of memoirs: '...a friend asked me if I had never thought of writing my memoirs. I was very much astonished, for it had never occured to me that anyone would care to read anything I had to say about myself and my extremely erratic life'. After giving the matter some thought, she decided that people do sometimes want extraordinary things: '"Who knows", I thought, "whether cats, if approached really tactfully on the subject of side-pockets, might not respond to the suggestion with passionate enthusiasm?" After a day or two, it seemed to me that nothing was more likely, and that as there were plenty of two-legged cats in the world who would be only too delighted to pick my literary side-pockets (to pieces) it would be quite a pity not to give them the chance of doing so!' White, *Friends and Memories*, p.vii-viii.

contend with too deeply-rooted ideas, one of which is that women's work is weak';[281] and White, writing about the work of the painter Mary Wallace, remarked:

> I am quite sure that the heart has always played a dominant role in the work of those women who have been able to rouse the enthusiasm of their contemporaries. Perhaps had Mary Wallace been dominated less by her great and generous heart she might have produced more pictures, but I am quite sure she would never have produced more beautiful ones.[282]

In interviews, Lehmann was often asked to talk about her own experiences as a composer and on at least one occasion this led her to generalise about women's abilities:

> Where others' ideas and thoughts take form in language, mine are in tone, and so insistent are they that I have to give them concrete form, which brings me to the point where I want to deny the assertion made by many men, philosophers and scientists, that women are incapable of dealing intelligently with the abstract.[283]

Smyth's writings include several passages in which she discusses the reasons why women have not been successful as 'great' composers and the issues of a distinctively female creativity.[284] Perhaps the most detailed explanation of her views on creativity is to be found in her essay of 1928 'A Final Burning of Boats'. In this she gives three characteristics of female creativity: volcanic energy, directness and inner freedom, especially from 'the dread ... of being commonplace'.[285] But although this essay mentions numerous women painters and writers, Smyth is curiously silent about any women composers other than herself. In exploring some of the reasons why the work of women of this generation has disappeared from the history of the British Musical Renaissance, Smyth's role in that disappearance can not be ignored.

In 1894 she wrote to a friend: 'If I were a man maybe I should not live outside the world of music'.[286] Throughout her life Smyth felt that she had been rejected by the British musical establishment which she variously called The Faculty, The Machine, The Gang or even The Groove (perhaps an oblique reference to George Grove's controlling influence) and once described as 'a sort of reservoir in which swim about potentates of various kinds: University men, rich music patrons, Heads of Colleges, of publishing

---

[281] Oliveria Prescott 'Imperial Exhibition of Women's Work' *Musical News* (4 August 1894), p.101.
[282] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.156. White's focus on heart and beauty provides a key to what she valued in her own work.
[283] Quoted in Lehmann, *The Life of Liza Lehmann*, p.160.
[284] See for example the opening section of *Female Pipings in Eden*, pp.3-56.
[285] Smyth, *A Final Burning of Boats Etc.*, p.13.
[286] Smyth to Lady Ponsonby, 20 January 1894. Quoted in Smyth, *As Time Went On...*, p.319.

houses; representative men on big provincial Festival Committees, perhaps a pressman or two'.[287] Some women composers, such as Maddison or White, found creative space outside the mainstream Renaissance establishment but Smyth desperately wanted to be a part of this world and identified two main reasons for her exclusion - that in the early part of her career she had studied, lived and worked in Germany, the country she saw as her spiritual and musical home, and that she was a woman.

In the 1920s and 30s, due partly to the deafness that made composing difficult and partly to her need for money after the collapse of some of her inherited income, Smyth had turned to broadcasting and writing essays and memoirs. This was an ideal position from which to fight on behalf of women in the musical world and ensure that the achievements of her contemporaries would be acknowledged. It is well known that at this time, with typical spirit and determination, she took up the cause of women musicians who were fighting for the right to work in the large professional orchestras. But she did not fight on behalf of her female contemporaries who were composers.

While her published writings provide a vivid and valuable interpretation of her own position as a woman building a career as a composer at the end of the 19th century, Smyth does not mention the name of any woman composer other than Augusta Holmès and Dorothy Howell. But, at the time when she was writing, both Holmès and Howell were, rather like the professional women orchestral musicians she campaigned for, safely distanced from Smyth herself. Holmès had been dead for 18 years when Smyth wrote about her in 1921, while Howell, whose omission from Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* is mentioned in passing in *A Final Burning of Boats*, was a young composer of 30. [288] Where are the composers of Smyth's own generation? To anyone familiar with British song-writing in the late 19th century or early 20th century, Smyth's reference to 'the few women composers who have contrived to get their songs printed' is curious.[289] As any cursory glance at publishers' advertising will show, women had been publishing a wide variety of songs in large numbers for decades before Smyth made this remark. In 1892 a writer in *The Musical Times* had rightly pointed out that 'at

[287] Smyth, *Female Pipings in Eden*, p.17.
[288] Smyth, *A Final Burning of Boats Etc.*, pp.126-136 and 49. In the initial essay of this collection Smyth also refers to 'you, O composer I will not name here lest I make enemies for you', p.27.
[289] *Ibid.*, p.13.

the present moment women are as numerously represented in the department of songwriting as in that of fiction'.[290]

Smyth can hardly have been unaware of the intense debate over women's musical creativity in the 1880s and 1890s or of the other women composers of her own generation. Although she was in Leipzig during the 1880s she returned to Britain regularly and it seems likely that she would have known about the many successes of, for example, Ellicott and Bright, even if she had not actually heard any of their music. There were two British women composers whom Smyth knew personally. White describes a visit from Smyth in Taormina in the early 20th century[291] and Smyth's own diaries record another meeting, again in Taormina, in 1920.[292] In a letter of 1909 Maddison refers to the possibility of travelling down to visit the Deliuses with Smyth, who had offered to take one of Maddison's orchestral scores down to Delius herself.[293] The two women were also both friends of the Princesse de Polignac and had many other acquaintances in common. It seems highly improbable that Smyth did not know about the well-publicised Leipzig performances of Maddison's opera *Der Talisman* in 1910.

Smyth's support networks and friendships with women are well documented, but they are different from those of her composer contemporaries. Most of her female friends and supporters in Britain, from Mrs Benson and Lady Ponsonby to Edith Somerville and Virginia Woolf, were not musicians, although one notable exception is Violet Gordon Woodhouse. In Leipzig Smyth had moved in a world of professional and amateur musicians and later in Paris was connected to the Polignac circle. But in Britain she seems to have rejected both the upper-class society musical circles and the informal friendships of professional women musicians. In her determination to be accepted by the establishment machinery she chose to stand outside some of the musical worlds that would certainly have accepted her. Her rejection of society musical circles was probably prompted by the fear, as a General's daughter with an inherited income, of being dismissed as a 'talented amateur'. At the same time her social and artistic snobbery may

[290] *The Musical Times* 33 (April 1892), p.208.
[291] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.12. This meeting must have taken place before 1909 since White refers to Smyth visiting her cottage, which she left in that year.
[292] 'In this hotel was M. Valerie White!! a perfect dear'. BL: RP 2303 (ii) Diary One, p.129. I am very grateful to Liz Kertesz for this reference.
[293] Adela Maddison to Jelka Rosen, 14th April 1909. Delius Trust Archive. See chapter 6.

have kept her aloof from the professional musicians who needed to support themselves through their music.

It is important to understand Smyth's innate conservatism. She came from a politically and socially conservative upper-class military family, and despite a strong streak of independent unconventionality retained many of their values - from a love of hunting and sport through a deep patriotism tinged with persistent racism to a firm rejection of 'all that nonsense about people being equal'.[294] Such a picture may seem to sit awkwardly with her image as committed feminist and militant suffragette but she was in her 50s before she began her ferocious support of the fight for suffrage. Women and men had been demanding votes for women long before Smyth, swept off her feet by the charisma of Emmeline Pankhurst, decided to join the WSPU in 1910.

Autobiography provides a picture of how the author, at the time of writing, wanted her past life to be understood. Smyth, for example, remembered her early career as it suited her to remember it, distorting the many favourable and encouraging reviews that her work received in the 1890s and perhaps reflecting the bitterness and disillusionment of her later years. It is possible that her silence about her contemporaries was simply jealous self-promotion or that she wanted to dissociate herself from the other women composers of her generation who, by the time she was writing in the 1920s and '30s, were being increasingly regarded as dilettante dabblers. Smyth admitted that as a young woman she had fallen 'under the spell of the larger musical forms' and consequently dismissed music in smaller forms such as songs.[295] This might explain her dismissal of women who were primarily songwriters, although not of Maddison, Ellicott, Bright or many others. In 1921, however, Smyth wrote:

> What matters is not the bulk of an artist's output, not the size of a work of art, but its quality. ... I believe that some of Augusta Holmés's compositions will survive on these lines; jewels wrought by one who evidently was not among the giants but for all that knew how to cut a gem.[296]

Smyth's own contribution to British musical life, despite her warranted feelings of rejection, was enormously important and powerful. But her failure to include her composer contemporaries in her re-creations of her life and times and her discussions of

---

[294] Smyth, *As Time Went On*, p.52.
[295] Smyth, *A Final Burning of Boats Etc.*, p.127.
[296] *Ibid.*, p.136.

women's contribution to musical creativity have only added to the myths and omissions of the history of the British Musical Renaissance, playing into the very prejudices and discriminations against which she fought. Smyth's jewellery metaphor would be more appropriate for the work of White than of Holmès, whose primary form of musical expression was on a massive scale. Smyth's refusal to acknowledge White, a woman who also made music her life and was only two years her senior, is a small but significant thread in the disappearance of White from the histories of British music.

Despite the silence of Smyth and later commentators, it is clear that many different women played significant roles in the changing face of British music in the period from 1880 to the end of the first World War. Only by exploring their lives, careers and musical work in some detail can an attempt be made to understand more clearly the diversity of these roles and to fill in just some of the gaps in the received picture of late Victorian and Edwardian British musical life.

Chapter 4: Maude Valérie White

On 9 February 1880, in the presence of the Prince and Princess of Wales, a typical Monday Popular Concert took place at St James's Hall in London. Nathalie Janotha played three piano sonatas by Scarlatti, a group of distinguished instrumentalists, including Wilhelmine Norman Neruda and Alfredo Piatti, played chamber music by Brahms and Beethoven, while the baritone Charles Santley sang Gounod's 'Ho messo nuove corde', Scarlatti's 'O cessare di pregarmi' and two songs, 'Absent, yet present' and 'Montrose's Love Song' by a previously unknown composer, Maude Valérie White. The programme notes merely told the audience that the composer, who accompanied the songs herself, was holder of the Mendelssohn scholarship at the Royal Academy of Music.[1]

In her memoirs White remembered approaching Santley:

> It had been the aim and object of my life for months to get Santley to look at these songs. I felt perfectly certain they would suit him. That he would sing them as no one else on earth was capable of singing them, I was also convinced.[2]

When Santley heard the songs, he immediately offered to sing them at the Pops and continued to perform White's songs at important concerts in London throughout that year.[3] White recognised the importance of these efforts:

> On how frail a thread one's fate sometimes hangs! And how one remembers the hand that might have snapped it so easily, but that wove it into something strong and durable by a beautiful and generous impulse!
> I owe whatever success I have had in my musical life to the way Santley championed my first attempts, and I shall never forget it.[4]

Santley himself recognised the power of White's work, telling her: 'Your young enthusiasm has roused to life the youth in me that was dead'.[5] After the February Pop he

---

[1] Programme for Monday Popular Concert: February 9, 1880. BL: d480.
[2] Maude Valérie White, *Friends and Memories* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914), p.194.
[3] On 28 February Santley repeated 'Montrose's Love Song', this time with 'To Blossoms', at a Saturday Pop. Programme for Saturday Popular Concert: February 28, 1880. BL: d480. On 20 March he sang 'two pleasing songs' by White at a Crystal Palace concert, repeated 'Montrose's Love Song' and 'To Blossoms' on 2 June for Henry Leslie's choir concert, where they were 'most cordially received', and on 30 June sang 'I prithee send me back my heart' at a Philharmonic Society concert. *The Musical Times* 21 (April 1880), p.174; *The Musical Times* 21 (July 1880), p.343; *The Musical Times* 21 (August 1880), p.399.
[4] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.200.
[5] *Ibid.*, p.202.

had written to the publisher Stanley Lucas, asking for two of White's German songs to be dedicated to him and adding:

> She is the brightest girl I ever knew & I hope she will keep her head screwed round in the direction it points to at present. She will hit hard - I feel no little pride in having been the first to introduce her into public.[6]

By the end of the century White had become a household name, and in his *English Music in the XIXth Century* (1902) Fuller Maitland was able to state with authority that 'the songs of Maude Valérie White are known and loved wherever the English language is spoken'.[7]

White was born near Dieppe in Normandy to English parents on 23 June 1855.[8] Her father, Edmund Luscombe White, had set up in business as a merchant in Valparaiso, Chile where his own father, Captain John White, was English Consul. White's mother, daughter of Irish naval officer Lieutenant Daniel Harrington, had lived in France until her marriage.[9] The couple moved from Chile to France with their five children just before White's birth and moved again to Staffordshire in England before she was a year old.[10] White's father's occupation placed the family firmly within what Thackeray had defined in 1857 as 'the educated middle classes' or 'the class of lawyers and merchants and scholars'.[11] Not part of the nobility or landed gentry, they were reliant on the money that Edmund White made and after his early death were to suffer financial hardship.

At the age of seven White was sent to live with her governess Marie Stieffel in Heidelberg for two years. It was here that she performed her first works:

> I conceived the idea of giving a concert in the Eckzimmer, the corner drawing-room, into which I was never allowed to set foot, because it was the home of the sacrosanct "Flugel," on which I was only allowed to play when I had a music lesson. The programme was to consist exclusively of my own compositions, Op. 1 and Op. 2. These two noble works consisted of about four

---

[6] Charles Santley to Stanley Lucas, 13 February 1880. Philharmonic Society BL Loan 48.13/30 ff.42-43v. The two songs, 'Ein Jüngling liebt ein Madchen' and 'Aus meinen Thranen spriessen' were published by Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co. that year and dedicated to Santley.

[7] J. A. Fuller Maitland, *English Music in the XIXth Century* (London: Grant Richards, 1902), p.268.

[8] No birth certificate has been located but this date is given in several sources.

[9] All biographical details, unless otherwise acknowledged, are taken from White, *Friends and Memories* and *My Indian Summer. A Second Book of Memories* (London: Grayson & Grayson, 1932). White's memoirs do not give the names of either her mother or her father. Her death certificate gives her father's name as Edmund Luscombe White although, rather confusingly, the index to *Friends and Memories* implies that his first name was John by listing her mother as Mrs John White but it is most likely that this is a misprint.

[10] White's elder siblings were Fanny, Annie, Dora, Fred and a brother whose name has not yet been traced. Her parents later had two more children, Harry and Emmie.

[11] Quoted in David Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture* (London: John Murray, 1997), p.64.

> bars each. Each piece, if I remember rightly, had the same bass! I can't say it showed much imagination, for it consisted exclusively of one chord [C] repeated at intervals. The melodies were no doubt equally interesting but I have forgotten them.[12]

Showing a somewhat surprising awareness of the possible relationship between money and composition, White charged her audience of the cook and her governess's aunt a farthing each.

In 1864 White returned to England and was sent to a boys' school in Wolverhampton, where she was the only female pupil:

> During the year I went to Miss Reach's I did my very best to forget that I was a girl. I coaxed the great Anna Maria into putting two pockets into all my skirts, one on each side; I then stuck my hands into them, and cultivated the art of whistling.[13]

Stieffel had taught her the piano with a strictly classical repertoire of Haydn, Mozart and Clementi. White was consequently horrified by the music offered her to play at Miss Reach's:

> How I jibbed at the "Prière d'une Vierge"! The "Gems of Scotland," set in arpeggios and triplets, were sham jewels for which I had unmitigated contempt, and one or two pieces by Brinsley Richards made my flesh creep.[14]

After the year at Miss Reach's, White was sent to a school in Paris for three years during which time her father died of yellow fever. While in Paris she studied the piano with Jacques Baur, practising Bach, Beethoven, Haydn, Chopin and Mendelssohn for two hours every day and trying to resist the urge to break into improvisation.

In 1868, at the age of 13, White returned to England to live in London with the family of George Rose-Innes, the trustee of the White family. Mrs Rose-Innes was Chilean and the family had lived in South America for many years. White was delighted to add Spanish to the French, German and English that she already spoke. During this time she studied the piano with Ernst Pauer who introduced her to the music of Schumann but whose teaching lacked rigour and to whom she felt she was just 'one of many amateur pupils'. White continually relied on encouragement from her various teachers and she found that Pauer's attitude 'affected me strongly and generated a sort of disbelief in myself, as far as music was concerned, which I found almost impossible to shake off'.[15]

---

[12] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.10.
[13] *Ibid.*, p.37.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.*, p.77.

A more valuable influence on her musical education at this time was Rose-Innes' love of Italian opera. He started taking White, together with his eldest daughter, to endless performances and bought her vocal scores to play through on the piano:

> I took to this Italian operatic music like a duck to water. There was something emotional in it that appealed to the youth in me, and I loved to try and make the piano a living and breathing human voice. ... I dare say it would have been more admirable and worthy of me to have turned up my small nose at Verdi and Meyerbeer and Donizetti and Bellini. But I didn't, and there is the end of it.[16]

Apart from demonstrating her life-long refusal to be ashamed of the things in life which she loved, whether they were deemed worthy of approval or not, White's early attachment to Italianate melody and the human operatic voice had an importance for her own music which should not be underestimated and stands in sharp contrast to the church and cathedral choral world that was a significant early influence on so many of her male contemporaries.[17]

After living with the Rose-Innes family for two years, White returned to her mother, first in Cheshire and then at Hyde Park Gate in London. In the spring of 1873, at the age of 17, she made her first serious attempts at composition:

> I was sitting alone in the drawing-room when something compelled me to go to the piano and sing Byron's "Farewell, if ever fondest prayer". I knew the poem well, and improvised the music to the words without the slightest difficulty. It is the way I have composed the melody of almost every song I have ever written, naturally working up the accompaniment and adding many little details afterwards. I was so surprised - so utterly taken aback with the rapidity with which the whole song had taken shape, that I thought it could only be a mere coincidence which would never be repeated. I wrote it down as well as I could, and asked my sister if she would show it to Signor Randegger.[18]

Alberto Randegger, her elder sister Fanny's singing teacher, was encouraging. 'Farewell, if ever fondest prayer' was White's first work to be published, issued by Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co. in 1874. It is a tempestuous strophic setting, marked *appassionato*, with the voice in duple time against continuously relentless triplets in the piano. At the same time White also made her first French setting, 'Ne jamais la voir ni

---

[16] *Ibid.*, p.78

[17] White's contemporary, Frederic Cowen who was also best known as a songwriter, spent much time at the opera during his formative years, partly because his father was the treasurer of Her Majesty's Opera. See Frederic Cowen, *My Art and my Friends* (London: Edward Arnold, 1913), pp.7-11.

[18] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.105.

l'entendre', to words by Armand Sully Prudhomme, a poet to whom she was to return many times.[19] Given the later independence of her piano accompaniments, which are sometimes more lyrical than the vocal line of her songs, it is interesting to note that she claimed to start a composition with the vocal melody, only adding the piano accompaniment later.

Despite feeling that composing these songs had been simply a lucky chance, White continued to write music, although this doubt in her capabilities was to become characteristic of her attitude towards herself as a composer. She spent the winter of 1874 to 1875 in Torquay where she took harmony and counterpoint lessons from W. S. Rockstro and helped organise a concert in aid of a convalescent home. At this concert she heard two of her own songs performed in public for the first time and met Mary Wakefield, who was to become a close friend and sing many of her early songs.[20]

On returning to London, White took composition lessons with Oliver May, a teacher whom she found stimulating, encouraging and sometimes rather too honest:

> I wrote several songs during the months I studied with Mr May, one or two of which I admired enormously - they moved me to tears! What was my horror and indignation when he unhesitatingly advised me to burn the whole lot.[21]

She continued to compose, receiving additional encouragement from James Davison of *The Times* when she sent him three of her songs. Another sign of approval came when she was highly commended for a piano scholarship at the Royal Academy in April 1876.[22] At this time she began to hear her songs frequently performed in public by her cousins Sophie, Fanny and Jack Robertson, all of whom had studied with Randegger.[23] White's mother was strongly opposed to the idea of 'a gentlewoman appearing in

---

[19] This song does not appear to have been published. White's other Sully Prudhomme settings date from the late 1880s and early 1890s: 'Au bord de l'eau'; 'Ici-bas'; 'Prière'; 'Amour fidèle'; 'Si 'j'etais Dieu'; 'Ton nom'. She also used lines from his poems as inscriptions for several of her songs.

[20] The friendship between White and Wakefield was close. Wakefield's biographer wrote that: 'The intimacy between the two girls ripened apace, and soon we find Miss White a constant visitor at Sedgwick, where she had her own particular room in the lower story of the tower, and was gently scolded from time to time by Mrs Wakefield, because in moments of inspiration she often left traces of ink on other surfaces than that of her music paper, an infallible, but unappreciated, sign of genius!' Rosa Newmarch, *Mary Wakefield: A Memoir* (Kendal: Atkinson & Pollitt, 1912), p.22.

[21] White, *Friends and Memories*, p. 123.

[22] *The Musical Times* 17 (May 1876), p. 460. The Lady Goldsmid scholarship for women pianists. The examiners were impressed enough with her playing to offer White a place at the Academy and to waive the preliminary entrance fee. She did not, at this time, take them up on the offer.

[23] For example, Sophie Robertson's performance of White's canzoncina 'La Risposta' at a concert given in the Guildhall, Cambridge on 10 May, 1876. Programme: BL c373. 'La Risposta' was probably published by Duncan Davison in 1876 but no copy has been located.

public, either as an actress or a singer' and objected strongly to her nieces singing on the public stage.[24] But she had no power to stop them and both Sophie and Fanny as well as Jack made professional careers, doubtless providing vital role models for White at this early stage in her musical life.[25] It was Sophie who introduced White to the musical world of the Gladstone family when they were both invited to perform at one of Mrs Gladstone's musical evenings in 1876.

As the year wore on White 'felt a great longing to come quite definitely out of my amateur shell'.[26] She eventually managed to convince her mother to allow her to take her musical studies further and finally entered the Royal Academy in the Michaelmas Term of 1876, at the age of 21.[27] Her principal study was listed as the piano, which she studied with Frederick Westlake and later with Walter Macfarren,[28] but most important to her were composition classes with George Macfarren, a teacher she remembered as kind and supportive, insisting that she attempt to write instrumental music but agreeing when she reluctantly produced a concerto 'that my dreary manuscript was only fit for the waste-paper basket'.[29] At least five of her songs were published in 1876, most under the name M. White, an anonymity probably chosen to pacify her mother's fear of public exposure. These songs are based around simple tunes with somewhat clichéd piano accompaniments and are much less ambitious and inventive than the earlier 'Farewell if ever fondest prayer'.

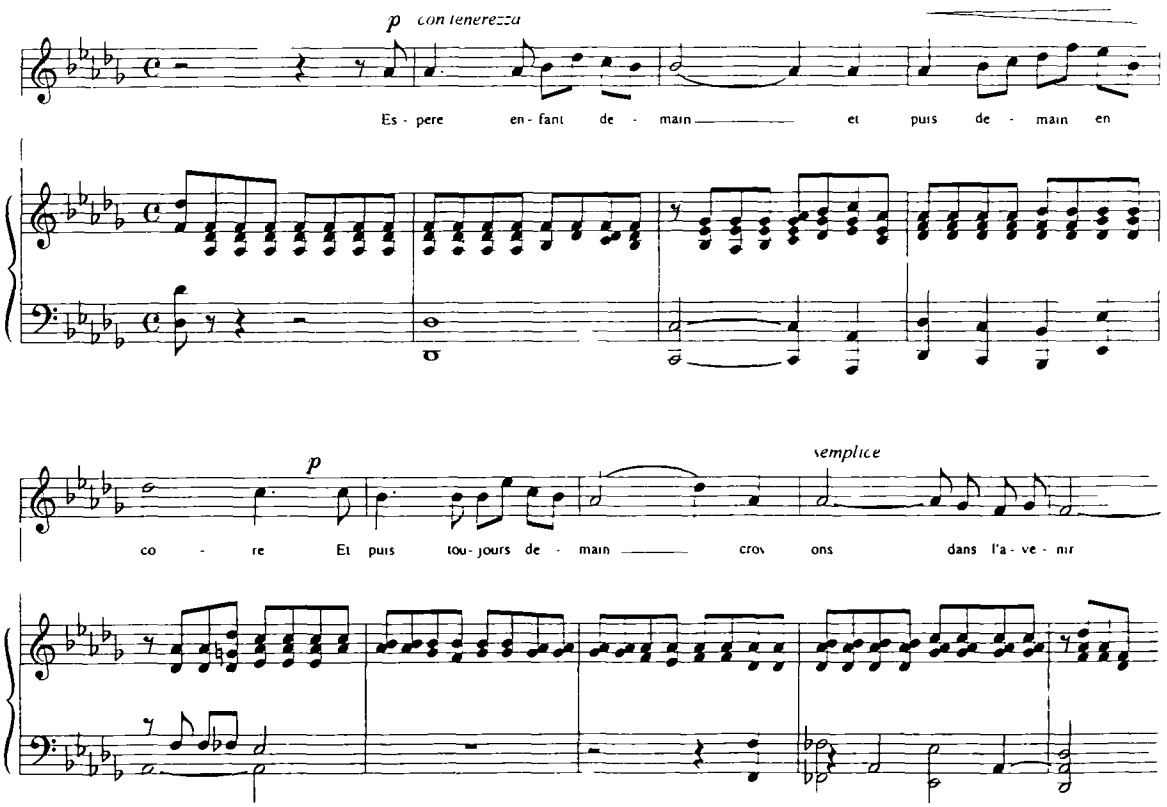
During her time at the Royal Academy White heard several of her songs and larger vocal works performed at small student gatherings and at the more prestigious concerts held in St James's Hall. These included three sacred choral works, possibly conceived as parts of a projected Mass setting: a *Benedictus* for solo quartet and chorus performed in November 1877; an *Agnus Dei* for soloists, chorus and orchestra, performed in April 1879 and a *Credo* for solo quartet, chorus and orchestra, performed in April 1881.[30] One reviewer described the *Credo* as 'something beyond ordinary student-work', noting also

[24] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.131.
[25] Both Sophie and Fanny stopped singing professionally after their marriages.
[26] White, *Friends and Memories*, p. 136.
[27] RAM Archives: 'Entrance book 1874-1894'.
[28] Anon, 'Walter Macfarren' *The Lute* (May 1891), p.153.
[29] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.143.
[30] RAM Archives: 'Concert Books May 1824 - Dec 1879' and 'Concert Books Feb 1880-Nov 1882'. None of the works have survived.

that 'portions of the opening and closing chorus would do credit to a thoroughly experienced artist'.[31]

These sacred works, considerably less marketable than songs, were never published, and the *Credo* was the last large-scale choral work that White was to compose. The months of serious study are clearly apparent in her songs published during 1878, such as 'Espoir en Dieu' (Victor Hugo).[32] Although published with piano accompaniment, White also orchestrated this song and it was performed at one of the Academy orchestral concerts at St James Hall where it 'elicited enthusiasm and well-deserved applause'.[33] The published version shows an increased subtlety in the piano writing, picking up and echoing fragments of a vocal line which itself demonstrates the simple but expansive lyricism which was to become the identifying feature of so many of White's songs.

Example 1. White, 'Espoir en Dieu', bars 5-13.



[31] *The Musical Times* 22 (May 1881), p.244.
[32] Originally published in Paris but later reissued by Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co.
[33] *The Musical Times* 19 (May 1878), p.282.

In February 1879, White decided to try for the coveted Mendelssohn scholarship, open to men and women between the ages of 14 and 24 who lived in Great Britain or Ireland and offering the successful candidate £80 a year for musical education abroad or in England. Previous holders of the scholarship had included Sullivan and Corder. In 1879 there were 19 candidates, two of whom, White and Cécile Hartog, were women.[34] White submitted her *Agnus Dei*, 'Espoir en Dieu', 'Chantez, chantez, jeune inspirée!' (Hugo) and 'My ain kind dearie O!' (Burns). She also played the piano, as well as sight-reading, score reading and improvising. To her delight, and surprise, White became the first woman to hold the scholarship. Macfarren, prompted by the growing sense of national pride that was increasingly important to the British musical establishment, asked her if she would stay in England rather than going to study abroad, since it seemed hard 'that we should always send away the pupils who are likely to do us credit'.[35] She agreed, and became the first Mendelssohn scholar to remain at the Royal Academy, taking extra lessons with Macfarren's son-in-law Frank Davenport.

During White's years as a Mendelssohn scholar, from 1879 to 1881, and especially after Santley's enthusiastic promotion of her music, her songs rapidly began to receive both popular and critical acclaim and be heard throughout London and in the provinces.[36] Critics paid particular attention to what they regarded as the impressively artistic quality of her songwriting. In early 1882 a reviewer wrote that 'the songs of this composer are fast obtaining the popularity they deserve, although we cannot say that vocal music of so high a standard invariably meets with the same encouragement'.[37]

Most of White's songs were published by Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co. with whom she made a 'regular business contract'.[38] She appears to have been a somewhat demanding

---

[34] Cécile Sarah Hartog's dates are unknown. She was of French Jewish parentage and her songs and chamber music were heard throughout London in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. She was a member of the Society of British Composers and published over 40 songs and several piano pieces. See *The Society of British Composers Year Book, 1912* (Middlesex: Society of British Composers, 1913).

[35] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.180.

[36] Her songs were heard, for example, at the 1880 Gloucester Festival. *The Monthly Musical Record* (October 1880), p.135. By 1883 she was accompanying the Santleys in towns such as Bristol and Birmingham. See *The Musical Times* 24 (April 1883), p.198 and (June 1883), p.324.

[37] *The Musical Times* 23 (January 1882), p.35.

[38] Date unknown. White, *Friends and Memories*, p.146. This does not seem to have been an exclusive contract, as White's songs were always published by a wide variety of publishers including Edwin Ashdown, Boosey, Chappell, John Church, Robert Cocks, Duncan Davison, Hutchings and Romer, Legnick, Metzler, W. Morley, Pitt and Hatzfeld, Ricordi, W. Rogers, Stainer and Bell and Joseph Williams.

composer, writing to Stanley Lucas in 1880 asking for second proofs of some songs and adding:

> By the way whenever am I to have those unfortunate partsongs Are you composing a superb finale to them? & is this the cause of the delay!![39]

But she was also a profitable composer and by 1881 Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co. were including a full page advertisement for 'Maude Valérie White's New and Popular Songs' on the back page of their editions of her songs.

White's final student years saw the publication of the two part-songs for men's voices and at least 16 solo songs, including 'Absent yet present' (Edward Bulwer-Lytton), which was to become one of her best-selling songs, despite Randegger's warning that it would be over the heads of the 'real public' and that the piano accompaniment was too difficult.[40] The piano parts that White herself played to her songs were often more complex than those that were finally published. She described the original accompaniment to her stormy setting of 'My ain kind dearie O' as 'ten times more difficult than the printed one' and even so, a simplified edition, removing the semi-quaver passages from the left hand of the piano part, was published a year after the original 1879 edition had appeared.[41]

The wide range of poetry from which White was to draw her lyrics was already apparent in these student works, which include settings of German lyrics by Heine and Goethe, French lyrics by Hugo and Sully Prudhomme, an anonymous Spanish text, English lyrics from the 17th century by Herrick and Suckling, the 18th century by Burns and Lyttelton and the 19th century by Byron and Thomas Moore. White was a voracious reader in several different languages and her education, typical of that for a woman of the educated middle classes, would have emphasised the reading of literature in modern languages, rather than the study of ancient classics.[42] Her choice of poetry was often

---

[39] Maude Valérie White to Stanley Lucas, 10 January 1880. BL: Philharmonic Society Papers Loan 48.13/30, f.247.

[40] As White remembered the conversation, Randegger said to her 'There is absolutely no sale for songs of that sort. It isn't what the public wants. ... The public - the real public - won't care about it. They won't be able to make head or tail of it. It is over their heads, believe me... That accompaniment is enough to ruin its chances. You oughtn't to make your accompaniments so difficult.' In 1903 Stanley Lucas bought the copyright for £600, outbidding the representative of Chappell & Co. White, *Friends and Memories*, p.185.

[41] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.175. 'Montrose's Love Song' was another of White's works published in a simplified edition.

[42] See, for example, Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture*, p.68 and Pat Jalland, *Women, Marriage and Politics 1860-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p.11-17.

singled out for praise, usually for what was seen as the high tone of her chosen texts. In an 1883 review, for example, she was described as 'this clever young musician, who never associates her art with doggerel verse'.[43] The wide range of her lyrics was also unusual at a time when most British songwriters were content to set contemporary poets from Tennyson to Procter with occasional excursions back to Shakespeare.

Few British composers were using texts from the 17th century, although a notable exception was Charles Stanford's *Three Ditties of the Olden Time*, published in 1877 and setting two lyrics by Suckling and one by Herrick.[44] White's early settings of 17th-century lyrics, such as 'To Music' (Herrick) or 'I prithee send me back my heart' (Suckling), have a deliberately old-fashioned quality, particularly in approaches to cadences, general figuration, lightness of texture and sometimes the use of a narrow range for both voice and accompaniment.[45] In 'I prithee send me back my heart' White used characteristically independent piano part and a large-scale ternary structure with a contrasted and dramatic central section, employing a more contemporary idiom. [See Example 2].

More striking than her use of old English lyrics were White's many French and German songs. She once described herself as 'the most out-and-out cosmopolitan that ever lived'[46] and was later to become an avid traveller, adding Swedish, Italian and Russian to the languages that she both spoke and set. Among her contemporaries, only Delius matched White's extensive use of non-English poetry. Many British composers of her generation, including Cowen, Elgar and Parry, published almost no songs to German or French texts.[47] Those who had studied in Germany often wrote German lieder as student works. Both Stanford and Smyth, for example, published collections of German songs written in the late 1870s, although Smyth's collections did not appear in print until the

---

[43] *The Musical Review* (3 March 1883), p.143.

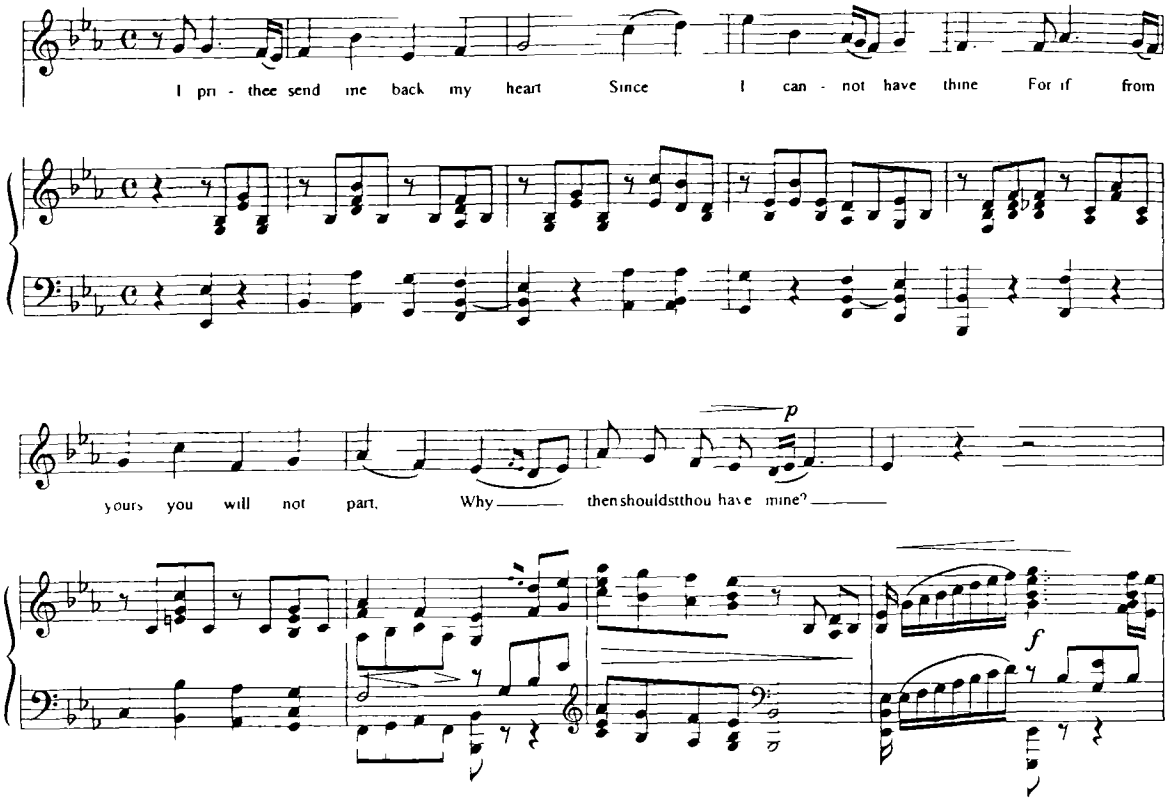
[44] Stanford's setting of Herrick's 'To the Rose' in his op. 19 collection of *Six Songs* was published in 1884. Parry's first Herrick setting, 'Julia', appeared in 1888 and both he and Charles Wood set Suckling's 'Why so pale and wan' in versions published in the 1890s.

[45] A reviewer wrote of 'I prithee send me back my heart' that: 'The quaint words of the old author, and their somewhat forced but witty conceits, have been most agreeably wedded to fitting music'. *The Monthly Musical Record* (October 1880), p.143.

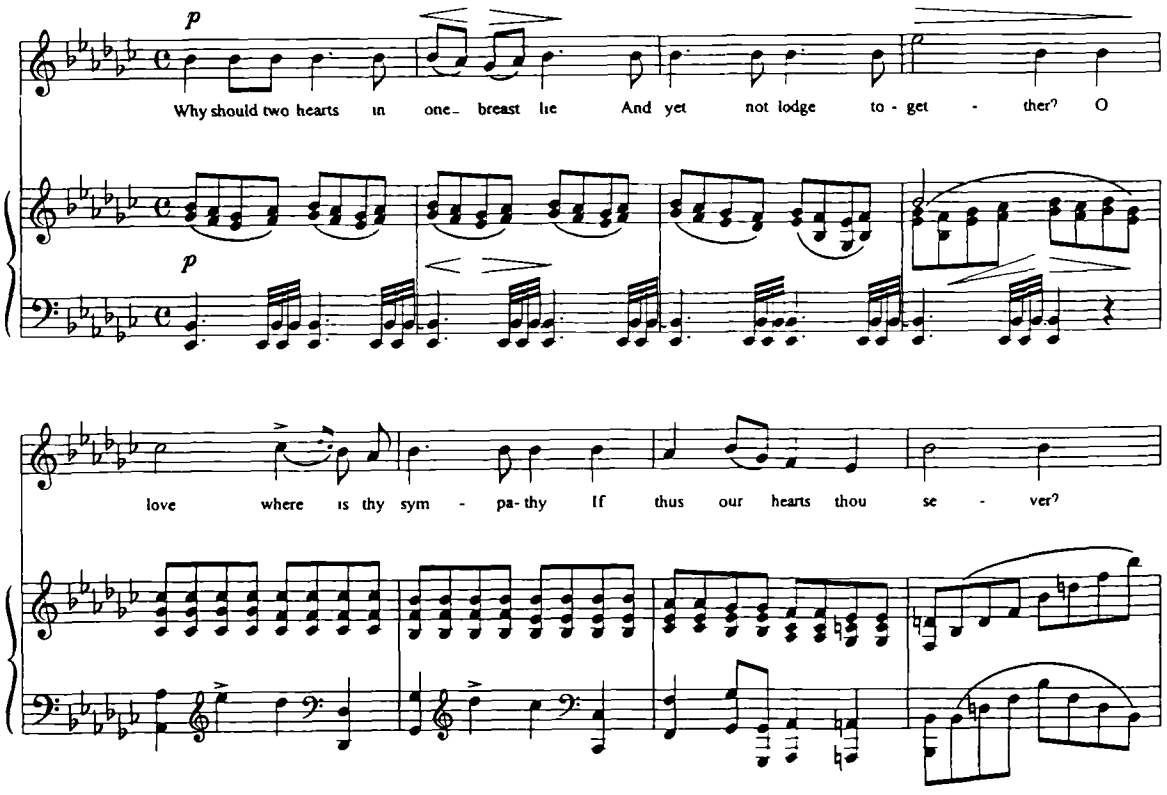
[46] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.172.

[47] Parry took the strange step of setting Shakespeare in German translation for his *Four Sonnets*, written between 1873 and 1882 but not published until 1887. Stephen Banfield emphasises that at this point in his career Parry seems to have preferred to set German than English, but these remain his only surviving German settings written before 1900. Stephen Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.22.

Example 2a. White, 'I prithee send me back my heart', bars 9-21 (entry of voice in A section).



Example 2b. White, 'I prithee send me back my heart', bars 36-43 (opening of central, B section).



late 1880s.[48] Many of Lehmann's earliest songs, also published in the late 1880s, were to German texts. Sullivan wrote at least two German songs which remained unpublished during his lifetime although he did issue one French song, 'Oh! ma charmante' (Victor Hugo, 1872).[49]

British composers who set French texts in the late 19th century were rare. In 1876 Parry spent six months in France and confessed to his diary: 'I was strongly impressed with the objectionableness of the French language when sung'.[50] Composers with no objections to setting French included Delius and Arthur Goring Thomas, who had taken the unusual step of studying music in France in the early 1870s before studying under Sullivan and Prout at the Royal Academy between 1877 and 1880.[51] Here he was a direct contemporary of White who remembered him as the only young man she made friends with at the Academy.[52] Their friendship and shared Parisian background doubtless strengthened their enthusiasm for French poetry and French musical styles. The songs of Gounod were widely sung in England at this time and may well have proved to be an important influence on White. Gounod had spent nearly three years working in England at the beginning of the 1870s and produced several songs to English lyrics. In concentrating on his influence in the field of opera and sacred choral music, scholars have overlooked the impact of his French, English and Italian settings on British songwriting.[53]

---

[48] Stanford, *6 Songs* (Heine) op. 4, published ?1876 and *6 Songs* (Heine) op.7, published ?1877. His only other published German songs, both Heine settings, were one of the *Six Songs* op. 14 (1882) and *Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar* op. 72 (1899). Heinrich van der Mescht, 'Practise what you preach: Stanford's German Songs' paper at Music in 19th-Century Britain Conference, University of Hull (July 1997).
Smyth, *Lieder und Balladen* op. 3 (1886) texts by Eichendorff, Moricke and traditional; *Lieder* (op. 4) texts by Buchner, E. von Wildenbruch, Eichendorff, K. Groth and P. Heyse. A further collection of eight German songs, written at about the same time, was never published and a collection of five part-songs to German texts, written in the early 1880s, appears to have been published but no copy has been located. Jory Bennett, 'List of Works' in ed. Ronald Crichton, *The Memoirs of Ethel Smyth* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1987), pp.373-375.

[49] Arthur Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp.442-445. Some of Bantock's earliest songs were setting of Heine, written in 1888-1890, but these were not published. Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song*, pp.407-408.

[50] Quoted in Charles L. Graves, *Hubert Parry: His Life and Works* (London: Macmillan, 1926), p.175.

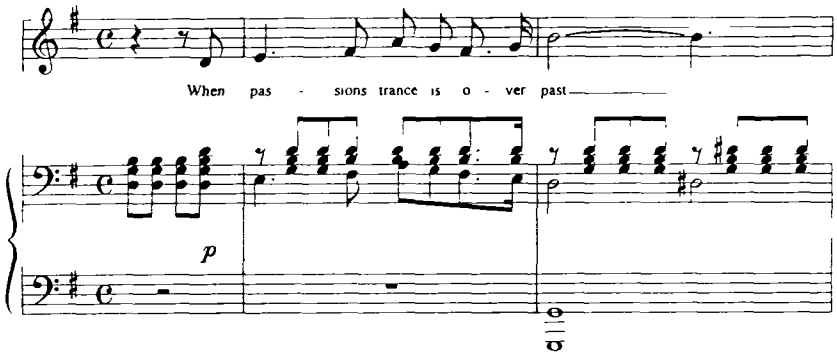
[51] Jennifer Spencer, 'Arthur Goring Thomas' ed. Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 18 (London: Macmillan, 1980), p.777.

[52] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.138.

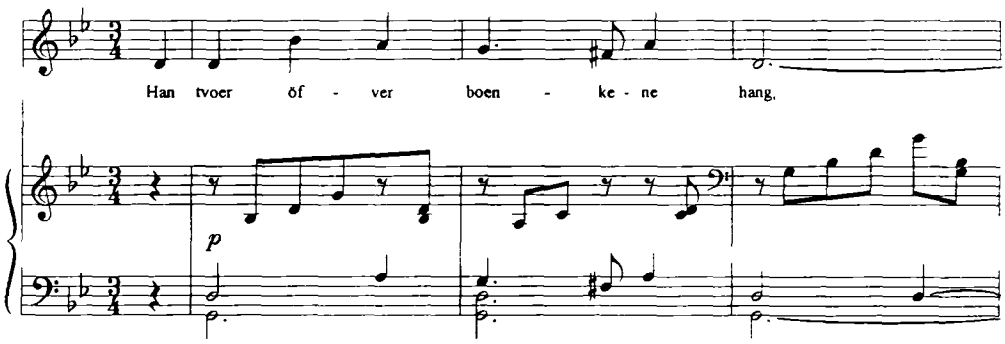
[53] See, for example, Bernarr Rainbow, 'Parochial and Nonconformist Church Music'; Nicholas Temperley, 'Cathedral Music' and Nigel Burton, 'Oratorios and Cantatas' and 'Opera: 1865-1914' ed. Nicholas Temperley, *Music In Britain: The Romantic Age 1800-1914* (London: The Athlone Press, 1981), pp.154; 201; 281; 344-346.

White's own individual musical style was becoming apparent in her later student works. Her songwriting is characterised by compelling, drawn-out melodies, a finely judged sense of rhythmic propulsion and subtly independent piano accompaniments that often avoid expected cadences or harmonies. The vocal line, which can sometimes seem subsidiary to the piano part, is often doubled in the piano but almost as often by an inner voice, the bass line or a line that moves between voices, as by the upper voice of the piano part, which might be an octave or two above the vocal line.[54]

Example 3a. White, 'When passions [sic] trance', bars 4-6.



Example 3b. White, 'Dulgt Kaerlighed', bars 4-7.

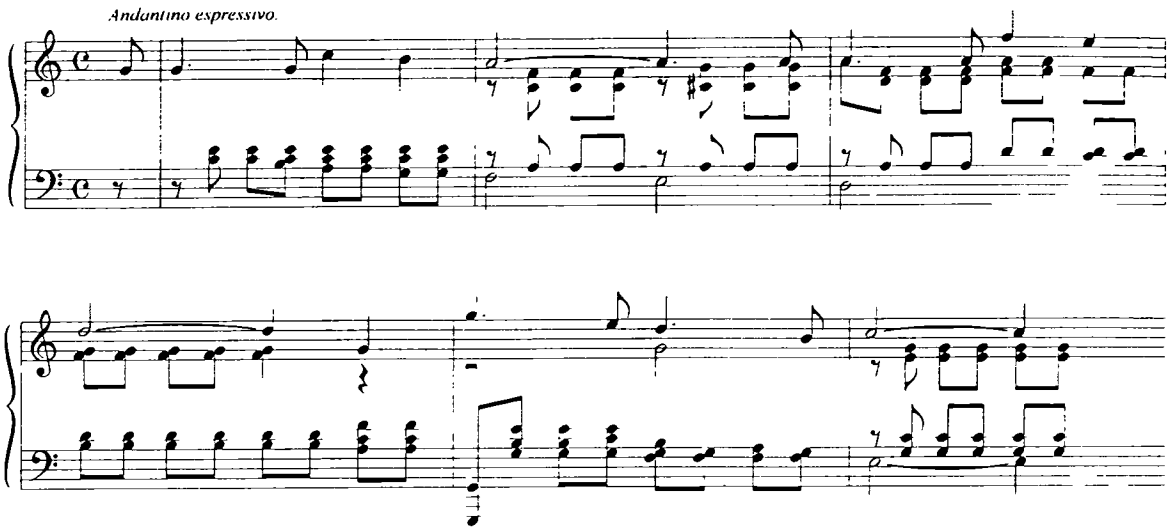


A preference for long arching melodies that rarely reach decisive cadence points can be clearly seen in her through-composed Victor Hugo setting 'Heureux qui peut aimer'. The long piano prelude to this song seems to suggest a melody that would fit the rhythm

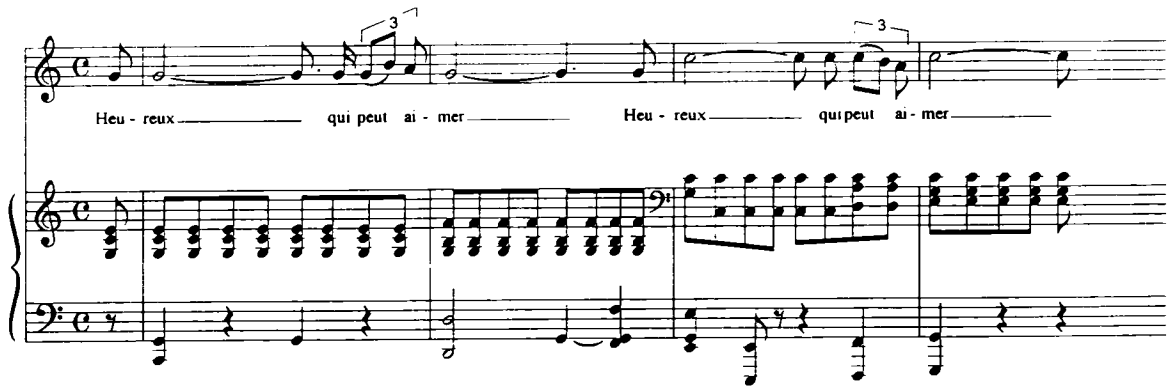
[54] Geoffrey Bush claims that 'her favourite texture is a vocal line doubled by the piano at the octave below with the harmony sandwiched in between'. But the doubling is often found in inner parts and Bush's statement does not allow for the fact that her songs, in common with those of her contemporaries, were often sung by either male or female singers regardless of the 'voice' of the text (making an octave doubling when sung by a female singer into an exact doubling when sung by a male singer, although the harmony still remains above the doubled line). Geoffrey Bush, 'Songs' in ed. Temperley, *Music In Britain: The Romantic Age 1800-1914*, p.281.

of the opening words but is never actually taken up by the voice which enters instead with a more subdued variant of the piano's melody.

Example 4a. White, 'Heureux qui peut aimer', bars 1-4.



Example 4b. White, 'Heureux qui peut aimer', bars 12-16.

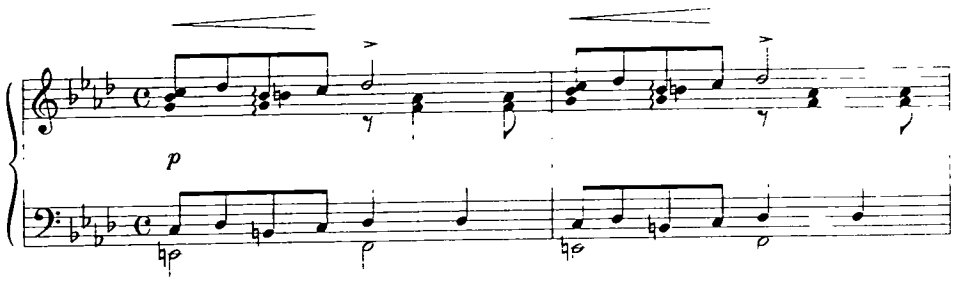


Despite the lack of belief in her abilities which is so often displayed in her memoirs, White could be surprisingly stubborn about her composition, and Macfarren respected her obstinate refusal to alter work that she believed in. She once told him, of a passage he was trying to persuade her to change, 'that whether it was right or wrong I *loved* it like that, and that I had meant just that and *nothing, nothing* else'.[55] It is possible that he may have been trying to persuade her to change some of the more obvious harmonic clichés that sometimes appear in the early songs, such as bars 14-15 of 'To Daffodils'

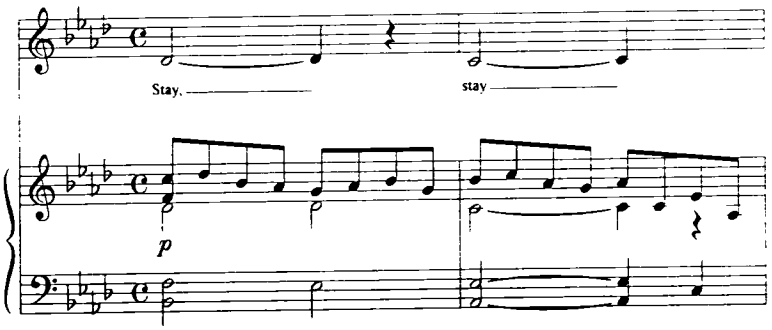
[55] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.143.

(Herrick) which are a development of the rather more interesting dissonant opening figure from the piano prelude.

Example 5a. White, 'To Daffodils', bars 1-2.



Example 5b. White, 'To Daffodils', bars 14-15.



White poured into her songs the passion and emotion with which she lived her life and which are apparent from her surviving letters and two volumes of memoirs. Nature was a particular inspiration:

> I loved her chiefly for the throbbing ecstasy she awoke in me, for the sheer splendour of her beauty which always seemed to me like overwhelming emotion translated into luminous days and starry nights, into the murmur of the sea and blue mountains and the breath of soft caressing winds and the smell of damask roses, and that I tried to express in music in some of my songs.[56]

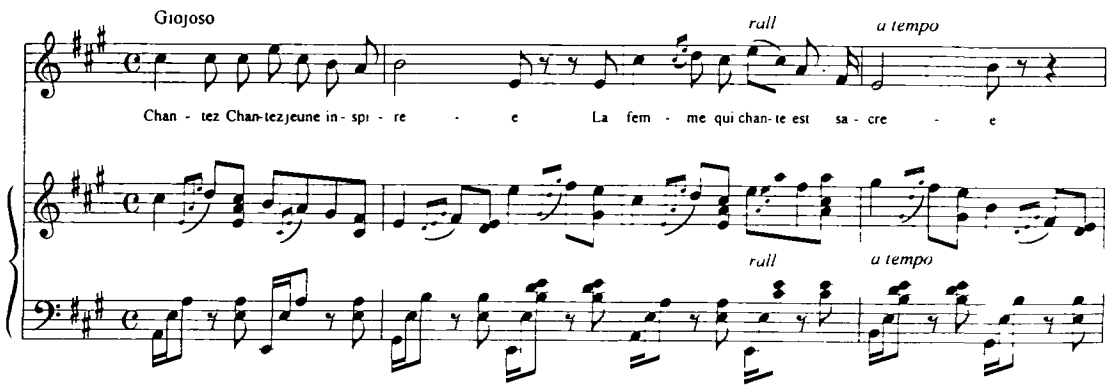
White always had a clear and individual concept of her songs as expressing in music the ideas and images, usually in some way related to the overwhelming power of human or divine love, that she had found in their lyrics. In conversation with Tennyson she argued that 'almost any musician would agree with me that it is the spirit of the poem - the

[56] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.59.

"something" that lies between the lines of all fine poetry - that he tries to translate into music'.[57] A reviewer of 'I prithee send me back my heart' was suggesting the same thing in describing it as 'not a mere song with a tuneful and rhythmical melody, but a thoughtful and well-designed musical setting'.[58]

White rarely used detailed word painting and preferred strophic settings to the through-composed forms that would have allowed her to indulge in the kind of setting that Tennyson himself wanted: 'some ethereal sort of rendering of the word "light" and some dark sound for the word "low"'.[59] One reviewer described her work as 'a spontaneous musical colouring of the words'.[60] Nevertheless her close attention to word setting ensured that the vocal line for each different verse was carefully varied, and where English translations were required she often provided them herself, making the translation fit her existing melody. When using someone else's translation she frequently supplied alternate rhythms for the vocal line.[61] Each song was created for its own individual portrayal of particular emotions so that textures and harmonies which worked for one song might never be used again, as, for example, in the highly decorated, delicate piano accompaniment for 'Chantez, chantez jeune inspirée' (Hugo).

Example 6. White, 'Chantez, chantez, jeune inspirée', bars 6-9.



[57] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.293.
[58] *The Monthly Musical Record* (October 1880), p.143.
[59] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.292.
[60] *The Musical Times* 27 (February 1886), p.101.
[61] One song was even published by Ricordi in 1885 in two different editions - one with a French text and the other with a completely different English text but with the same piano accompaniment and a slightly altered vocal line: 'How do I love thee?' (Elizabeth Browning) and 'Parle-moi' (Alphonse de Lamartine).

In September 1880 White had become a Roman Catholic, the religion of her mother's Irish family and one set outside the Anglican mainstream of British life. Although she firmly believed in a complete tolerance towards all beliefs, White's faith was extremely important to her and doubtless brought her closer to those of her friends and acquaintances who were also Catholics, such as Mary Anderson, Charles Santley, Gervase Elwes and Edward Elgar,[62] while Catholic church music had an important influence on the chant-like quality of some of her own work.[63] At this time her mother was in considerable financial trouble and White moved back to live with the Rose-Innes family. After a serious illness, White's mother died in the spring of 1881. White was devastated, gave up the Mendelssohn scholarship and spent the next 10 months in Chile with her elder sister Annie Compton and the Rose-Innes family.[64]

White's career doubtless suffered through this long break in her exposure to the London musical world at such an early and critical stage.[65] She spent the months in 'deep mourning' and wrote only one song while she was in Chile, a setting of Shelley's 'To Mary'.[66] But an important result of this time was her development of a keen interest in the local songs and dances, the first sign of her life-long fascination with the music of other countries and cultures. She learned to play the guitar and collected Chilean folk tunes which she arranged for piano duet and published as *Eight South American Airs* on her return to England in the early spring of 1882. Her 'Serenata Española', published by Ricordi in 1883, with its lively, off-beat rhythms, may also have been a result of this early enthusiasm. [See Example 7].

---

[62] It was inevitable that White and Elgar should know each other as they had several friends in common, notably Mary Anderson and Frank Schuster. However, there is no mention of Elgar in White's memoirs and the only indication that they knew each other in Elgar's published letters is in a letter from Elgar to Alice Stuart Wortley written in 1927 when he had had a visit from Anderson 'with messages from Maud [sic] White who, as far as I cd, make out, is not well & at Broadway'. ed. Jerrold Northrop Moore, *Edward Elgar: The Windflower Letters. Correspondence with Alice Caroline Stuart Wortley and her Family* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p.313.

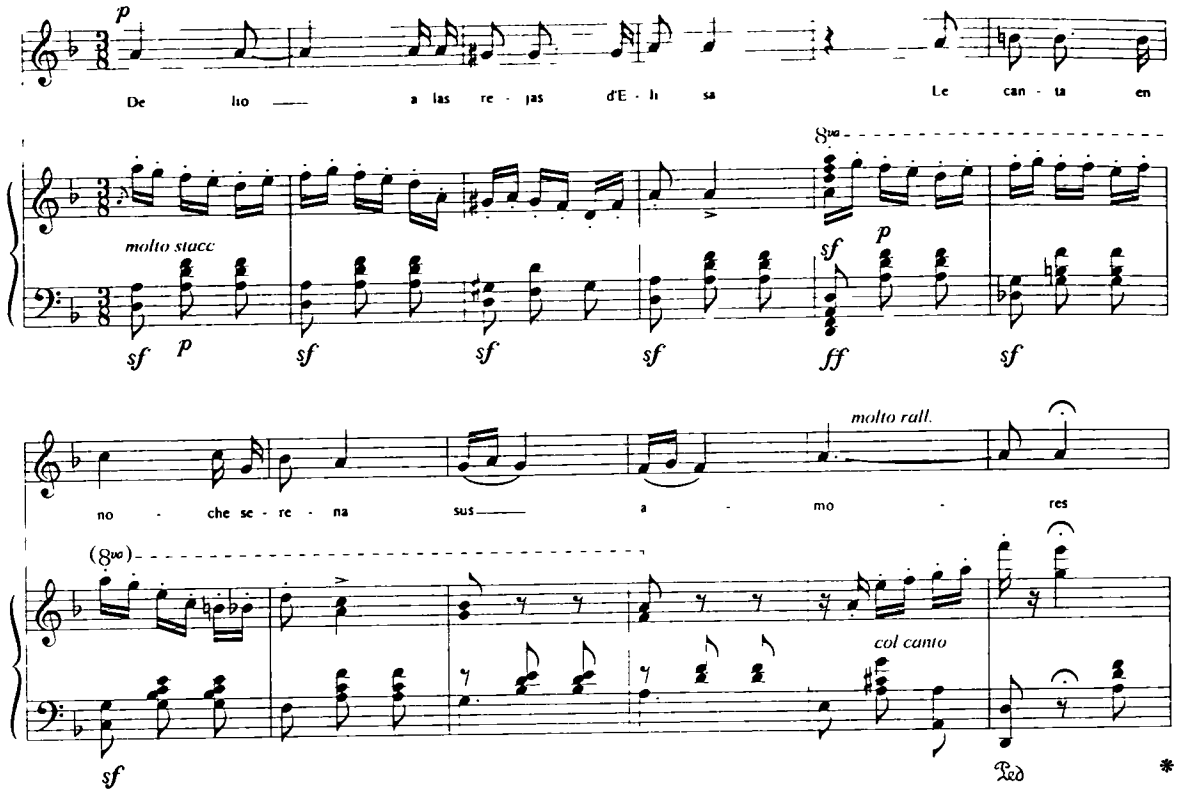
[63] See below.

[64] Later accounts of her life imply that she gave up the scholarship through illness but she makes no mention of this in her memoirs. For example: 'After a visit to South America for the benefit of her health' (Anon, 'Popular Lady Composers' *The Strand Musical Magazine* I (1895), p. 414). Her obituary in *The Times* wrongly states that she gave up the Mendelssohn scholarship after two years merely in order to travel in South America. *The Times* (4 November 1937), p.19.

[65] Her works did continue to be performed while she was away. Edith Santley, for example, performed the 'Spanish Love Song' that White had written for her at her father's concert in St James's Hall on 31 May, 1881. *The Musical Times* 22 (July 1881), p.370. On Edith Santley see below.

[66] White, *Friends and Memories*, pp.217 and 220.

Example 7. White, 'Serenata Española', bars 10-21.



Back in London, White lived with the Rose-Innes family at Porchester Terrace and flung herself into songwriting again, producing, among many others, one of her most famous songs, a somewhat grandiose but compelling setting of 'The Devout Lover' by Walter Herries Pollock.[67] George Rose-Innes, who had for years been an important father figure for White, died unexpectedly in September 1882[68] and White, aged 27, took the momentous step of moving to rooms of her own:

> I remember my astonishment on being asked by the landlady if I were able to give satisfactory references. I had just been wondering if *she* were all right, and whether I dare go and live there alone! I happened to have a programme in my pocket of a concert where Mr Santley was singing some of my songs. I showed it to her... She glanced at the programme and smiled approvingly.
> "It will be all right, ma'am", she said, in a perfectly different voice; "Our curate sings 'Habsent, yet Present'."[69]

[67] Published by Ricordi, who issued several editions over the years including one in 1903 with a violin part by P. A. Tirindelli.
[68] White's setting of Karl Sieben's 'Tod und Leben', published in her *Album of German Songs* (1885), was dedicated 'To G. R. I. In Memoriam September 2nd 1882'.
[69] White, *Friends and Memories*, *ibid.*, p.237.

White stayed in the rooms near Marble Arch for several years, living at first alone but later with her younger sister Emmie. These were years when she wrote some of her best known songs and began her life as, in her own words, 'a *bona fide* professional'.[70] Although she had been left a small legacy by Rose-Innes, presumably the residue of her father's money, it is clear that White did not have enough inherited wealth to support herself. Notoriously bad with her finances, she was nevertheless able to make her living by publishing and teaching her songs, giving piano lessons and playing at musical parties.[71] Later in her life she raised money by giving public concerts of her music and also earned a certain amount from translation work.[72] In 1888 White even lived with two different families as their children's music teacher. In her memoirs she implies that these episodes were simply extended country house visits rather than, as they surely were, posts working as a governess.

White enjoyed teaching, or at least gave the impression that it was not purely out of financial necessity that she took up a professional life:

> Most of these lessons are among the most delightful recollections of my early womanhood; all my pupils became intimate and close friends, with very few exceptions, and a lesson generally meant a delightful luncheon party as well, at which, in course of time, I met almost everyone worth knowing in London.[73]

One of the people 'worth knowing' was Spencer Lyttelton, an enthusiastic music-lover who was later involved in the running of both the Royal Academy and the Royal College of Music[74] and whom White first met at a dinner party in Torquay, where they were both helping at a charity concert, probably in 1878.[75] Lyttelton had refused to believe his friend Wakefield that White's compositions were of any value, remarking that he 'knew quite well what "young ladies' " compositions were like'.[76] But he was converted by White's performance of her *Rondo Scherzando* for piano and quickly

---

[70] *Ibid.*, p.166.

[71] 'I have made many a hopeless muddle of my affairs, for I am a wretched business woman, and hate the very sight of an account book.' White, *Friends and Memories*, p.205. Her great-nephew, Edward Compton, remembers her as a 'complete spendthrift' and recounts the story of her arriving in England from Russia and sending to Coutts for money to cover her hotel bill. On being told there was no money in her account, she replied 'That's for you to remedy'. Conversation with Sir Edward Compton, 1991.

[72] White's first translation was from Swedish - Axel Munthe's *Letters from a Mourning City*, published by John Murray in 1887. Her other translations are all from the last years of her life.

[73] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.167.

[74] See, for example, Charles V. Stanford, *Interludes: Records and Reflections* (London: John Murray, 1922), p.157 ff.

[75] White gives no date for the occasion in her memoirs, but in his collection of White's songs, Lyttelton annotates his copy of 'Es war ein König in Thule' with 'August 1878 from the composer'. Later works are inscribed to Lyttelton from White herself. RCM LXX D II.

[76] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.160.

became 'a really good friend'.[77] She dedicated her *Two Songs* ('To Blossoms' and 'Montrose's Love Song') to him, inscribing his copy with easy familiarity and a typical sense of fun: 'To Spencer G. Lyttelton un sage ami, toujours rigoreux, inflexible (Boileau) from M. V. White qui - 'met tous les matins 6! impromptus au net'!! (Boileau) 27.7.1879'.[78] Years later White was still making fair copies for Lyttelton. A bound volume of manuscript songs belonging to him includes three in White's hand, clearly showing the range of her musical interests: a sacred song by J. S. Bach, dated 14 January 1886; Brahms's 'Wie bist du meine Konigin' and a German volkslied, dated May 29 1885 and doubtless arranged by White herself.[79]

Through her music and her early acquaintance with Lyttelton, White came to know many members of the aristocratic group of friends known as 'The Souls', including Arthur Balfour, Mary Elcho, Alfred Lyttelton and Margot Tennant.[80] Margot Tennant was a particular friend, dedicatee of the song 'Sie liebten sich beide' (Heine). White stayed at least once at Glen, the Tennant family house,[81] and was touched by Margot's support in later years even though 'there has been time and enough and to spare for two women to go completely out of each other's lives, especially when one becomes the wife of the Prime Minister and the other - doesn't'.[82] White was also a close friend of the family of Archibald Balfour and in particular his daughter Edith Balfour who later became Alfred Lyttelton's second wife.[83]

---

[77] White adds: 'He was a man to be trusted blindly, and I can say so, for I once had an occasion to trust him up to the hilt, and a truer, more loyal, friend has never existed. Perhaps it is only a woman friend who has made an appeal to his friendship in an hour of acute mental distress, who can adequately speak of the firm rock of deep-down chivalry on which his whole character was founded'. White, *Friends and Memories*, p.161. There are several references to such moments of crisis in White's memoirs which are never further explained. See, for example, *ibid.*, p.355.

[78] 'To Spencer G. Lyttelton a wise friend, always rigorous and inflexible (Boileau) from M. V. White who 'makes fair copies of 6! impromptus every morning' !! (Boileau) 27.7.1879. Lyttelton's bound collection of White's songs. RCM LXX D II. The reason for the references to the 17th-century French poet Nicholas Boileau remain unclear. White also dedicated 'My soul is an enchanted boat' (Shelley) written in 1882 and published the following year to Lyttelton.

[79] RCM: Ms 2233. The Bach song and the German folksong are inscribed 'S. G. L. from M. V. W'. The folksong ('Verlassen') was not included in White's published arrangements.

[80] 'The Souls' all knew each other in the early 1880s but came together as a particularly close-knit group after the death in childbirth of Laura Tennant, Margot's sister and Alfred Lyttelton's first wife. On 'The Souls' see Jane Abdy and Charlotte Gere, *The Souls* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1984) and Jalland, *Women, Marriage and Politics*, pp.102-113.

[81] In a letter to Arthur Balfour written in 1916, Mary Elcho reminded him of the summer of 1886 when they had both been staying at Glen and of 'Maude White being jealous of my small waist'. Ed. Jane Ridley and Clayre Percy, *The Letters of Arthur Balfour and Lady Elcho 1885-1917* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1992), p.341.

[82] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.242. Margot married Herbert Asquith.

[83] Archibald Balfour was a London businessman and no relation to the family of Arthur Balfour. White holidayed with the family in Sweden in 1884 (where she first met Axel Munthe, author of *Letters from a*

Parry was another composer who hovered on the fringes of 'The Souls' although White first met him through Santley at a Gloucester Festival.[84] The two never became close, although White was happy to accept Parry's criticisms of one of her songs through a mutual acquaintance to whom she wrote:

> Of course I do not mind your telling me what Mr Parry said about my song - I am not such a goose! I will have a look at it when I get home as I quite agree with you that his opinion is in every way, well worth attending to.[85]

She also provided Parry with an introduction to her sister Annie when he visited Chile in 1885 and was later a close friend and colleague of his son-in-law Harry Plunket Greene.[86] Back in the early 1880s, White also knew Parry's cousin Edward W. Hamilton, for whom she brought pepper and raisins back from Chile and who arranged for her to visit the Speaker's Gallery at the Houses of Parliament.[87] Hamilton was a private secretary to W. E. Gladstone and a keen amateur musician who held a music degree from Oxford. His published diaries make several references to White performing her songs, which he found to be 'of a very high order', at parties given by society music-lovers in the 1880s.[88]

White was enthralled by her unaccustomed exposure to this high society and by 'the brilliance of the parties that were constantly given in those days at all the great houses in London where private concerts with professional artists and celebrated opera singers were the fashion'.[89] She was also grateful for the support and generosity of her new acquaintances. Later she found it strange that 'during the first seven or eight years of my grown-up life I should have had so few real friends among other musicians, artists,

---

Mourning City) and Switzerland in 1886. It seems possible that it was through White, via Margot Tennant, that Alfred Lyttelton met Edith Balfour.

[84] On Parry and 'The Souls' see Jeremy Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry: His Life and Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). p.274. Dibble mistakenly classes the Tennants as aristocratic - their father was the illegitimate son of a Glasgow businessman (see Jalland, *Women, Marriage and Politics*, p.102). Given their class, if Laura and Margot had been men, they would doubtless never have found their way in to 'The Souls'. The similarity in their class backgrounds and their fathers' business professions explains the friendships between Margot Tennant, Edith Balfour and White.

[85] Maude Valérie White to Mr Jenkinson, 31 October, 1883. Cambridge University Library: Add 6463 296 f.1.

[86] Graves, *Hubert Parry*, p.250. White was present at the marriage of Plunket Greene and Gwendolen Parry in 1899. See *The Musical Times* 40 (August 1899), p.528.

[87] See letters from White to Hamilton in the Hamilton Papers BL Add Mss 48599-48699: 48623 f.144 (c. 1882), 48624A f.205 (1884), 48625 f.193 (1891). White, a fervent supporter of William Gladstone and the Liberal Party, was fascinated by her visit to the government.

[88] See ed. Dudley W. R. Bahlman, *The Diary of Sir Edward Walter Hamilton 1880-1885* 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 451, 452, 736 and 898.

[89] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.108.

writers, etc. - workers like myself'.[90] But she might not have found such acceptance and encouragement among professionals, and 'The Souls' stood out in late 19th-century society for giving equal acknowledgment to the opinions and achievements of women.[91] White's society friends also included other noted music-lovers and patrons such as Lady Katie Cowper, May Gaskell, Lady Gladys de Grey and Frank Schuster.

White sometimes gave musical parties of her own. In about 1882 Hamilton was invited to a 'wild dissipation in the shape of a tea party'[92] and Mary Gladstone's diary records one of White's parties in 1885, 'great fun and so pretty and beflowered', at which the famous lieder singer Raymond von zur Mühlen performed.[93] Mühlen was just one of many well-known singers, such as Cecilia Hutchinson, Agnes Jansen, Liza Lehmann, Louise Phillips and Herbert Thorndike, who took up White's songs in the mid-1880s and performed her music at both public and private concerts all over London. White herself often accompanied these singers and even, at some private concerts, sang to her own accompaniment. She frequently performed at the Gaskells' London house in Marble Arch and on 1 December, 1882, Mary Gladstone's diary recorded:

> Maggie to tea, also Lady Loch. I went with her to Mr Gaskell's pretty house, when Miss White played divinely. She 1/2 sang a wonderful song of her own, some Shelley words on love out of Prometheus.[94]

In October 1883 Alfred Lyttelton remarked in a letter that he was going 'to Mrs Gaskell's to hear Miss Santley and Miss White'.[95] 'Miss Santley' was Charles Santley's daughter Edith and the singer who performed White's songs most often in this period, especially at the Monday and Saturday Pops.[96] White remembered that her 'voice was small, but she sang with astonishing fire and passion, and she had the same splendid sense of rhythm as her celebrated father'.[97]

---

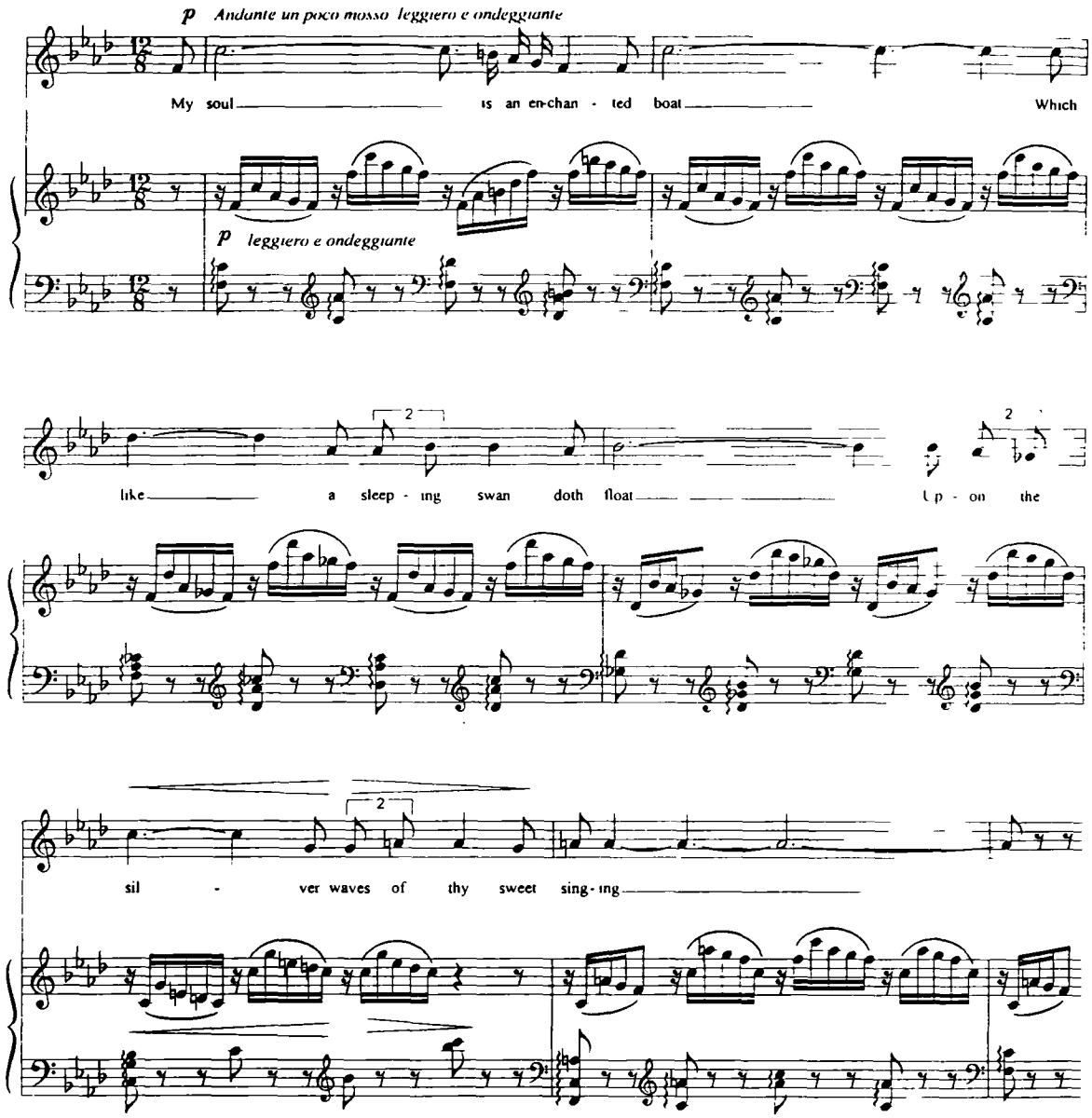
[90] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.294.
[91] See Abdy and Gere, *The Souls*, p.14.
[92] Hamilton Papers, BL Add. Ms 48623, f.144.
[93] *Mary Gladstone (Mrs Drew) Her Diaries and Letters*, p.354.
[94] ed. Lucy Masterman, *Mary Gladstone (Mrs Drew) Her Diaries and Letters*. (London: Methuen, 1930), p.275.
[95] *A.L. to M.G 1868-1911* (published letters from Alfred Lyttelton to Mary Gladstone, no editor or publisher given, held by BL - holding dated 1915 in BL catalogue), p.79.
[96] For example, at the Monday Pop on 18 December, 1882 'Miss Santley sang, with much grace and refinement, songs by Miss M. V. White, gaining hearty and well-merited applause'. *The Musical Times* 24 (January 1883), p.17. See also *The Musical Times* 23 (November 1882), p.602; 23 (December 1882), p.662 and 24 (December 1883), p.660. Edith Santley later married Robert Lyttelton.
[97] White, *Friends and Memories*, p. 226.

Edith Santley was the first singer to perform in public the Shelley setting from *Prometheus Unbound*, 'My soul is an enchanted boat', that Mary Gladstone had heard at the Gaskells'. This first performance took place at a Henry Leslie Choir concert on 22 February, 1883 at St James's Hall. White herself accompanied the song as well as performing, with the versatile Edith Santley, the *Eight South American Airs* for piano duet.[98] The reviewer for *The Musical Times*, describing White as 'this clever young musician', judged 'My soul is an enchanted boat' to be 'the most interesting of the solo items',[99] while the *Musical Review* critic described the song as setting Shelley's words in 'a laudably unconventional manner'.[100] The *Times* reviewer agreed that it was 'the greatest success of the evening', although the critic for *The Standard* described it as 'a rather over-sentimental song ... in which the author has copied Gounod's mannerisms - an easy matter - without reflecting his genius - a difficult one'.[101] The entry on White in the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1899) was to claim of 'My soul is an enchanted boat' that 'it is not too much to say that the song is one of the best in our language'.[102] White felt that the words 'evoked a vision of such ideal beauty, such ineffable happiness, that a burning longing arose in me to capture if only one drop of that essence, to make that one drop my own - my very own'. She produced a large-scale song whose 27-bar opening recitative passage reflects her early love of opera and provides a well-judged introduction, mirroring the song's movement from tonic minor to major, and demonstrating her careful attention to word setting. Introducing a plaintive B♮ in both voice and piano accompaniment in bar 33, the opening of the 'lyrical portion' alternates between a simple tonic triad and a diminished seventh chord on the tonic. The vocal line again shows White's attention to the rhythms of her word setting, with a subtle distinction between duple and triple quavers, but above all provides a smoothly lyrical contrast to the constant *ondeggiante* semiquavers of the piano accompaniment. [See Example 8].

---

[98] Together with Mary Wakefield and Spencer Lyttelton, she was a member of the Henry Leslie choir and had played a Bach piece arranged for two pianos at a previous concert.
[99] *The Musical Times* 24 (March 1883), p.136.
[100] *The Musical Review* (3 March 1883), p.143.
[101] Quoted in *The Musical Review* (3 March 1883), p.150.
[102] Mrs Edmond Wodehouse, 'Maude Valérie White' *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan, 1899), p.451.

Example 8. White, 'My soul is an enchanted boat', bars 33-40.



White was never secure in her abilities as a composer. In 1883 she played Hans Richter her elaborate song 'Ich habe gelebt und geliebt', to a lyric from the third act of Schiller's *Die Piccolomini*, with its long, 51-bar piano prelude full of rich, frequently modulating harmonies. Despite Richter's praise and encouragement, White realised, with characteristic modesty,

> how much there was still for me to learn, how very little I knew. I hadn't studied counterpoint really seriously, for whilst I was at the Royal Academy I was always interrupting my studies to write songs, and I knew very little about orchestration.[103]

[103] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.255.

She decided to spend six months studying in Vienna. While there she wrote many German songs, met Liszt and heard a great deal of music, being particularly struck by gypsy music that she heard during a brief visit to Hungary. She took lessons from Robert Fuchs and spent four hours every day working on counterpoint. Fuchs, like Macfarren before him, tried to persuade her to write something other than vocal music. In a fascinating section of her memoirs White describes how impossible she found this, vividly illuminating the lack of belief in their own capabilities that so many women of the time had internalised:

> Again I tried and again I failed. This time my failure was accompanied by such appalling depression that I felt as if I wanted to wipe music right out of my life. For the first time I was hearing the great Wagner operas. Herr Richter had lent me some scores. And instead of spurring me on, as the study of such scores would now, they simply seemed to shriek my own incompetence aloud. I felt that even in a world of microbes I only deserved a rickety back seat. I wasted some weeks trying to compose a concerto, and at last I felt as if every scrap of music in me were dead.[104]

With the encouragement of a letter from Oliver May who advised her not to 'maim her talent' or 'lose the spontaneity which up to now has been so evident in all you have written',[105] White decided to stop trying 'to compose things that I felt were utterly beyond me'. This resolution had fortunate results:

> No sooner did I feel that no one expected me to write sonatas or concertos than I began to compose again with the greatest ease. The relief of finding that I could still write was a real joy. Instead of feeling that mentally I was developing into the equivalent of something rather more stodgy than a half-boiled suet pudding, I began to feel like a gay and cheerful soufflé.[106]

The decision to concentrate on song was to have far-reaching implications both for White's later career and for her music's reception during and after her lifetime. She was not exclusively a songwriter, writing and publishing several works for piano in the 1880s and '90s which were often performed by Fanny Davies, dedicatee of 'Das treue Herz' (Petöfi) and one of White's close friends.[107] At a chamber concert in Prince's Hall in March 1886, for example, Davies played White's *Four Sketches* as well as joining her

---

[104] *Ibid.*, p.264.
[105] *Ibid.*, p.265.
[106] *Ibid.*. Other passages from her memoirs also demonstrate this lack of self-assurance and belief in herself: 'All through my life, when dotting down the final bars of a new composition, I have always thought, "Oh dear, I suppose this is the last thing I shall ever write"'. White, *Friends and Memories*, p.105. 'I am not at all quick at grasping anything that is not absolutely lucid, absolutely clear. To this day I am obliged to make constant copies of anything I may be composing in order to realise exactly where I am, and what it is all about'. White, *Friends and Memories*, p.121.
[107] See Mary Anderson de Navarro, *A Few More Memories* (London: Hutchinson, 1936), p.239.

friend in the accompaniment to Brahms's *Liebeslieder Waltzes*.[108] The only chamber work by White to have survived is *Naissance d'amour* for cello and piano, published in 1893 and described by one reviewer as 'the work of a sound musician, and far away superior to the ordinary run of such compositions' and by another as 'a flowing and graceful piece' with 'tasteful harmonies and pleasing rhythm'.[109] She was also to write incidental music for the theatre, a ballet and an opera. But White's main musical focus always remained the solo song, which she found to be the perfect vehicle for her particular creativity. Her preference for strophic settings shows that exploring formal structures was not as important to her as building melodies, harmonies and textures to represent the images and emotions of her text. Unlike her friend Lehmann, she was not interested in writing song-cycles with linking and developing musical themes. On a practical level, given White's gender and financial position, working as a songwriter was one of the few available musical occupations. The composition of symphonies or string quartets might have bought her increased respect within the musical world but would not have made her any money in themselves or opened the door to any more lucrative employment, such as an academic post, in the way that it could for her male contemporaries.

On her return to London in 1884, White suggested to Stanley Lucas that he publish an album of her German songs, and he duly brought out *Maude Valérie White's Album of German Songs*.[110] White remembered that it 'sold splendidly, and very soon almost every singer of the day included one or other of the songs in his - or her - repertoire'.[111] The sales figures were important because Lucas had given her a royalty on the album. A *Musical Times* reviewer welcomed the volume:

> Miss White's style, although evidently based upon that of the German *lieder*, has sufficient individuality to enable us to assign her a place far above that occupied by mere imitators; and the Album now before us will most assuredly add to her reputation. All the songs are melodious, and treated throughout with an artistic feeling which cannot fail to win both attention and appreciation.[112]

The critic for the *Athenaeum*, reviewing the album when it was reissued the following year, praised the songs but queried the wisdom of setting the same texts as Schumann

---

[108] *The Musical World* LXIV (13 March 1886), p.171.
[109] *Morning Advertiser*, as quoted on back page advertisement of White's *6 Volkslieder* second edition (London: Robert Cocks, 1895); *The Musical Times* 35 (January 1894), p.48.
[110] No sales records have survived for any of White's publications. The success of the *Album of German Songs* can be seen by its re-issue, as *Sixteen German Songs*, in 1892.
[111] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.274.
[112] *The Musical Times* 26 (January, 1885), p.36.

and wondered 'why an English musician should elect to publish an album of German songs, unless, she prefer, which we can hardly imagine, not to enrol herself in the ranks of those who are fighting to uphold English art'.[113] But such criticisms were rare, illuminating though such a statement is about the growing sense of national pride in the British musical world. Although German settings by British composers may not have been very common and greeted with disapproval, German songs and lieder, whatever the nationality of their composer, were widely sung. Setting the same texts as Schumann and Schubert established White in a canonical tradition and emphasised both her seriousness of purpose and distance from songwriters such as Claribel.

A critic for *The Musical World* felt that White was most successful where she had chosen lyrics also set by Schumann,[114] although at a performance of 'Hör'ich das Liedchen Klingen' in 1886 a critic from the same paper felt that in order to avoid comparison with Schumann 'she has turned the gentle and melancholy poem into a kind of dramatic scena, wholly at variance with its import'.[115] But White's interpretation of Heine's poem, with its images of grief, anger and pain, is perfectly convincing, and the stanza opening 'Es treibt mich ein dunkles Sehnen / hin auf zur Waldes höh'[116] seems perfectly suited to her *appassionato* setting with its relentless semiquavers and triplet quavers.

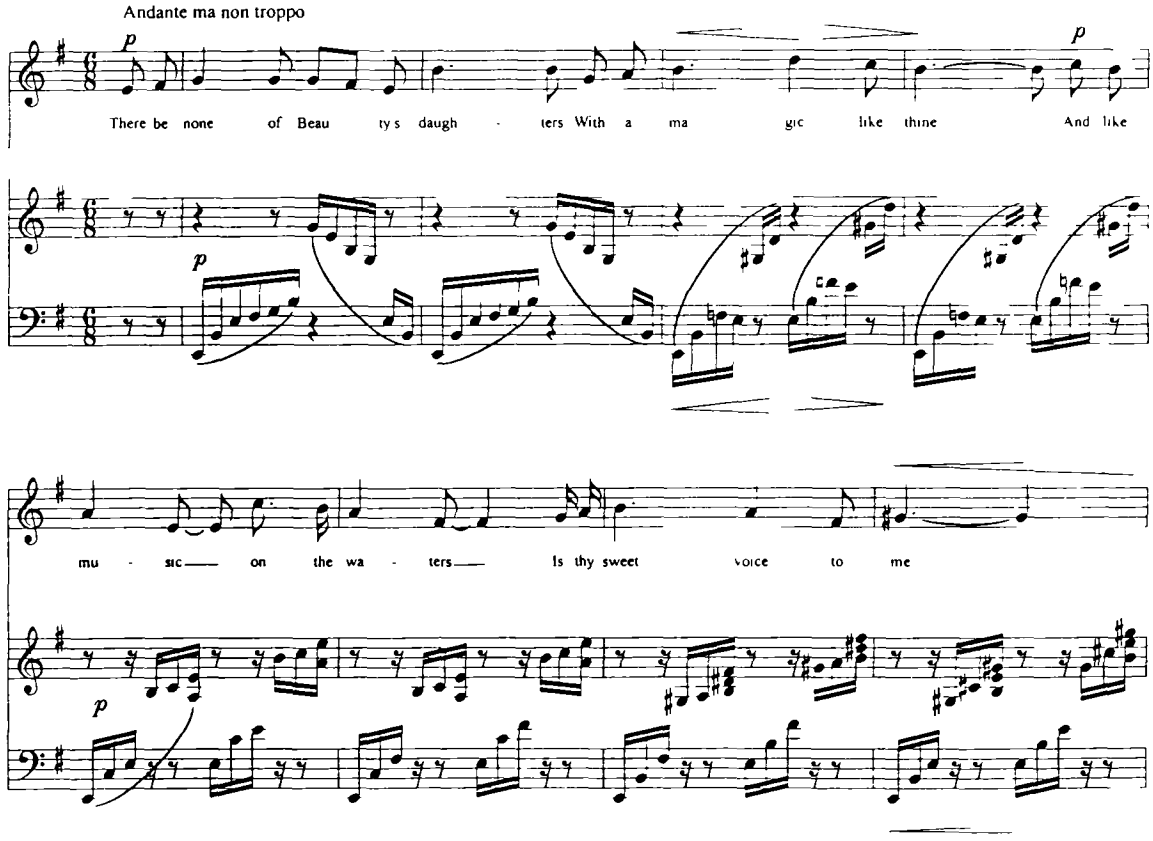
White's songs of the 1880s, written after her return from Vienna, show little evidence of the hours spent studying counterpoint or listening to Wagner, but do display an increasing sense of assured fluency and often a more striking individuality. Sometimes the almost impressionistic qualities of her music, such as the expansive melodies and avoidance of clear-cut cadences, were criticised. A reviewer of her songs 'How do I love thee' (Elizabeth Barrett Browning) and 'Forget not yet' (Thomas Wyatt), both published in 1885, described the music of 'How do I love thee' as 'vague and lacking in purpose' and added that 'the destination of the melodies in both songs is very uncertain, and the feeling of tonality is so insufficient that the modulations fail entirely in interest'.[117]

---

[113] *Athenaeum* (January 30 1886), p.176.
[114] *The Musical World* LXIV (2 January 1886), p.12.
[115] *The Musical World* LXIV (3 April 1886), p.221.
[116] In White's own translation, 'To the woods I hurry fast / Through stormy winds and rain'.
[117] *The Musical World* LXIV (13 February 1886), p.101.

Most critics appreciated the more unconventional qualities in White's music. Her concise, through-composed setting of Robert Browning's 'Home thoughts from abroad' is an example of a powerfully assured song in which, using a shifting time signature and sharp dissonances, she resisted the temptation to paint a nostalgically pastoral picture. The fluency of her writing can be clearly seen in 'There be none of Beauty's daughters', a setting of Byron's 'Stanzas for music', with its subtle modulations and rippling piano accompaniment, doubtless suggested by the sea imagery of the poem. A comparison of this setting with one published by Parry over 10 years later[118] shows that while both use a busy piano accompaniment, Parry conveys a more straightforward expression of love, without the sense of regret and perhaps unease created by White's use of a minor key and persistent tonic pedal.[119]

Example 9. White, 'There be none of Beauty's daughters', bars 7-15.



[118] Parry's setting is from his fourth set of *English Lyrics*, published in 1896. See ed. Geoffrey Bush, *Hubert Parry: Songs* Musica Britannica 49 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1982), pp.43-45. Banfield senses in it the style of the 'ballad twilight-land'. Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song*, p.5.

[119] As Banfield has pointed out, 'Stanzas for music' was a frequently set lyric at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song*, p.9. Stanford, in his *largo* setting (op.14 no.4, 1882) does not pick up on the sea imagery with an undulating accompaniment but highlights instead the poem's references to stillness and dreaming. See ed. Geoffrey Bush, *C. Villiers Stanford: Songs* Musica Britannica 52 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1986), pp.23-25.

White's four songs from Tennyson's *In Memoriam* are particularly impressive. The second of these was written on 26 June 1884[120] and in November of the same year Hamilton heard White herself singing them after a dinner party.[121] They were first performed in public at a Monday Pop by Cecilia Hutchinson accompanied by White, a performance they later repeated for Tennyson himself. The first song, 'I sometimes hold it half a sin' is a deceptively simple but moving setting dominated by the piano accompaniment. It opens with a piano prelude in which a slow moving melody, built from rising and falling fourths and fifths with a repeated motif of a falling second, is shared between the hands. The vocal line, marked initially *a mezza voce*, is almost on a monotone but picks up on the rising and falling fourths and fifths of the piano melody. [See Example 10].

The second song, ''Tis better to have loved and lost' provides a good example of White's tendency to avoid perfect cadences. With a harmony built around a sequence of 7th chords, even the final cadence uses a second inversion of the dominant chord. The third song was described by Mary Gladstone as 'the big In Memoriam "Love is and was my Lord and King" '.[122] Opening with a fanfare-like piano prelude, it is the most straightforward of the settings, quietly triumphant and exultant. The final song, 'Be near me when my light is low', abandons the usual piano prelude, and after a unison piano chord the voice enters with the first verse set as a remarkable chant-like incantation built almost entirely on one note (a dominant pedal) over very slow moving piano harmonies. [See Example 11]. The tonic is finally established at the opening of the hymn-like second verse, with a vocal melody over straightforward accompanying chords. The melody and harmonies are repeated for the third verse, which breaks into an arpeggio figuration in the accompaniment, together with a counter melody in the right hand which characteristically doubles the vocal line in places. The final verse changes melody and harmonies, while retaining much the same accompaniment figure and slowing down the pace of the word setting. After reaching a *ff con ispirazione* climax and remaining at this fervent pitch, the song ends with the voice intoning the repeated Cs of the opening at the words 'The twilight of eternal day'.

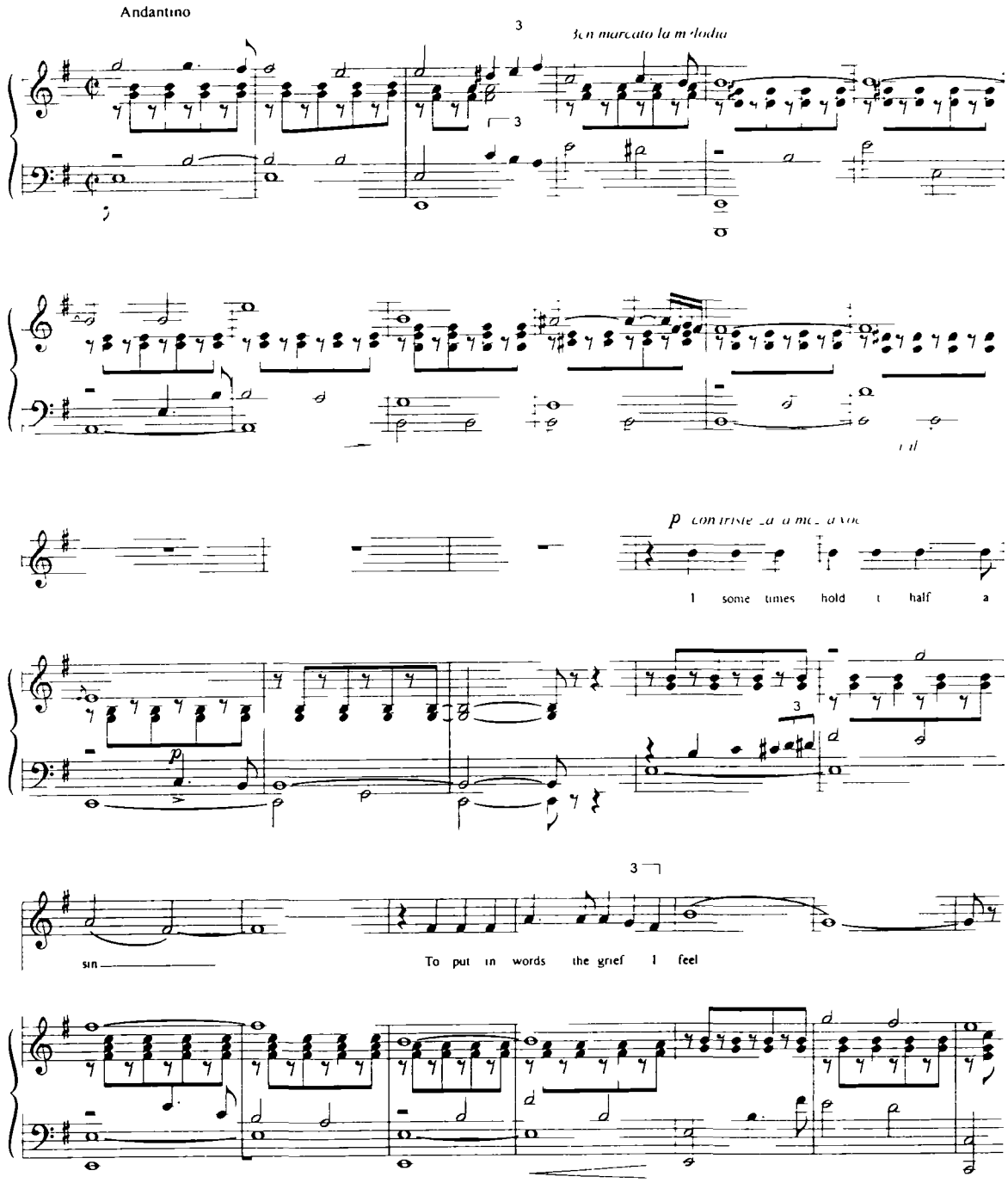
---

[120] 'Written 26 June 1884' in White's hand on signed copy in Spencer Lyttelton's bound volume of White's songs. RCM LXXI D II. None of the other songs in this volume with inscriptions by White are given a specific date of composition, suggesting that there may have been something siginificant about this particular date for either Lyttelton or White.

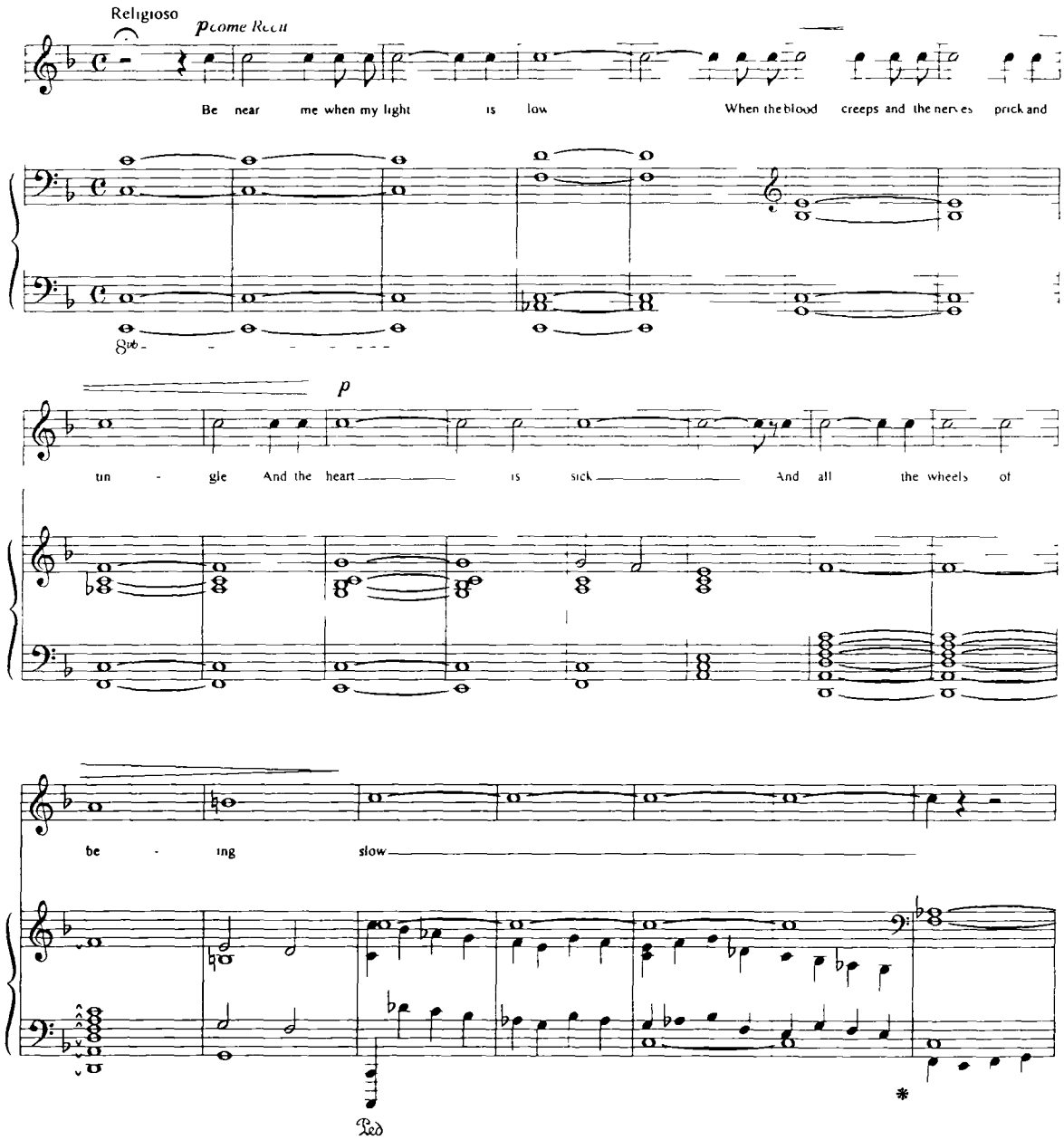
[121] Ed. Bahlman, *The Diary of Sir Edward Walter Hamilton*, p.736.

[122] Ed. Masterman, *Mary Gladstone (Mrs Drew): Her Diaries and Letters*, p.354.

Example 10. White, 'I sometimes hold it half a sin', bars 1 -24.



Example 11. White, 'Be near me when my light is low', bars 1-22.



White was to use monotone vocal lines in several later songs, such as 'Lead, kindly Light' (1908) or 'On the Fields of France' (1919), although never quite to the extent that she did for the first verse of 'Be near me when my light is low'. The chant-like quality of so many of her melodies was doubtless influenced by the chant sung at the London Carmelite church where she attended Mass:

> There is something essentially mystic in this strictly diatonic music without any fixed rhythmical measure. It has a power of suggesting eternal things that is possessed by none other to the same degree. It is like an almost transparent veil through which we catch a glimpse of the world beyond; there is something in it that confirms our faith in the life beyond the grave.[123]

The *In Memoriam* songs, which work together as a group rather than a closely linked cycle, convey, through White's choice of text and her restrained yet passionate settings, two beliefs that were always of central importance to her - the power of love and of her faith. While Tennyson was a poet frequently set by White's contemporaries, his *In Memoriam A. H. H.*, originally published anonymously in 1850, was not a popular text for songwriters. The only other composers to have set anything more ambitious than single lyrics were Mrs Edward Gifford Shapcote, whose *Eleven Songs*, published in 1857, included eight settings from *In Memoriam*,[124] and Liza Lehmann, whose *In Memoriam* song-cycle for voice and piano was published in 1899.[125] Both Stanford and Swepstone wrote large orchestral pieces inspired by the work, but avoiding any articulation of the words.[126] The appeal of *In Memoriam A. H. H.* to women composers is noticeable. Perhaps the men of the 1880s and 90s were still as uncomfortable with these heartfelt and occasionally homoerotic elegies to a dead male friend as the reviewer of 1851 who complained about the poem's 'tone of ... amatory tenderness' and added: 'Very sweet and plaintive these verses are, but who would not give them a feminine application?'.[127] White would doubtless have agreed with George Eliot that 'the deepest significance of the poem is the sanctification of human love as a religion'.[128] She was

---

[123] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.115.

[124] Bryan N. S. Gooch and David S. Thatcher, *Musical Settings of Early and Mid-Victorian Literature: A Catalogue* (New York and London: Garland, 1979), p.554. No further details of Mrs Shapcote's life, career or music can be traced. *Eleven Songs* appears to be her only surviving publication.

[125] On Lehmann's *In Memoriam*, see chapter 5. The most frequently set section of Tennyosn's poem was 'Ring out, wild bells' from canto CVI.

[126] Gooch and Thatcher, p.555. Stanford's 'Elegiac' Symphony was premiered by the Cambridge University Musical Society in 1882 and Swepstone's Elegiac Overture 'Les Ténèbres' was premiered by the Stock Exchange Orchestra at the Queen's Hall in 1897.

[127] *The Times* (28 November 1851). Quoted in Alan Sinfield, *Alfred Tennyson* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), p.143.

[128] Quoted in Christopher Ricks, *Tennyson* (London: Macmillan, 1989), p.209.

dismayed when Tennyson somewhat disingenuously told her that 'he had not personally experienced a great many of the feelings expressed in the poem', claiming that she 'had personally felt every single word of the four songs'.[129]

From the mid-1880s onwards, White often made the impulses behind the writing of her songs even clearer by including epigraphs in the printed edition, usually quotations from other authors. Sometimes these simply illuminate the poem. In her *Album of German Songs*, for example, the Heine setting 'Anfangs wollt'ich fast verzagen' is headed with a quotation from George Eliot:

> Heine touches our hearts; his songs are all music and feeling - They are like birds that not only enchant us with their delicious notes but nestle against us with their soft breasts and make us feel the agitated beating of their hearts. He indicates a whole sad history in a single quatrain; there is not an image in it, not a thought; but it is beautiful, simple, and perfect as a "big round tear" - it is pure feeling, breathed in pure music.

At other times the epigraphs seem to have a more private meaning, such as the sentence by Henry Drummond, 'Love understands and therefore waits', that heads 'Amour fidèle' (Sully Prudhomme). Often the inscription has a direct application to the dedicatee of the song as, for example, in the Sully Prudhomme setting 'Ton nom' which is dedicated 'To Norah' and headed with part of a different poem by the same author:

> Vous désirez savoir de moi
> D'où me vient pour vous ma tendresse;
> Je vous aime, voici pourquoi:
> Vous ressemblez à ma jeunesse.
> Vos yeux noirs sont mouillés souvent
> Par l'espérance et la tristesse,
> Et vous allez toujours rêvant:
> Vous ressemblez à ma jeunesse.[130]

The complex combination of dedicatee (and sometimes specific dedication), singer, and epigraph found on many of White's songs often seem to provide intriguing although frequently unsubstantiated clues to White's biography and emotional life. The dedications of the 1880s, for example, reinforce her connection to 'The Souls'. White often used the dedications of her songs as signs of gratitude, congratulation or even

---

[129] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.293.

[130] 'You wish to know of me where my tenderness for you comes from. I love you and this is why: You are like my youth. Your black eyes are often wet with hope and sadness, and you are always dreaming: You are like my youth.' Norah has not been identified - it is unusual for White to identify a dedicatee only by her first name. A duet, 'Quand on est deux' (Lamartine), published in the previous year was dedicated 'To Norah and Ruth'.

commiseration. She thanked Beerbohm Tree for lending her the Haymarket Theatre for a benefit performance with the dedication of 'So we'll go no more a roving'.[131] On Alfred Lyttelton and Laura Tennant's marriage, she dedicated 'Liebe, Liebe, ach die Liebe' (Petöfi) to Alfred[132] and then, after Laura's death in childbirth less than a year later, dedicated 'It is na, Jean, thy bonnie face' (Burns), to Alfred, adding the unacknowledged epigraph:

> And influence rich to soothe and save.
> Unused example from the grave,
> Reach out dead hands to comfort me.[133]

White continued to set songs in a wide variety of languages throughout the 1880s. Her French songs include 'Adieu Suzon' (Alfred de Musset) and two settings of Sully Prudhomme, 'Au bord de l'eau' and the haunting 'Ici-bas'.[134] As a child White's favourite lesson had been geography and her early cosmopolitan upbringing in England, Germany and France had left her with an insatiable desire to travel. With an appetite whetted by a disappointing trip to Italy in 1873 and her 10-month visit to Chile in 1881-82, in the later 1880s she began the incessant travelling which was to become a central part of her life and to influence her music in various ways. Her visit to Sweden in the summer of 1884 with the Balfours, which included a five-day trek to Dalecarlia on her own (in high-heeled French boots), resulted in several settings of Swedish and Norwegian lyrics. 'O hur vidgas ej ditt bröst',[135] compared by one reviewer to Grieg, was published in 1886.[136] Three further Scandinavian songs, 'Det første mødes sødme' (Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson), 'To brune ojne' (Hans Andersen) and 'Sorrento' (Carl Snoilsky), were included in two volumes entitled, not entirely accurately, *New Albums of Songs with German and English Words*, published by Pitt and Hatzfeld in the late 1880s.[137] Scandinavian culture, from Ibsen's plays to the music of composers such as

---

[131] 'Dedicated to Beerbohm Tree. In grateful remembrance of 13 July, 1888.'
[132] 'Dedicated to the Hon[ble] Alfred Lyttelton (21st May 1885).'
[133] 'Dedicated to the Hon[ble] Alfred Lyttelton 24th April, 1886.'
[134] For a discussion of this song, see chapter 6.
[135] No author is given for the text which is simply identified on the title page as 'Extract from a work written on the bay of Naples during convalescence' and 'From the Swedish'. However, it is probably by Axel Munthe since it is dedicated 'to Puck', Munthe's dog, and it was from Naples that Munthe's *Letters from a Mourning City* were written. Puck may have appreciated the dedication more than his owner. In a later work Munthe was to write: 'For a century all better-class girls have been hard at work at their pianos but so far I know of no first-class piece of music composed by a woman, nor do I know a woman who can play to my liking the *Adagio Sostenuto* of Beethoven's op. 106.' Axel Munthe, *The Story of San Michele* (Hamburg: Albatross, 1934), p.151.
[136] *The Musical World* LXIV (July 31 1886), p.486.
[137] More precise dating is difficult. See Appendix 1.

Grieg and Grøndhal, was becoming increasingly popular at this time. Ibsen's *A Doll's House* was first produced in London in 1889 when it caused a sensation.[138] Grieg paid his first visit to London in 1888[139] and the following year Grøndhal performed at two Philharmonic concerts and gave a concert at Prince's Hall.[140] Despite this growing interest, few British composers other than White set Scandinavian lyrics. One exception is Delius, who had moved to Paris in 1888 where he socialised within the large Scandinavian community and began writing works such as his *Five Songs from the Norwegian*, published in 1892.[141]

White's interest in travel included a fascination with the folksongs of other countries. Edith Balfour had grown up in Russia, and taught White several Russian folksongs including one which she later set to the poem 'A Finland Love Song' by Thomas Moore. In her memoirs, White points out that she 'did not quite get hold of the melody correctly' and carefully demonstrates the correct version (as later sung to her by a Russian friend) noting 'a little dip in the beginning of the melody that greatly adds to its charm', an observation which demonstrates her painstaking attention to small details.[142] The two-bar piano prelude of 'A Finland Love Song', which also serves as an interlude between verses, uses the tonic minor and consists of a bar of 7/8 followed by a bar in common time, creating a suitably distinctive mood for what is otherwise a straightforward 6/8 harmonisation of the Russian tune. The wild gypsy music that White had heard in Hungary in the early 1880s found an echo in her fiery 'Hungarian Gypsy Song' or 'Die Ziegeuner', to a poem by Petöfi translated into German and English, complete with chromatic motifs and a jauntily off-beat bass line. Two songs with texts by Robert Burns, 'O were my love yon lilac fair' and 'Prayer for Mary', both published in 1886, were adapted to a German and a Livonian folksong respectively. Later folksong arrangements included *6 Volkslieder* (1893), a 'Russian Love Song' (1893), two Tuscan folksongs in translations by John Addington Symonds and several works using Sicilian folk music. It is perhaps curious that White never showed the slightest interest in English folksong, although she may have found her native music lacked the rhythmic

---

[138] James McFarlane, introduction to Henrik Ibsen, *Four Major Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p.ix.
[139] Percy A. Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844-1944* I (London: Novello and Oxford University Press, 1947), p.433.
[140] See, for example, *The Monthly Musical Record* (August 1889), p.184.
[141] See Lionel Carley, *Delius: The Paris Years* (Wales: Triad Press, 1975), pp.15-16.
[142] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.279.

drive and plaintive qualities of Russian, South American and Italian folk music and was not as easily available, at least in the earlier part of her composing career, as German folksong.

While travelling in Sweden, White met the Swedish writer Axel Munthe and almost immediately started work on a translation of his book on Italy, which she published as *Letters from a Mourning City* in the spring of 1887.[143] She became determined to re-visit Italy, a country which always held a particular appeal for her, and spent the winter of 1887 to 1888 travelling there. At least two songs, 'So we'll go no more a roving' (Byron) and 'Mit Kosen und Lieben' (von Chamisso), resulted from this journey, during which she also wrote many of the 14 piano pieces that were to be collected as *Pictures from Abroad* and published in 1892.[144]

Byron wrote 'So we'll go no more a roving' in Venice in 1817. Most critics read the poem as expressing his feelings of weariness and apprehension about the onset of middle age, expressed in the letter to Thomas Moore in which he had included the poem.[145] For White, the poem had a different meaning. She described driving to Sorrento in the middle of the night during her visit to Italy in the winter of 1887:

> I shall never forget that drive, that exquisite drive along the mountain road, that exquisite view across the dark blue bay that lay spread beneath its canopy of stars! ... The soft wind blew the delicious smell of orange blossoms towards us - the delicious smell that conjures up visions of the South so magically and fills the lover of the south with such unspeakable nostalgia! It was after that drive that, some weeks later, shut up in a room in London, I wrote 'So we'll go no more a roving'.

White's reading of the poem focuses on a literal nostalgia for 'roving late in the night'. The harmonic structure of the song is typically ambiguous with the only straightforward perfect cadence occurring in bar 9 as the voice enters with its haunting melody built with characteristic simplicity around the interval of a minor third. The rhythmic impulse of the song is firmly based in a persistent quaver, crotchet, quaver figure which remains

---

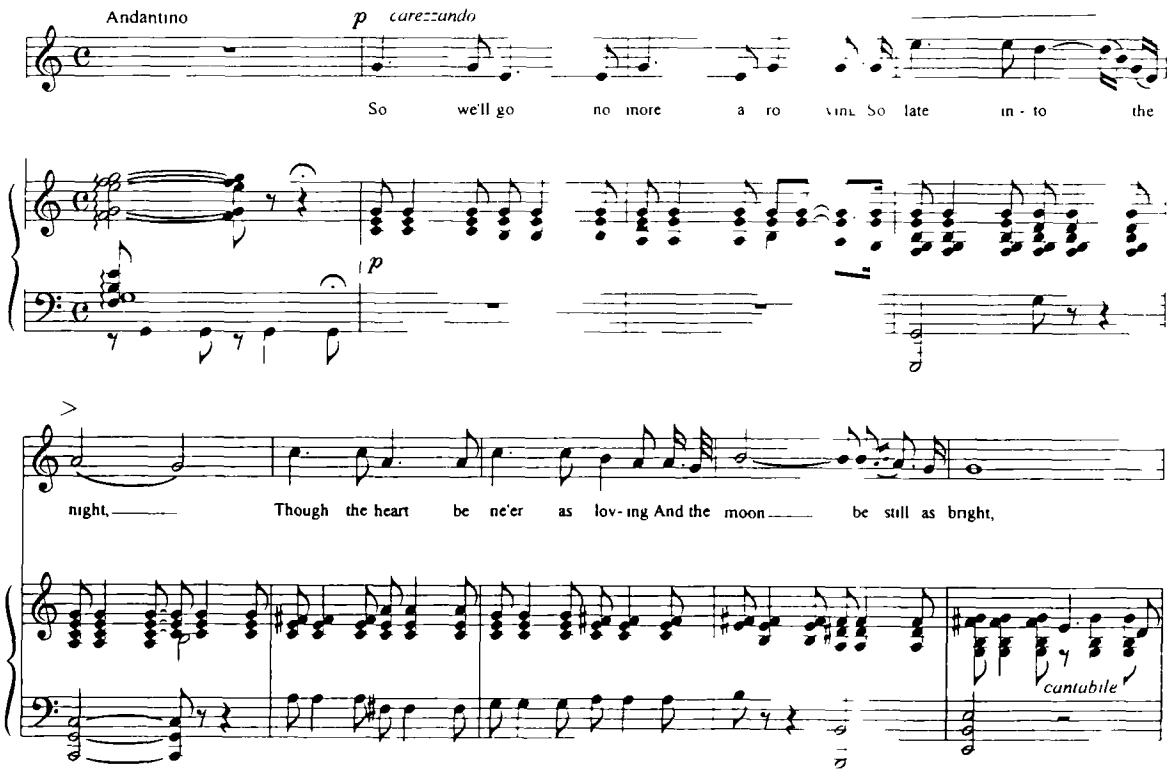
[143] When she began the translation, White knew almost no Swedish but modestly claimed that 'heaps of words are so like English and German that it was really quite easy'. White, *Friends and Memories*, p.289.

[144] A review of this work appeared in *The Musical Times* in 1893: 'In this set of short pieces the composer gives us tone pictures of many foreign countries; in one we have Isold [sic] di Capri, the 'loveliest pearl in Naples'; in another we are 'On a Fjord in Norway', and so on until we arrive 'Home Again''. They are all admirably well written for the instrument, and the music is both charming and characteristic'. *The Musical Times* 34 (April 1893), p.235.

[145] 'Though I do not dissipate much upon the whole, yet I find "the sword wearing out the scabbard", though I have but just turned the corner of twenty-nine'. Quoted in Bernard Blackstone, *Byron: A Survey* (London: Longman, 1975), p.163.

unbroken throughout the first section, except for a telling moment under the word 'moon' (bar 25). In the more resolute and dramatic middle section the rhythmic pattern changes to repeated quavers, broken under the word 'pause' and returning to the original rhythmic pattern for the final line. In the last section this figure starts to falter occasionally, heralding the end of the song. Passages of full chordal piano accompaniment, the use of decoration in the vocal line, rich harmonies using added sixths and sevenths or diminished sevenths, dramatic crescendos which suddenly cut down to *piano*, all add to the passion that White poured into her work, creating a beautifully crafted and much loved song.

Example 12. White, 'So we'll go no more a roving', bars 8-16.



Unmatched by most contemporary British songwriting, 'So we'll go no more a roving' perfectly expresses White's longing for the freedom of Southern Europe and her frustration at being shut up in a house in London. It was not long before she was travelling again, setting off in 1889 or 1890 on a seven-month European tour with her sister Emmie. The two women travelled to Venice, Ravenna, Sicily, Athens, Constantinople, St Petersburg (where they heard Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov, Borodin,

Cui and a Russian Orthodox choir), Moscow, the Pyrenees and Vienna, finally ending up in Berlin, where White accompanied von zur Mühlen in some of her songs.[146]

During the 1890s White seems to have spent less time with her aristocratic friends and instead developed friendships with other artists. From 1892 she lived for a while in Westminster, then moved, probably in late 1894, to live near Lehmann in Pinner for 18 months and from 1896 settled in the Worcestershire village of Broadway. She also continued to spend much time travelling abroad. White always regarded love as one of the supreme emotions, and without a husband or an acknowledged lover, White's friends were extremely important to her. Mary Wakefield and Edith Santley had played a vital role in performing White's early songs, as well as becoming close friends. Lehmann, who had included songs by White in her earliest recitals in the mid-1880s, was another singer who became a life-long friend and colleague. White accompanied Lehmann at numerous concerts, dedicated at least three songs to her and remembered her as 'one of my best friends'.[147] When they lived near each other in Pinner they used to go bicycling together and Lehmann remembered:

> Maude White used to rush in sometimes to play me passages from a Rumanian opera that she was then at work upon. ... Once, I remember, she had had some difficulty in finding a musical phrase sufficiently *ecstatic* for her heroine to sing in praise of her warrior lover; but next morning she arrived calling out, "I've got it! I just thought to myself: *feel* proud of him - and there it was! Listen." And with her "composer's voice" (which I must own is the synonym of *none*) she managed to give an electrifying rendering of a sumptuous melody.[148]

Another of White's close friends was the American actress Mary Anderson. The two women had first met in the winter of 1887 and several years later decided to live in Broadway, moving into neighbouring farmhouses in the spring of 1896. Anderson remembered that 'Maude White's house was ready simultaneously with ours, though for a long time her only furniture was a grand piano and a bathtub'.[149] Anderson's memoirs contain many memories of that time, and some striking pictures of White:

> One day she and I were strolling up the Cotswold Hills. ... Suddenly a warm scent of spring blew over us, and we heard our first skylark. In sheer joy we

[146] The dates given in White's memoirs at the time of this trip are not entirely clear.
[147] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.239. The songs dedicated to Lehmann are 'When June is past' (1888), 'Warme lufte wehn' (? late 1880s) and 'The sunshine of my heart' (1892). It seems likely that 'Soft Lesbian Airs' (1890) inscribed 'To L. L.' was also dedicated to Lehmann.
[148] *The Life of Liza Lehmann*, p.73-4.
[149] de Navarro, *A Few More Memories*, p.59.

> stood still and waved our hats and shouted "The spring has come again". A solitary stranger coming down the hill stopped and stared at us and hurried on, obviously thinking us mad. On returning home, Maude immediately composed "The Spring Has Come Again" which she dedicated to me and induced me to sing.[150]

Broadway had been colonised by painters from Kensington, in particular the Americans Frank Millet and Edwin Austin Abbey, in the mid-1880s and it remained a social centre for artists, musicians and writers for many years.[151] Anderson, with her husband, Antonio de Navarro, entertained many friends from London and remembered 'we were all young, gay, and adored the country'.[152] One visitor was Spencer Lyttelton to whom White gave a copy of her *Three Little Songs* 'in remembrance of his first visit to the Worcestershire Babylon'.[153] White organised many concerts in the ballroom of the village inn, the Lygon Arms, with musician friends such as Marie Brema, Louise Dale, Poldowski, Maud Warrender, Harry Plunket Greene and Robert Kennerley Rumford.[154] The writer Robert Hichens remembered that the de Navarros 'made Broadway a centre of social joy, which was increased by the presence and gifts of Maude Valérie White.'[155]

White had met Hichens at the house of Arthur Chappell sometime after early 1898.[156] He was to become her 'dear best friend' and for him, she was 'one of the best friends I ever had'.[157] They frequently travelled together and each commented on and criticised the other's work. Hichens, born in 1864, had originally wanted to be a musician and had studied at the Royal College of Music but decided to turn to journalism and literature in his mid-20s. He was successful as a lyricist and in 1894 took over from Shaw as music critic for *The World*, but was best known for his novels, especially *The Garden of Allah* (1904) and *The Green Carnation* (1894), a gentle satire on his friends Oscar Wilde and Lord Alfred Douglas.[158] Hichens's autobiography contains a vivid description of White:

---

[150] *Ibid.*, p.97. 'The spring has come again' was published in 1899.
[151] See Stanley Olson, *John Singer Sargent: His Portrait* (London, Macmillan, 1986), pp.120-128.
[152] de Navarro, *A Few More Memories*, p.58.
[153] RCM LXXI D II.
[154] White, *Friends and Memories*, 367.
[155] Robert Hichens, *Yesterday. The Autobiography of Robert Hichens* (London: Cassell, 1947), p.225.
[156] According to Hichens's autobiography, White became one of his 'intimate' friends sometime after the first performance of his 'Little Pictures of School Life' (recited by Madge Kendal to an accompaniment by White at St James's Hall on 17 January, 1898). Hichens, *Yesterday*, p.49 and *The Musical Times* 39 (February 1898), p.99.
[157] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.371 and Hichens, *Yesterday*, p.122.
[158] See Hichens, *Yesterday* and ed. L. G. Wickham Legg and E. T. Williams, *The Dictionary of National Biography 1941-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp.385-6. Richard Ellmann has written that *The Green Carnation* 'pretended to be a parody, but was more like a documentary'. Richard Ellmann,

> "Maude", as nearly everyone called her, really was a phenomenon. I never met anyone who in any way resembled her. She had very bad health, though she lived to a great age, but her spirit was unconquerable and her vitality was astounding. She was not merely gifted - she won the Mendelssohn scholarship at the Academy of Music, and Santley introduced her first songs to the world when she was only a girl - but she was exceptionally clever, extraordinarily humorous and amusing, a linguist, an omnivorous reader, and one of the most entertaining talkers in London or anywhere else. She was also great-hearted, impulsive, enthusiastic, impetuous, and beneath it all deeply religious. ... She was an ardent Roman Catholic but never thrust her beliefs upon other people. As a pianist she was brilliant: she played the music of Chopin quite exceptionally well. And she was a great "character". At our first meeting she played to me for a couple of hours until I was almost dazed by her orchestral energy and the multifarious character of her powers.[159]

The close friendship between White and Hichens must have stretched the bounds of Edwardian convention. Before she was married, Mary Anderson had been forbidden by her mother to go unchaperoned to an Elgar concert with Hichens, since 'people might say or think unpleasant things'.[160] In her memoirs White frustratingly and mysteriously decides to 'decorate dear Robert Hichens with the badge of Silence - the decoration I know he would prefer'.[161] Was she perhaps shielding his homosexuality?[162]

In the 1890s White's songs were taken up by a new generation of singers, including Clara Butt, Louise Dale, Harry Plunket Greene and Robert Kennerley Rumford, and performed at both popular ballad concerts and more prestigious concert series such as Ernest Fowles' British Chamber Music Concerts or the recitals given by Plunket Greene and Leonard Borwick.[163] White started organising concerts of her own works in the early 1890s and seems to have given them yearly into the early 20th century.[164] Such an undertaking always carried financial risks, as White explained:

> To give a concert in London isn't as simple an affair as it may seem. In old days it cost twenty guineas to hire St. James's Hall, and though I never employed an agent while I lived in England, and was always assisted, free of charge, by fellow-artists, still, what with advertising, printing, etc., one seldom

---

Oscar Wilde (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), p. See also Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century* (London: Cassell, 1994), pp.118-121.

[159] Hichens, *Yesterday*, p.167.

[160] de Navarro, *A Few More Memories*, p.147.

[161] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.371. Compton described Hichens as 'White's protector'. Conversation with Sir Edward Compton, 1991.

[162] On Hichens's homosexuality, which is only hinted at in his memoirs, see Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), p.425.

[163] See for example, *The Musical Times* 35 (December 1894), p.819 and *The Musical Times* 36 (December 1895), p.815.

[164] See review in the *Athenaeum* 3375 (2 July 1882), p.41.

> spent less than seventy to eighty pounds, and one had to sell tickets to that amount before one made a farthing. It was not a matter to be undertaken lightly when one could not afford to lose that sum.[165]

Nevertheless, concert giving was one of the few ways in which women like White could make money. A benefit performance at the Haymarket Theatre given in July 1888, with the help of Beerbohm Tree and Anderson, had made White the huge sum of £240, although strictly musical benefits usually made less money.[166] Concerts also acted as useful promotion vehicles for her printed music.[167]

White was at the height of her success in the 1890s. She was the only woman composer to be played at the Royal Academy's 70th year commemoration concert in May 1894; featured in an article on 'Popular Lady Composers' in *The Strand Musical Magazine* in 1895 and in January 1896 was referred to in *The Musical Times* as 'that foremost of English songwriters', a description echoed by Landon Ronald in 1901.[168] The entry on White in Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1899), described her songs as 'graceful, melodious, well-written, and well-adapted to the voice' and welcomed 'her careful attention to the metre and accents of the verse', singling out for praise her Herrick settings with their 'pure, quaint, and measured music' as well as 'My soul is an enchanted boat'.[169]

Many commentators and critics of this time credited White with raising the standards of British songwriting, while still retaining the approval of the general public. As early as 1887, in an article in his series on women composers for *The Englishwoman's Review*, André de Ternant had written:

> If ever the time shall come to regenerate the once honoured English ballad, the name of Maude Valérie White will certainly be remembered as one of those who did their best to prepare the way.[170]

---

[165] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.296.
[166] *Ibid.*, p.328.
[167] For details of concerts see, for example, *The Musical Times* 36 (March 1895), p.187 or Programme for Maude Valérie White's Concert at Queen's Hall, 19 June 1896. BL d487.
[168] *The Musical Times* 35 (June 1894), p.392 (the other Academy composers represented included Sterndale Bennett, George and Walter Macfarren, Sullivan, Barnby, Goring Thomas, German, Corder and Mackenzie); Anon, 'Popular Lady Composers' *The Strand Musical Magazine* I (1895), p.414; *The Musical Times* 37 (January 1896), p.49; Landon Ronald, 'Some Lady Songwriters' *Lady's Realm* (1901), p.474.
[169] Wodehouse, 'Maude Valérie White' *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. George Grove, p.451.
[170] André de Ternant, 'Short Sketches of Contemporary Women Composers: Maude Valérie White' *The Englishwoman's Review* (15 February 1887), p.59.

Fuller Maitland, describing the current state of British songwriting in *English Music in the XIXth Century*, published in 1902, wrote that

> The artless ditties of "Claribel" have given place to such lyrics as those of Maude White, whose music would have been infallibly condemned in the forties or fifties as far over the heads of any audience of fashionable people.[171]

In 1892 Stanley Lucas cashed in on White's popularity by publishing her *Album of English Songs*, containing a variety of English settings from the 1880s. This album may have represented an attempt to persuade a public eager for White's music to buy early songs which were no longer selling on their own. The volume does not include any of her best known songs, such as 'Absent yet Present' or 'The Devout Lover', and concentrates on those in her most popular and simple style with the easiest piano accompaniments. It even contains 'Loving and True', a 'most sentimental ballad' of the late 1870s that is hardly representative of White's work but may have been thought to appeal to the album-buying public. She herself rather disparagingly classed the song with ballads such as Sullivan's 'Let me dream again' and 'Once Again'.[172]

White wrote much new music in the 1890s including three sets of songs: *6 Volkslieder* (1893), in the original German with English translations either by herself or Alma Strettell; *Twelve Songs for Children* (1893), to poems by a variety of authors including Blake and Hemans, and *Five Songs* to German words (1899). Other songs included a setting of Burns's 'John Anderson, my Jo', sung by the famous Australian diva Nellie Melba who lived for a while above White in Westminster,[173] and 'Infinite Love', a setting of part of a sonnet by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, which a reviewer described as 'highly-coloured, passionate, sensuous, mystic, making considerable demands on both singer and accompanist'.[174] Her French songs included, in addition to Sully Prudhomme, settings of poets such as Lamartine, Silvestre and Augier. The printed edition of 'Amour fidèle' (Sully Prudhomme) notes that 'reminiscences' of some of her other songs ('Prière', 'John Anderson, my Jo', 'The Devout Lover' and 'Ein Jüngling

---

[171] Fuller Maitland, *English Music in the XIXth Century*, pp. 133-134

[172] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.144.

[173] A CD issued by Australia's National Film and Sound Archive in 1988 contains Melba singing 'John Anderson, My Jo' in 1913. The sleeve notes claim that 'Robert Burns adapted this song to his own purposes, leaving a bawdy and a lyrical, tender version. The latter is used here with a new tune composed by a Mr White in the 19th century'. *Dame Nellie Melba* National Film and Sound Archive/The Voice of Australia: Larrikin CDLRH221, 1988.

[174] *The Musical Times* 34 (June 1893), p.363.

liebt ein Mädchen') can be heard in the accompaniment. Perhaps simply a clever sales technique, this device nevertheless shows White's awareness of herself as a composer who had produced a widely-known body of music.

In 1898 White was commissioned by Henry Irving to write the incidental music for *The Medicine Man*, a 'melodramatic comedy' by Hichens and the journalist H. D. Traill which received 27 performances at the Lyceum in May and June of that year.[175] This appears to have been the first orchestral music that White had written since her student works, but she did not enjoy the experience of composing for the stage:

> Oh, what agonies it is to write incidental music for a play! At every instant the orchestra was stopped and someone would say, even if they were playing pianissimo, "We can't hear ourselves speak. Please take out all the wind instruments and put mutes on the violins." No sooner had this been done than another objection was raised. "Heavens! How dull it sounds! Isn't something wanting?" I felt inclined to rush out and say, "Look here, if someone cut off your noses, and pulled out your teeth, all of you would also be rather less good-looking than you are now!"[176]

In their memoirs both Lehmann and Hichens remembered White at work on her Romanian opera, *Smaranda*. With typical self-deprecation, White also recalled the work:

> I had always longed to go to Roumania, and in my youth had composed the greater part of an opera to a libretto founded on some of the stirring Roumanian ballads collected by Mademoiselle Helene Vacaresco under the title of "Bard of the Dimbovitza". The libretto - a really fine one - had been written for me by Alma Strettell, who translated these ballads into very beautiful English. But my knowledge of orchestration was not sufficient to enable me to write an opera, and much to my regret I had to abandon the idea.[177]

White spent many years working on the opera, and surviving manuscripts show that she came very close to finishing it.[178] One double page of full score, containing the Act I

---

[175] J. P. Wearing, *The London Stage 1890-1899: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1976) II, p.732-3.

[176] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.373. This was not White's first exposure in the theatre. Her song 'The Devout Lover' had been performed in *The Ballad-Monger* by Walter Besant and Walter Pollack, first performed in 1887 and revised in 1900. See White, *Friends and Memories*, p.328 and J. P. Wearing, *The London Stage 1900-1909: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981) I, p.60.

[177] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.267.

[178] The manuscripts survive among the uncatalogued manuscripts at the Royal Academy of Music and are distributed, along with material for White's ballet *The Enchanted Heart*, between boxes 148, 149 and 150. They consist of a completely unordered collection of manuscript paper gatherings, manuscript book and single sheets of manuscript paper. Most of Act I, almost all of Act II but not very much of Act III or the Epilogue survives either in piano or full score.

love duet 'Oh blessed Love' is marked, in White's hand: 'Fair copy for copying, for printing'.[179] Lehmann heard passages from *Smaranda* as early as 1894 or 1895, when the two women were living in Pinner, and White was still scoring the work in 1911.[180] The surviving manuscripts, a mixture of piano score and full score, show that White did have considerable trouble trying to orchestrate her work. She covered the pages of full score with continuous queries, many of which are answered in a different hand, probably either that of Sydney Waddington, with whom she is known to have taken orchestration lessons and whose address appears on one of the manuscripts, or that of Lehmann's husband Herbert Bedford with whom she also studied orchestration.[181] Typical questions include 'Aren't voices much better alone?'; 'Will c ang blend well with the horns or would flute be better?' and in one passage, where the heroine is imaginatively accompanied by cor anglais and solo muted cello, 'Would the 2 instruments be too heavy with voice?'. Her lack of detailed knowledge about orchestral instruments can be seen in a remark such as 'Ask about if cl. and trumpet are suff. dissimilar'. Such incessant questioning shows how typically insecure White was about her ability to write for orchestral instruments as well as her determination to produce a well-orchestrated piece of music in which the voices would be clearly heard. The manuscripts also show that she had some interesting ideas about instrumental colour, perhaps particularly in her use of wind instruments. By the time he wrote his memoirs in 1929, Fuller Maitland had confidence in her ability to understand an orchestra, recalling a concert at which he overheard a woman saying that the only way to soften the tone of the violins was to increase their numbers and that the only two women who would know this were White and Smyth.[182]

---

[179] RAM uncatalogued manuscripts: Box 149. It is possible that White was thinking of publishing the duet as a separate work, but no such publication has survived and it seems more likely that she was envisaging the publication of the entire opera.

[180] One of the red manuscript books in Box 150 has, in White's hand, 'Begun to score in late afternoon of 19th Jan 1911. Try and finish by 20th February'. The work is not mentioned at all in her first volume of memoirs, *Friends and Memories*, which was written in 1913. One possible reason for this surprising omission is that she had already decided to abandon the opera and did not want to draw attention to what she must have felt was a failure which might have spoiled any chance of performance for the ballet that she was then completing.

[181] In *Friends and Memories* (and therefore referring to a time no later than 1913), White writes that many years after studying at the Academy: 'I studied orchestration ... with Mr. Sydney Waddington. ... Later still, I had lessons in orchestration from Mr. Herbert Bedford'. White, *Friends and Memories*, p.173. A gathering in Box 149 of the Academy includes Waddington's name and address but the manuscripts also show that White was asking for advice from someone else, since on another gathering in Box 149 she writes 'Is this all right or too heavy in treatment Waddington says this [?wld] be very rich in strings'.

[182] J. A. Fuller Maitland, *A Door-Keeper of Music* (London: John Murray, 1929), p.248.

Smaranda tells the story of how the eponymous heroine comes to terms with the fact that the man she loves and marries has a duty to defend his country, which seems to override but is in fact part of, his love for her. The first act opens with the people of a Romanian village happily preparing for the marriage of Smaranda and Stefan, a local hero, but the fortune-teller Astra warns of impending doom and Stefan's mother reminds him of his duty to defend the land from the Turkish enemy. Smaranda has been troubled by a dream but Stefan dismisses her fears and they go into the church to be married. While gypsies are singing and dancing a group of men arrive calling the village to arms since the Turks are burning nearby villages. Smaranda tries to persuade Stefan to stay but, supported by his mother, he insists on leading the people against the enemy.

The second act is set inside Stefan's cottage. Smaranda's friend Illeana tries to reassure her that all will be well. The two women and a group of village girls say an Ave Maria and then Astra sings an incantation to make Stefan think of Smaranda but still warns of doom. Stefan's mother arrives, followed by women and children seeking shelter from the enemy. Knocking and shouts of 'Smaranda' are heard at the door. Realising it is Stefan, his mother and the women refuse to let him in, thinking he must have run away from battle. Smaranda, with Illeana's help, manages to fight off the crowd and open the door. After a rapturous love duet, Stefan explains that he has pretended to be a traitor in order to lure the enemy to an ambush where they (and he) will die in a fall of rocks. The third act, or epilogue as it is called in the libretto, is set in a meadow by the entrance to a rocky pass. Smaranda, Ileanna, a priest and Stefan's mother arrive to wait for the soldiers who enter singing of victory but tell the women that Stefan died in the rock fall and that they have buried him. Smaranda flings herself on the grave but ends the opera singing of her knowledge that she will be with Stefan once she too is dead.

The Bard of Dimbovitza, a volume of ballads 'collected from the peasants' by Hélène Vacaresco and translated by Alma Strettell and Carmen Sylva (pseudonym of Elizabeth, Queen of Romania), was first published in 1891 with a second series issued in 1897.[183]

[183] Other composers who later wrote works based on the collection include Parry whose scena for baritone and orchestra, *The Soldier's Tent*, was premiered at the Birmingham Festival in 1900 and published in vocal score in 1901. See Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry*, p.373-4 and Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song*, p. 25. Banfield describes the text as 'far removed from most of the poems Parry set' while Dibble describes it as 'an imaginative choice'. It seems possible that Parry might have chosen his text after hearing about White's projected opera. Lehmann set three poems from the collection for contralto and piano as *The Well of Sorrow* (1912), incidentally one of her few works to have a White-like epigraph 'Plant me no more flowers, I pray thee, beside my cottage wall. Its shadow makes them wither, - and

Strettell's verse libretto provides an interesting web of female relationships, such as the intense, long-standing friendship between Illeana and Smaranda as well as the antagonism between Smaranda and Stefan's mother who, although she has no name, is a rounded enough character to have been a welcome addition to the surprisingly small number of operatic mothers.[184] The Epilogue is something of a disappointment. Apart from the illogicality of the mother who had pushed him to die for their country giving no reaction to her son's death, there is also no dramatic high point to compare with the arrival of the messengers in Act I or Stefan's entrance into the cottage in Act II, apart from the hardly unexpected moment when Smaranda learns that Stefan is dead. This weakness may have added to White's inability to finish the opera. Less of her music survives for the Epilogue than for either of the other two acts.

In solo songs such as 'My soul is an enchanted boat', White had already demonstrated her ability to write recitative. Strettell's libretto also gave the composer ample opportunity for emotive duets and solos, and White took full advantage of every moment. There are also instrumental passages, such as the gypsy dances and a soldier's march in the final act, which show White getting to grips with purely instrumental writing and producing vivid, if not very elaborate, work.

For much of her life White was unwell. Her memoirs rarely specify exactly what was wrong with her, referring to general ill health and breakdowns. She had tried to study the violin at the Academy but had to give it up as 'owing to the severe muscular pains I always suffered from, I found it impossible to hold it properly for more than five minutes at a time'.[185] Much of her time abroad was spent taking cures at spas such as Carlsbad and Marienbad, including a course of electric light baths in Bern in 1904.[186] But she rarely gave in to illness. Anderson remembered:

> During years of friendship with her, I have noticed that Maude always rises superior to physical pain. She refuses to allow it to subjugate her.[187]

---

flowers love the sun'. Bax's song-cycle *The Bard of the Dimbovitza*, for mezzo-soprano and orchestra, was written in 1914 but not published until 1948, when it appeared in a revised version.

[184] On the lack of mothers as characters in Western European opera see Jennifer Barnes, 'Where are the mothers in opera?' in ed. Sarah Cooper, *Girls! Girls! Girls! Essays on Women and Music* (London: Cassell, 1995), pp. 86-97.

[185] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.139.

[186] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.86. The folksong collector Lucy Broadwood also undertook a similar cure. Dorothy de Val, 'Only connect: Lucy Broadwood and musical life in late 19th-century London' paper read at 'Music in 19th-Century Britain' conference, University of Hull (July 1997).

[187] de Navarro, *A Few More Memories*, p.56.

In November, 1901, at the age of 46, White left her house in Broadway, having decided to live in Sicily for the sake of her health, and was never again to have a settled home in England. She was extremely ill with pneumonia and bronchitis on her way through Europe, learning later that 'none of my friends really expected me to live'.[188] She joined Hichens in Taormina in Sicily on Christmas Eve and for the next six years was to spend a large part of each year there, at first at the Hotel Timeo and then in her own house, Casa Felice. The rest of the year would be spent staying with friends in England, often with the de Navarros in Broadway,[189] or elsewhere in Europe:

> I had no home, no ties in England. My brothers and sisters were scattered all over the world, leading their own lives; I could go on with my work wherever I went, and - I was middle-aged, and glorying in the fact![190]

For many women of the time, middle-age must have come as a welcome relief from the expectations of marriage and general social restrictions placed on girls and young women.

Several of White's friends and acquaintances came to stay with her in her beloved Taormina. Anderson remembered a musical evening there:

> As we watched the swinging, swaying figures dancing the Tarantella in native dress to their music, with trellised roses and the sea as their background, I felt we were living in a dream. The light was mystic; no dream could be more exquisite. But Maude was always a poet.[191]

In their memoirs neither Hichens, Anderson or White suggest that they were aware of Taormina's other reputation at this time, although it was doubtless the reason why Hichens was drawn to the town. In a diary entry of 1899 the Russian poet Zinaida Hippius wrote:

> 'Oh Taormina, Taormina, white and blue town of the most humorous of all loves - homosexuality! ... Taormina... The suffocating smell of flowers, the burning night air, the strange sky with the moon upside down, the silken rustle of the invisible sea.[192]

---

[188] White, *Friends and Memories*, p.374.

[189] After White left Broadway, the de Navarros bought her neighbouring house, Bell Farm, and incorporated it into their own. Their property, Court Farm, still stands today.

[190] White, *My Indian Summer*, pp.52-3.

[191] de Navarro, *A Few More Memories*, p.122.

[192] Ed. and transl. Temira Pachmuss, *Between Paris and St Petersburg: Selected Diaries of Zinaida Hippius* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), p.73-4. Hippius was the lover of the Anglo-Russian composer Ella Overbeck for several years. I am very grateful to Boris Thomson for alerting me to the two women and their relationship.

Taormina was a popular destination for many British travellers in the early 20th century, but its reputation for sexual freedom and homosexuality must have made it a particularly welcome place of escape for White and Hichens, with their own unconventional relationship.[193]

White also wanted to travel further afield than Sicily. In 1902 she visited Algeria with Hichens and became preoccupied by Arab music:

> Before leaving Biskra I tried to write down some of the Arab tunes I had heard there and elsewhere. They were not only of a strangely emotional character; there was also something primitive and wild about them that refused to be captured. They were never accompanied by anything but tom-toms. And yet they all seemed to sweep through the air on curious, exotic harmonies that were impossible to get hold of. Every attempt I made to possess myself of them resulted in failure. They evaded me persistently. ... At last I managed - with many inaccuracies, no doubt - to get one of these tunes on to paper, but I couldn't succeed in writing an accompaniment to it. Whatever I wrote seemed to rob it of its originality, of its fierce attraction. I couldn't make it out! Had those harmonies only existed in my imagination? Were they really incapable of taking shape? ... I finally decided to accompany that tune by a 5th from beginning to end, breaking the monotony by varying the rhythm from time to time. ... Many people hate the music of the East. I love it. To me it seems like a savage, desperate cry for happiness and liberty.[194]

White's openness to unfamiliar sounds and her attempts to make sense of what she was hearing contrast sharply to Smyth's dismissive description of the Arab singing she heard in Algeria in 1891 as 'like cats on the roof'.[195] Sullivan, on a visit to Cairo in 1882, had been as impressed as White by the music of Arab musicians, although he noted in his diary that it was 'impossible to describe and impossible to note down'.[196] Some years later the intrepid traveller Gertrude Bell suggested that White accompany her on her next expedition in order to 'make a collection of the songs one hears on those long journeys across the desert'.[197] White, impoverished and in bad health, reluctantly refused the invitation.

---

[193] In her biography of Ethel Smyth, Louise Collis makes an unfootnoted reference to Smyth associating Sicily with ' "lots of painters squatting about", poets and "colonies of Oscar-Wilde men" '. Louise Collis, *Impetuous Heart: The Story of Ethel Smyth* (London: William Kimber, 1984), p.156.

[194] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.32.

[195] Ethel Smyth, *As Time Went On...* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936), p.33.

[196] Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan*, p.164. Western European travellers had been notating 'exotic' tunes since the 18th century and the first book on so-called *Primitive Music* (by Richard Wallaschek) had appeared in 1893. See Curt Sachs, *The Wellsprings of Music* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1962), pp.5-12.

[197] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.194.

White used her knowledge of Arab music to help Somerset Maugham with the music for his play *Caesar's Wife* and to write incidental music, scored for flute and tom-toms, for Hichens's play *Law of the Sands*.[198] She also continued to investigate European music. In the winter of 1904 she visited Spain where she found the music 'strangely ominous and tragic as well as gay and exciting'.[199] But of all European music, White especially loved the music of Sicily and in particular the 'Pastorale', Christmas music, played by the local orchestra of mandolins and guitars, describing 'something eternal in its beautiful simplicity and in its appeal to the heart'.[200] White used the 'Pastorale', a 'Tarantella di Taormina' and a folksong sung by a Sicilian bricklayer, in her collection of piano pieces *From The Ionian Sea*, one of the works she played at a concert that she gave at the Cairo opera house while visiting Egypt in 1907.[201] She also incorporated the 'Pastorale' into the end of 'Love me to-day' (A. Mary F. Robinson) and arranged other Sicilian folksongs in 'Canzone di Taormina' and 'Slumber Song' (William Sharp).[202]

Given her continuous travels and time spent away from British concert life, it is not surprising that records of concerts at which White's songs were sung become sparser in the early 20th century or that her published output became smaller. But it is also true that the intense emotionalism of her music was going out of fashion with the music establishment and she may have been finding it difficult to get her work published.[203] The reviews she did receive were not always as complimentary as those of the 1890s, probably reflecting the general backlash against women's work. The critic for *The Times* was not impressed by a concert that White gave of her own music at the Portman Rooms in 1906:

> Tuneful though her songs are and full of pleasant and neat writing, they cannot be said to vary in feeling and sentiment to the same extent as the words to which they are set.[204]

---

[198] Hichens, *Yesterday*, p.254 and White, *My Indian Summer*, p.26-7. No records of performances with White's music survive.
[199] Hichens, *Yesterday*, p.98.
[200] *Ibid.*, p.12.
[201] *From the Ionian Sea* does not appear to have been published and no manuscript has survived.
[202] 'Canzone di Taormina' was in the repertoire of Elsie Swinton. See David Greer, *A Numerous and Fashionable Audience: The Story of Elsie Swinton* (London: Thames Publishing, 1997), pp.73 and 141. An arrangement was made for military band by Dan Godfrey and published in Chappell's Army Journal, ?1957. On 'Slumber Song' see White, *My Indian Summer*, pp.19-20.
[203] For example, a song by White in the repertoire of Elsie Swinton, 'L'invitation au voyage', does not seem to have found a publisher. See Greer, *A Numerous and Fashionable Audience*, p.142.
[204] *The Times* (15 November, 1906), p.4.

Such an opinion contrasts with the review in the same paper of her previous year's concert at the Bechstein Hall, which claimed that White was one of the few composers who could mount a concert consisting largely of her own songs 'without any impression of monotony being created in her audience'.[205]

White's music, old and new, was still popular with the public. She wrote of the 1905 Bechstein Hall concert that 'from a financial point of view it was one of the most successful concerts I ever gave in London', and a reviewer pointed out that almost every song was encored.[206] In 1910 Ashdown published a collection of *Six Songs*, all of which were taken from the *Album of German Songs* that had originally been published 25 years previously. Her songs were also still popular with singers and she had no problems finding musicians to take part in her concerts. The performers at the 1905 Bechstein Hall concert included a mixture of old friends and newer acquaintances: Percy Grainger and Roger Quilter as pianists as well as the singers Elwes, Plunket Greene, Kennerley Rumford, Swinton and Warrender.[207] Elwes was particularly associated with 'So we'll go no more a'roving'. White wrote that he 'sang it all over England', while Quilter remembered standing with friends outside a room in which Elwes was singing the song and 'how they were all perfectly unmanned'.[208]

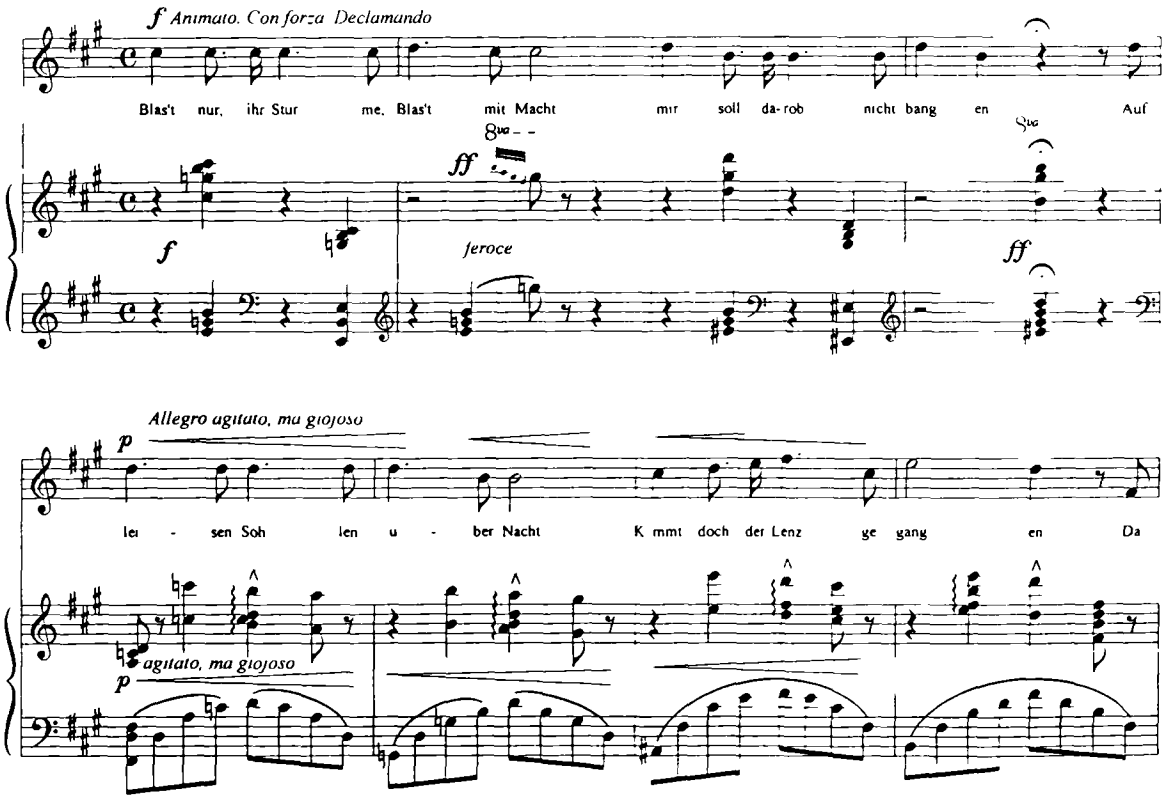
41 songs by White published between 1900 and the outbreak of the First World War have survived. Several of these are musically inventive works, often to German, French or Italian words, and possibly influenced by the work and repertoire of some of the younger musicians and composers with whom she was working, as well as by the music heard on her travels. She also produced many less interesting and more predictable English settings, to words by authors such as William Ernest Henley or Ellis Walton, and doubtless written and published in order to raise the money that she seems to have perpetually needed. Not all White's English songs of this time fall into the category of unadventurous ballads. Her setting of Cardinal Newman's 'Lead Kindly Light' (1908), sung by Clara Butt, for example, is an ambitious through-composed setting with a

---

[205] *The Times* (4 December, 1905), p.11.
[206] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.119 and *The Times* (4 December, 1905), p.11.
[207] Greer, *A Numerous and Fashionable Audience*, p.73.
[208] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.206; *Gervase Elwes. The Story of his Life*, p.161. A recording of Elwes singing 'So we'll go no more a roving' in 1911 is available on Opal CD 9844. The accompanist was not named on the original recording (HMV C 459) and the sleeve notes suggest that it was Elwes' regular accompanist Frederick Kiddle but it is not impossible that it is White herself.

simple, often chant-like vocal line, sometimes marked *quasi parlando*, over a more involved piano accompaniment. In the same year Chappell, who seem to have been her principal publisher in the Edwardian period, published a collection of *Six Songs* including three songs that had already appeared separately, together with three new works. All the songs were published with both German and English words, doubtless so that they could be marketed in Germany as well as Britain.[209] The collection included her dramatic Geibel setting 'Es muss doch Frühling werden', originally published in 1901. This is a large-scale, through-composed song with frequent tempo changes which, avoiding obvious cadence points, uses a flowing, wide-ranging piano accompaniment, often in dialogue with the voice, to express the poem's outpouring of joy at the approach of spring. This onward impetus only halts at two key moments: where the singer challenges the wind to blow, in angry, declamatory style (bars 21-24), and in a passage of almost breathless anticipation, with the voice accompanied in bare unison octaves in the piano (bars 45-54), before the build-up to the final *ardente* climax.

Example 13. White, 'Es muss doch Frühling werden', bars 21-28.



[209] One of the songs, 'Divina Pruvidenza', appeared in the original Italian as well as German and English translations.

One of the more remarkable of White's songs from this period is her setting of verses from d'Annunzio's poem 'Isaotta Blanzemano', which she wrote in Italy in 1904 and which was first performed by Swinton at the 1905 Bechstein Hall concert. The song returns to one of White's favourite themes:

> I wanted to try and convey in my song that love - the love that is strong as death - is not perishable like beauty and flowers and dew and youth. I wanted to try and convey, especially in the last phrase of that song, that to those who believe in the immortality of the soul, the immortality of the love that dwells within it is no idle dream.[210]

When the publisher Tito Ricordi first heard this work he compared it to 'un rêve d'opium', while Swinton felt that it 'wanders about and is difficult to get into shape'.[211] From the opening *languido* piano prelude, centring round a dominant diminished 11th and introducing a recurrent improvisatory accompaniment motif, 'Isaotta Blansezmano' creates a hauntingly sensuous atmosphere. The song is firmly rooted in F minor although White uses frequent added notes and dissonances such as the colouring of the voice's first phrase with a persistent B♮. Despite Swinton's difficulties, the shape of the song is a clear cut strophic form with each of the three verses ending with the repeated refrain 'Tutto al mondo è vano, Ne l'amore ogni dolcezza'[212] using a melody and harmonies that are only slightly varied. White repeats and draws out the crucial 'last phrase of the song' ('Ne l'amore ogni dolcezza'), moving briefly to the relative major and bringing back a variant of the piano's opening improvisatory motif above the simple vocal line. The sultry, seductive quality of the song was a new departure for White, and one that echoes in later songs such as her setting of Verlaine's 'Le Foyer'. Perhaps feeling that such sensual intensity was better suited to a private than a public space, Swinton noted in her diary that it was 'more of a song for a drawing room than a concert hall'.[213] [See Example 14].

---

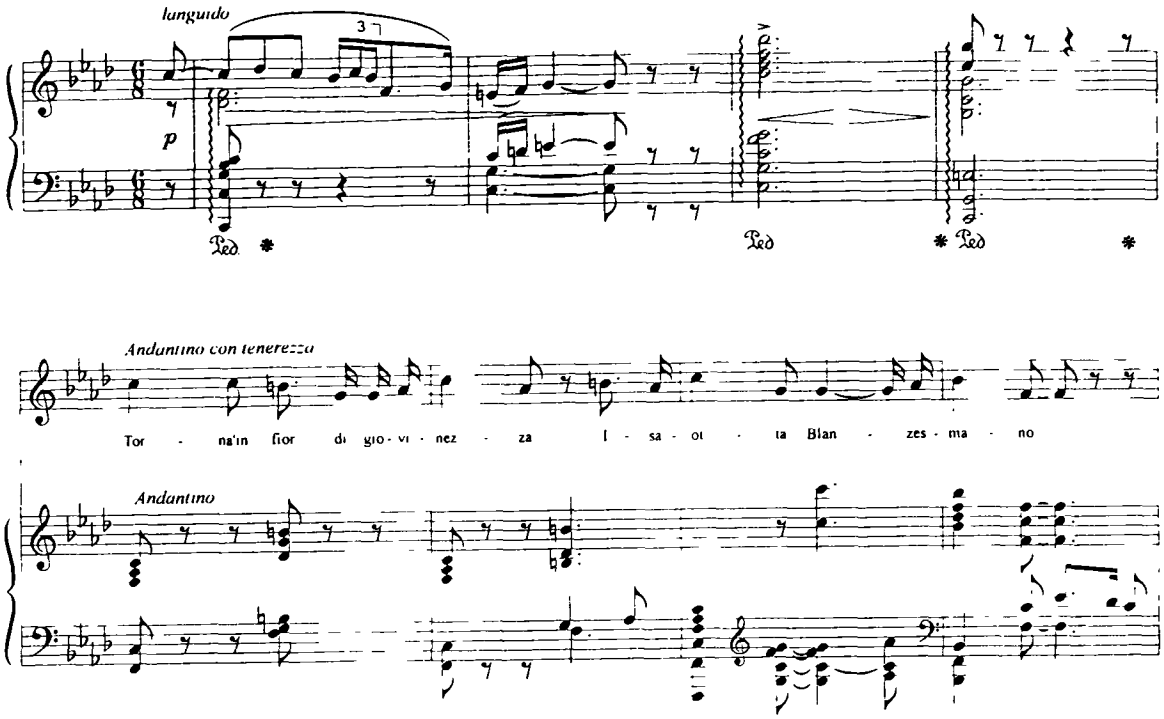
[210] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.92. White first came across the poem in Hichens's novel *The Woman with the Fan* (1904) when 'it evoked a vision of beauty - and romance - that absolutely refused to leave me for days and days'. White, *Friends and Memories*, p.190.

[211] Elsie Swinton's diary 3.12.05. Quoted in Greer, *A Numerous and Fashionable Audience*, p.74.

[212] In White's translation: 'All on earth is vanity / In love alone undying sweetness'.

[213] Elsie Swinton's diary 3.12.05. Quoted in Greer, *A Numerous and Fashionable Audience*, p.74.

Example 14. White, 'Isaotta Blanzesmano', bars 1-8.



After the huge Messina earthquake in 1908, White abandoned her house in Taormina. She had helped with the aftermath of the earthquake, partly by persuading her wealthy British friends to send money, and was rewarded with a medal from the King of Italy. From the end of 1909, she made her base in Florence with her sister Emmie, who had returned to Europe from Chile after her husband's death, and Emmie's friend Bertha Martindale. She continued to travel, spending much time in other parts of Italy and Sicily, and to promote her music, planning a concert tour of the United States for the winter of 1911 to 1912 which was probably prompted by the success of Lehmann's American tour two years previously. A singer and an American impresario had both been hired before the plans for the visit fell through. Despite several visits to South America, White was never to visit the North.

In the summer of 1912 White visited Edith Balfour's sister-in-law, Valérie Balfour, in Southern Russia. In Tiflis she listened to an orchestra of 'a guitar, a tchianour, a tambourine and a pretty pair of tiny painted drums', and tried to write down some vocal music that she heard:

> But, like all Eastern music, it was quite impossible to get hold of accurately, and I was only able to dot down some strange intervals and effects that I made use of later on.[214]

White had been particularly drawn to Russian music since hearing Edith Balfour sing Russian folksongs in the early 1880s and discovering the music of Rimsky-Korsakov and Borodin on her first visit to Russia later in the decade. One of her surviving manuscript books contains hesitantly notated folk-like melodies with Russian titles, such as 'Samarkand', 'Polosinka', 'Nochi bez umniya' and 'Chas rokovoi'. White may have had this manuscript book with her in Russia in 1912 and may have used it for her attempts to notate the local music.[215] This Russian journey inspired two very different works. In 1913 Boosey published her memorable *Trois Chansons Tziganes*, settings of three Russian poems from one of Tolstoy's plays in French translation. Writing rather disapprovingly in 1914, George Lowe felt that in these songs 'Miss White has been influenced by modern ideas on harmony'.[216] These 'modern' harmonies (such as the phrygian scale on which the first song 'Mon petit lin' is based) are used by White, along with driving syncopated rhythms and an improvisatory quality in the vocal line, to create an East European 'gypsy' atmosphere. Any 'modernity' in the songs comes from her use of modal or rhythmic elements in the folk music that she found so hypnotically compelling. [See Example 15].

The other work prompted by White's 1912 journey was a ballet, *The Enchanted Heart*, which she was inspired to write after seeing a Russian ballet at Usovska. She wrote her own scenario and had finished the piano score by the autumn of 1913. Attempted performances of this work were dogged by what can only be regarded as bad luck. The premiere was arranged to be given at the small theatre in the British Embassy at Rome in the spring of 1914, but after the death of the Duke of Argyll the Embassy had to go into mourning and the performance was cancelled. In 1915 the dancer Adeline Genée attempted, without success, to persuade the Coliseum to stage the work. Later in the year Henry Wood asked White to arrange part of the ballet as an orchestral suite for the Promenade Concerts that autumn. She chose three of the numbers and the performance

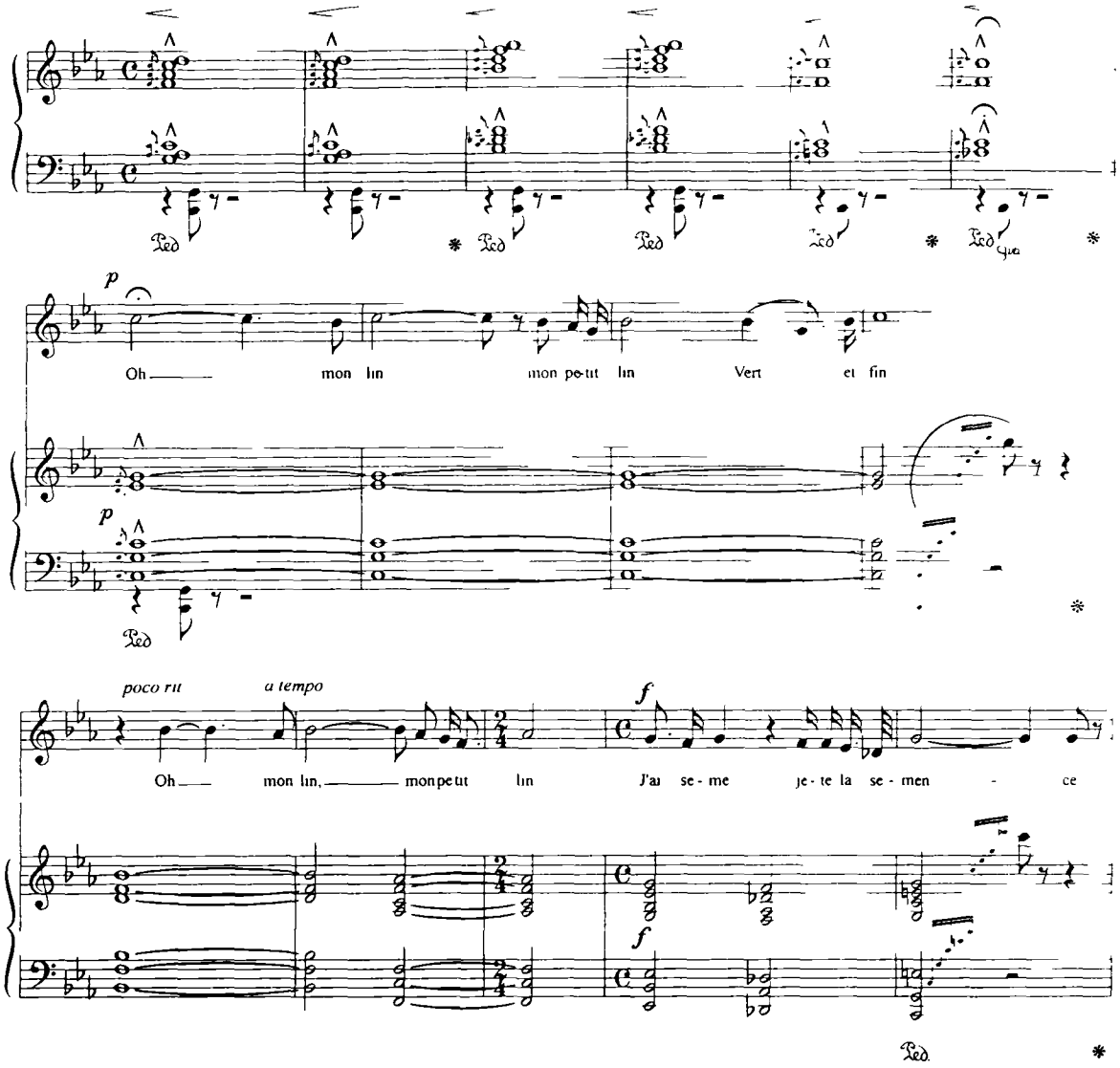
---

[214] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.234.

[215] RAM archives: Box 150. This manuscript book is located with four similar manuscript books which contain sections of *Smaranda*, one of which is dated January 1911. A note on the fourth page of the book 'In Rome till 2 May' suggests that she may also have used the book after her return to Florence in 1913 at the time when she was making frequent visits to Rome for rehearsals of *The Enchanted Heart*. See below.

[216] George Lowe, 'Ballad Writers: XV Maude Valérie White' *The Musical Standard* new illustrated series 3:61 (28 February 1914), p.200.

Example 15. White, 'Mon petit lin', bars 1-15.



was advertised but it was decided that, due to the war, no novelties would be given at the Promenade season, although Henry Wood did later conduct a performance of part of the work. When writing *My Indian Summer* in 1929, White was still hoping for a performance to be organised by Tamara Karsavina.[217]

[217] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.255. There is no record of any such performance. One of the copies of the score in the RAM archives is marked 'Probably Sir Adrian Boult's copy of the score The Enchanted Heart', suggesting that there may have been attempt to persuade Boult to conduct the work. RAM uncatalogued manuscripts: Box 150.

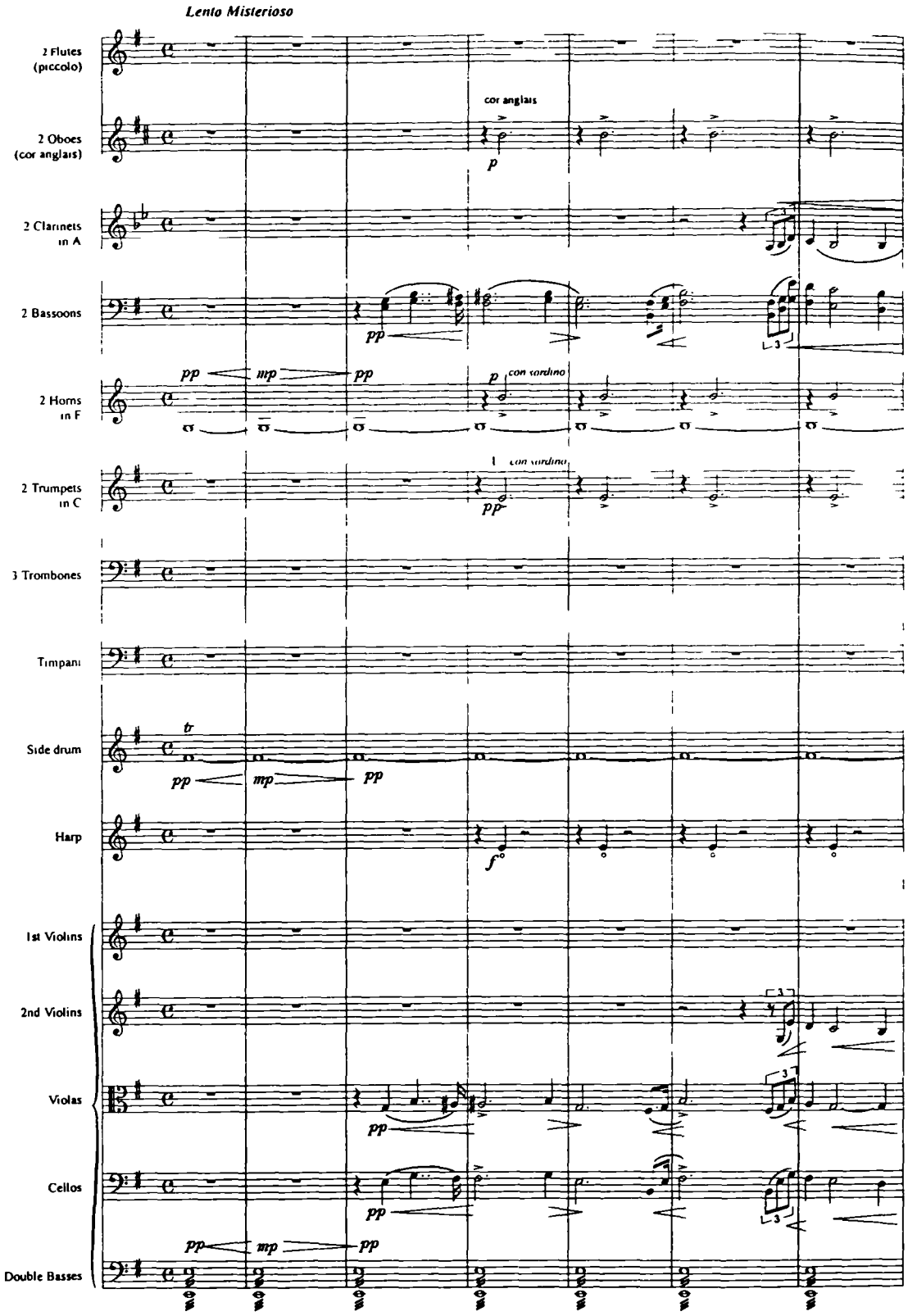
In the bound copy of the French piano score for the ballet, White's story is subtitled 'Ballet Allegorique'.[218] Her heroine, the Russian Princess Jasmine, asks some peasants working near her home why they are afraid of the dark. They tell her that a wicked magician has imprisoned the Persian Prince Ferdusi, changing his heart into a firefly, and that any human who comes into contact with this firefly will die. Legend tells that somewhere is a Princess who will save the Prince by capturing his enchanted heart, which is the only firefly whose light will not be extinguished when she grasps it in her hand. The Prince is allowed to roam the forest every night for an hour before midnight but without his heart he is cold and selfish and if he sees the Princess, will fall in love with her and force her to go with him to his palace under the forest. If the Princess is successful in capturing the heart before midnight, the sun will miraculously rise. A final sentence explains the allegory: 'La mouche à feu qui donne la lumière sans chaleur est le symbole de l'homme sans coeur qui aime avec passion, mais sans tendresse'.[219]

In contrast to her work on *Smaranda*, which she had probably fairly recently abandoned, White does not seem to have had any trouble with the orchestration for the ballet. Her lively and passionate score is full of imaginative touches such as 'col legno' string playing for the Sword Dance; important solo flute cadenzas and a wide range of percussion, including a celeste. [See Example 16].

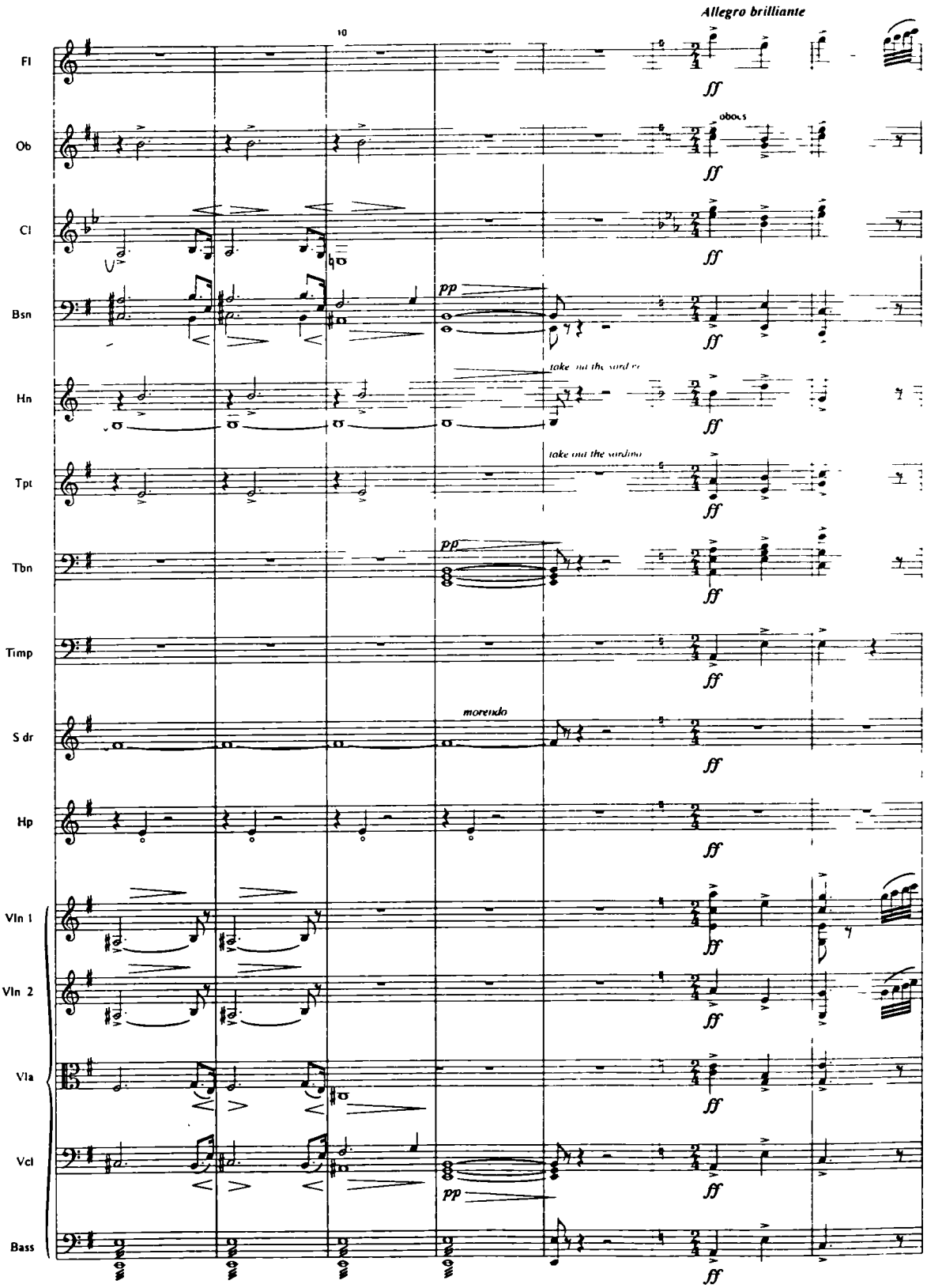
[218] RAM uncatalogued manuscripts: Box 150. The surviving materials for *The Enchanted Heart* are distributed between Boxes 147, 148 and 150.

[219] 'The firefly, which gives light without heat, is a symbol of the man who loves with passion, but without tenderness'. Attached to this volume is an unidentified newspaper clipping:
'It is a long time since Solomon pointed us to the ant for foresight. and Isaac Watts to the bee for industry; and now we are able to add to the moral catalogue the glowworm, who has solved the problem of light without heat while man is still struggling with it. It is a pity the fact was not known three centuries ago. In the days when poets wrote verses to their mistresses, they might have done much with an image which combined exceptional brilliance with lack of reciprocal warmth.'

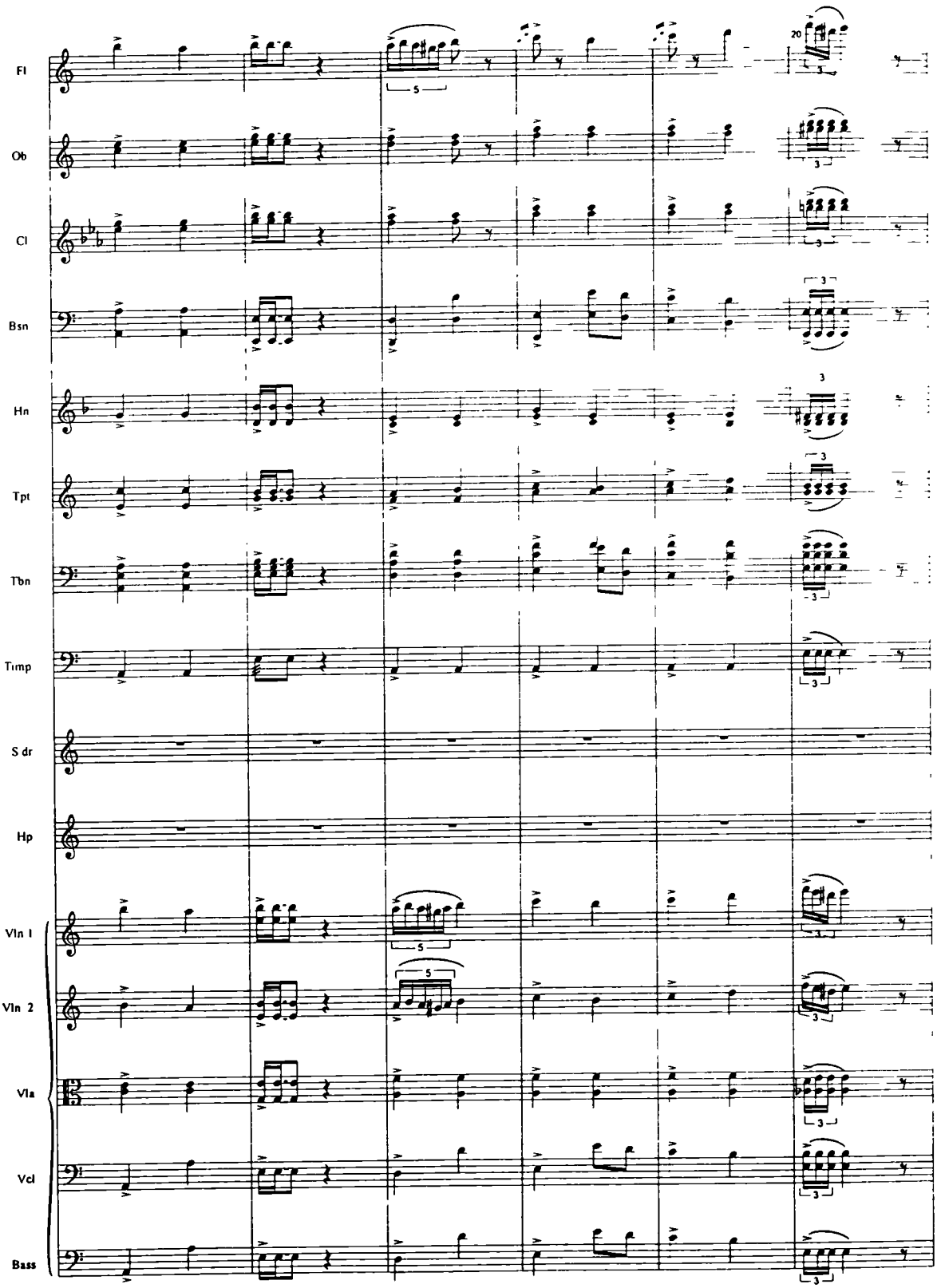
Example 16. White, *The Enchanted Heart*, bars 1-20.



Example 16 cont.



Example 16 cont.

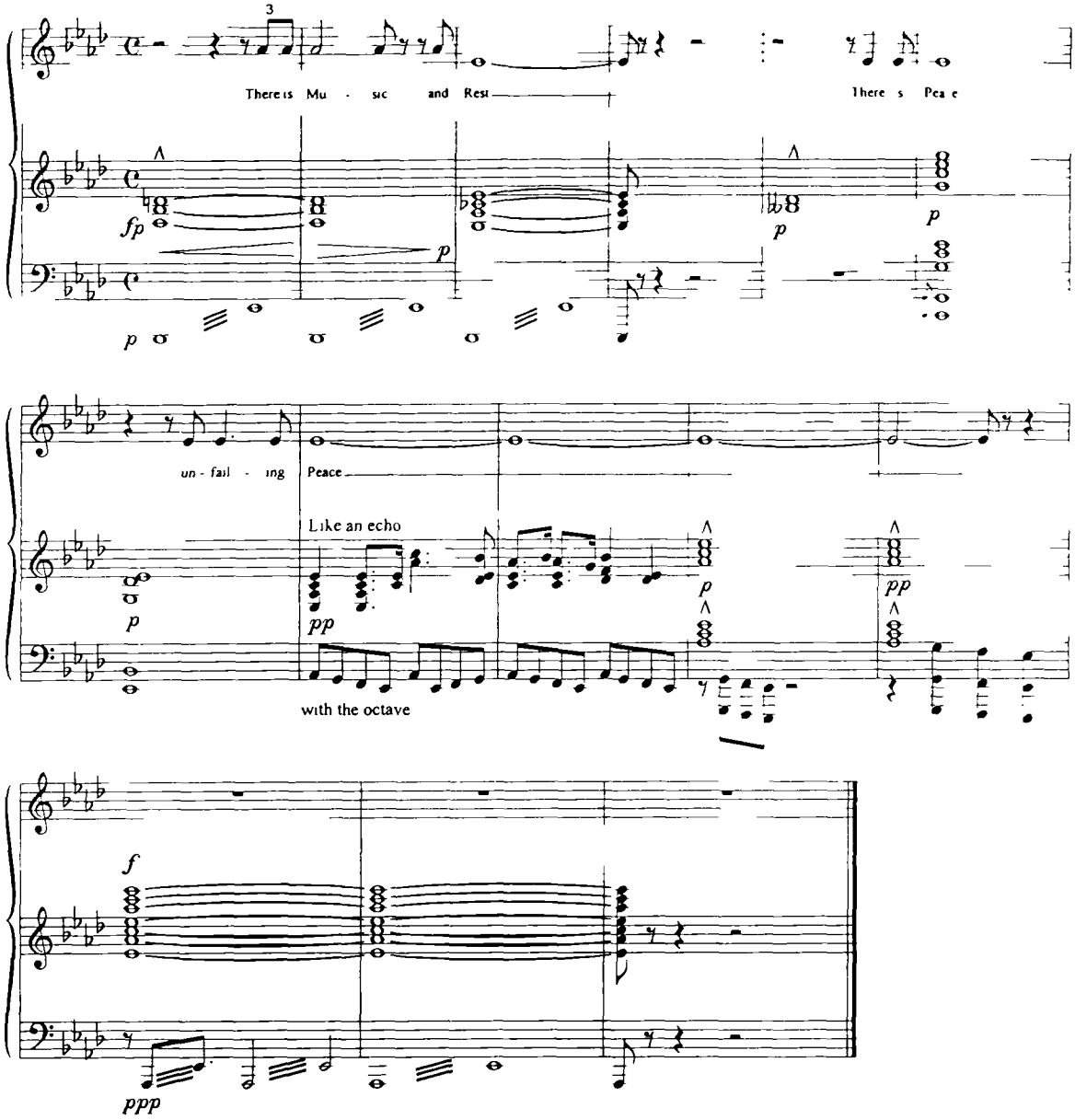


During the First World War, White put much energy into organising concerts for war charities in which she was helped by a variety of friends and colleagues including Guillhermina Suggia, Ellen Terry and her daughter Edy Craig. For one of these concerts, in aid of the Serbian Relief Fund, at the Queen's Hall, White arranged five Serbian dances for full orchestra, demanding a bass clarinet, double bassoon and a vast array of percussion. They were conducted by Henry Wood and the concert also included extracts from *The Enchanted Heart*.

White also wrote two songs in direct response to the war in which she draws on her faith to provide answers to the horrors of the conflict. Neither is in any way bombastically patriotic, although such songs would have sold well and would doubtless have proved to be a welcome source of income. Like many of her contemporaries, White had numerous German friends and connections and probably found the whole concept of the Germans as enemies difficult to comprehend. 'Le Depart Du Conscrit' (1917) to her own words (given in French with an English translation) focuses on the themes of love and faith. The text is divided, although they never sing in duet, between 'lui' and 'elle' (the departing conscript and his beloved), and ends with their belief that if he is killed, they will meet in heaven. White provided a varied strophic setting of heart-felt simplicity, centring on a subdominant chord with added 7th and 9th.

'On the Fields of France' (1919), to a poem by N. McEachern, is a short through-composed song which also centres on belief in paradise, this time the Avalon of Celtic legend. White alternates two ideas, a frequently modulating recitative section leading into a brief *cantabile* passage and a martial *risoluto* section in Ab major reflecting the heroes of the fields of France. But somehow the overall effect of the song, as the martial theme is heard echoing under the final word 'Peace', is one, to late 20th-century ears at least, of unease. [See Example 17].

Example 17. White, 'On the Fields of France', bars 38-51.



For six years after the war White and her sister lived in Rome, where they took paying guests to help make ends meet.[220] They then returned to Florence, although it seems that the last few years of White's life were spent in England.[221] In the 1920s and 30s White still needed to make money. She continued to put on concerts throughout England and

[220] Sir Edward Compton visited them there with his aunt Anita Compton when he was a school boy and remembers that they were 'very poor', always a relative concept.

[221] Compton claims that Maude and Emmie lived in Haywards Heath in the 30s. White's will, made in 1935, and her entry in ed. Landon Ronald, *Who's Who in Music* (London: Shaw Publishing, 1935) both give her address as Flat 40, Pelham Court, Fulham Road, London which is also, according to her death certificate, where she died. Compton remembered that she was staying with a 'Mrs Grayson' when she died. It seems likely that this was her cousin Lady Dora Grayson and that White stayed in her flat when she was in London and used the address when she needed to provide a permanent London residence. After White's death, Emmie lived with Compton and his family.

also produced translations of several works, including the memoirs of Princess Pauline Metternich, a biography of Ingres, the Romanian writer Panait Istrati's *Uncle Anghel*, and *The Apostle Play* by the Viennese playwright Max Mell.[222] Her concerts were often organised with the help of her friend Quilter and his protégé the singer Mark Raphael. Surviving letters from White to Quilter show that she was indefatigable, planning endless concerts so that she could afford to winter in Egypt, listing those of her songs that she felt would suit Raphael's voice and still taking cures:

> I fell frightfully ill in Rome, & thank God I stayed here en route as there was danger of paralysis. Now, that danger is quite over, owing to the very drastic cure of the last 3 weeks & I'm very happy as you can imagine. I'm still going on with it for a fortnight & I may truly say that I am "full of beans" as we are fed on them continually. I've had no meat, fish, soup for 3 weeks & 3 days in the week we only get some dried prunes & some little bits of bread as dry as wood - nothing else all day not even a glass of water!! - I'm going to have my first cup of tea for breakfast today & to say that I'm excited at the prospect is to put it indeed mildly!!![223]

In 1927 Quilter dedicated his song 'Oh, the month of May' to her and she wrote to thank him from Florence, giving a vivid picture of her life there with Emmie and Bertha:

> I'm now installed in the big room you had to clear out of because of the heat!! I have arranged it as a sitting room, & have the little room next door as a bedroom - I've a piano in it! Such a thing! However as I only pay 40 lire a month for it I can't be very particular, but oh how I long for a delicious Baby Grand!
> Poor Emmie has had influenza & has got very thin. Poor darling little Maude, has had neuralgia in her head, & is fatter than ever!! - With every [bite?] 1/4 of a pound is added to her sadly over-weighted anatomy! - Bertha seems rather tired out, poor little soul. But the spring is a trying time - It has been absolutely hot already & I've caught sight of a mosquito sneaking round the wall - He didn't sneak for long! At all events I did my best to put an end to his bloodsucking career as quickly as possible.
> Do you know that we already sit outside on the terrace for hours! My very best love to you dear Roger & again very very many thanks for that dear dedication. Your old and grateful friend Maude V White.[224]

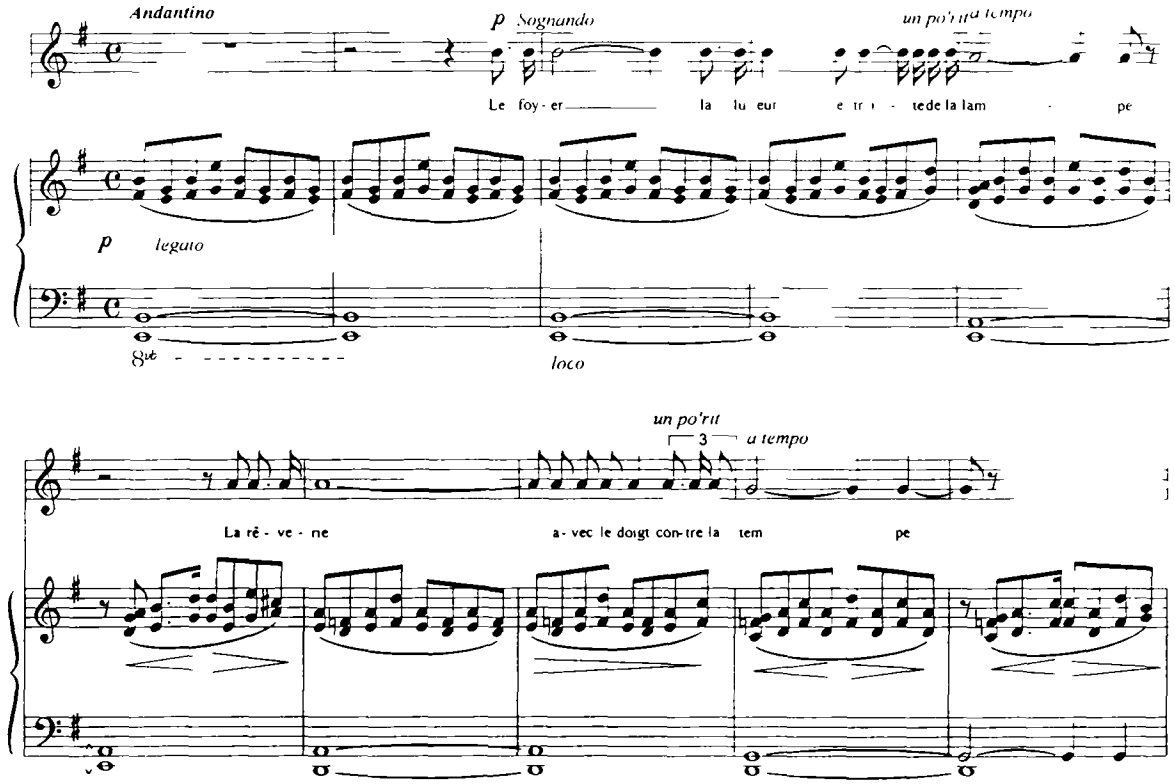
White appears to have written little during the 20s. Only six published songs have survived. In *My Indian Summer* she wrote: 'Of late years I have not composed much. When one has nothing further to say, silence is best'. But that she still in fact had plenty

---

[222] Lili Froehlich-Bum, *Ingres: His Life and Art* (London: William Heinemann, 1926); Panait Istrati, *Uncle Anghel* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1927); Max Mell, *The Apostle Play*, published in *Seven Sacred Plays* (London: Methuen, 1934). No copy of the Metternich memoirs has been traced.
[223] White to Quilter 30 July, 1925. BL Roger Quilter Collection Add. Ms 70604 f.46.
[224] Letter from White to Quilter 1 March, [1927]. BL Roger Quilter Collection Add. Ms 70604 f.95.

to say can be seen in works such as the *Two Songs*, settings of Verlaine and Hugo, published by Chappell in 1924, when White was nearly 70. 'Le foyer' has been described by Stephen Banfield as 'one of the few Debussy-like songs by an English composer',[225] although the impressionistic quality of this remarkable work is only a slightly more extreme version of that found in many of White's French and even some of her English and Italian settings. This is her only setting of Verlaine, and the poem's atmosphere of languid desire inspired a hazy piano accompaniment of repeated right-hand quavers using open fourths and fifths over almost motionless left-hand chords.[226]

Example 18. White, 'Le foyer', bars 1-10.



The first two phrases of the vocal line are each on a repeated single note, falling a tone at the end, but the voice comes alive in its third phrase as it sings of 'les yeux aimants'. The dreamlike atmosphere is abandoned at the final climax of the song as the voice, marked *agitato affrettando* and *disperato*, sings, over rich, loud piano chords, of 'Le poursuit sans relâche à travers toutes les remises vaines. Impatient des mois, furieux des

[225] Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song*, p.6.
[226] 'Le Foyer' is from Verlaine's 1870 collection *La Bonne Chanson*.

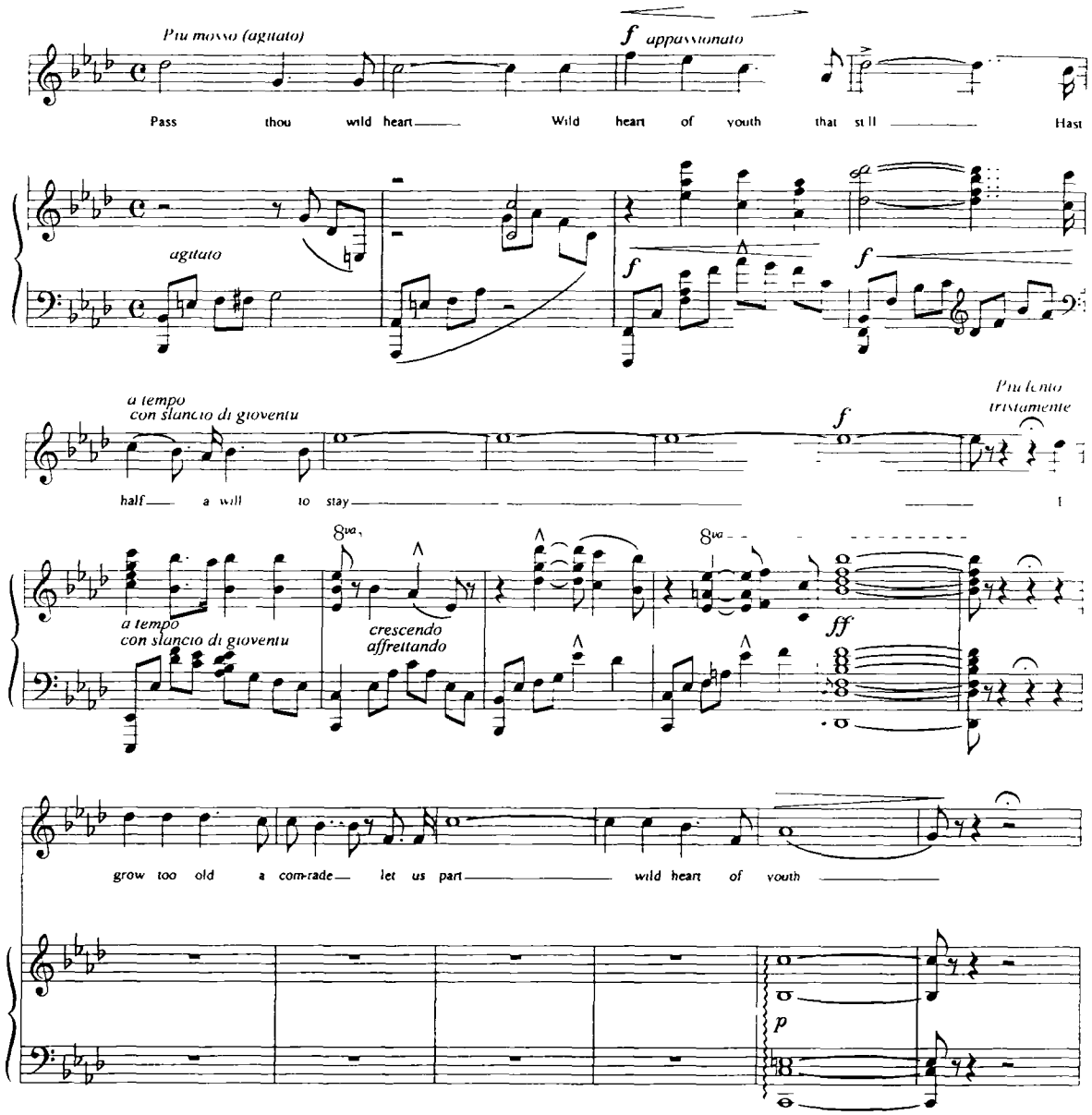
semaines'.[227] 'Le foyer' remains more firmly rooted in its tonic key than many of White's songs but the harmony is continually coloured with carefully judged dissonances.

Why White chose to set Verlaine at this point in her life is unclear, but she may have been inspired by the many Verlaine settings of Poldowski, a composer she knew personally and whose songs were being sung at many London concerts by White's friend Elwes from 1908 onwards. The second song of White's set, 'La flûte invisible' to words by Victor Hugo, is a much more conventional setting, although the central motif is subjected to almost obsessive repetition.

The final song to be published by White and 'one of the last I ever wrote', is 'Leavetaking' to words (by the Yorkshire poet William Watson) that had been sent to her by Hichens.[228] This work, which was published in 1927, provides an appropriate farewell to a songwriting career that had enshrined passion and emotion in music that is often elegantly restrained. Such a conscious final gesture is perhaps surprising in a composer whose memoirs present such a self-effacing self-image, but it also shows that White was always more controlling and manipulative of her career than the memoirs, which after all stand as a part of that control and manipulation, often suggest. Her setting is typically fluent, with sorrowful chromatic touches to the harmony and a characteristic piano accompaniment which doubles the vocal line in places, sometimes at the octave, while providing a strong onward rhythmic drive. Towards the end this accompaniment suddenly stops, leaving the voice alone to sing 'I grow too old a comrade / Let us part, wild heart of youth', with the last word, set as a resolving dissonance, supported by a dominant seventh chord in the piano. This leads to the tonic setting of the final line 'Pass thou away', coloured with a regretful flattened second. [See Example 19].

[227] In White's own translation: '[Oh this dear vision my empty staring heart] pursues relentlessly across the waste of long witheld desires. O weary months of waiting, weeks of torture and despair'.
[228] White, *My Indian Summer*, p.273.

Example 19. White, 'Leavetaking', bars 27-42.



In 1935 White made her will, leaving everything to Emmie and asking for her funeral 'to be absolutely simple like that of a poor person'.[229] She died in London two years later on 2 November 1937 at the age of 82. A requiem mass was given at Brompton Oratory and she was buried in the small graveyard at the Catholic Church of St Edward the Confessor near Guildford.[230]

[229] White's will was witnessed on 15 May, 1935.
[230] *The Times* (4 November 1937), p.19.

By the time of her death White's music was already out of favour. Her brief obituary in *The Musical Times* simply called her a composer of popular songs.[231] *The Times* provided a more detailed obituary which presented the basic details of her achievements but subtly undermined them by presenting her career in isolation from her contemporaries, ignoring any of her later work and focusing on her English settings:

> Her reputation as a composer was founded entirely on her songs, in which she discovered a vein of gracious melody and a talent for grasping the values of words. Generally speaking, the better the words she chose the better the song she produced. Browning's Cavalier songs, the lyrics of Herrick, and Shelley's 'My Soul is an enchanted boat' represent her best; the popular 'Devout Lover' is her nearest approach to the vulgar standards of the ballad concert.[232]

Even during her lifetime, critics grew unsure as to how to categorise White's songs. While late 19th-century critics and audiences unanimously regarded her work as high-quality art song, those writing in the early years of the 20th century were more likely to class her as a ballad composer, although many felt somewhat uneasy with such a description. The writer of a 1914 article on 'The Modern Drawing-Room Song', for example, saw her *Trois Chansons Tziganes* as part of the vogue for 'oriental' writing by composers of shop ballads, but added that White's songs 'have an individuality and a meaning of their own'. 'Mon petit lin' was seen to contain clichéd 'crushed chords' simply 'because a gipsy song ought to have some strange sounds in it' but confusingly the song was also 'really independent of this sort of effect'.[233] From the 1920s onwards, after the backlash against the work of women composers, the assumption that a woman songwriter was capable of producing only lightweight, valueless music, in addition to the condemnation attached to all Victorian song, proved fatal for the reception of White's work.

As the introduction to this study has shown, White is simply excluded from most histories of the British Musical Renaissance. Where she is included her work is usually denigrated or misrepresented. In *Byrd to Britten* (1966), for example, Sydney Northcote merely admits briefly that two of her songs, the somewhat unrepresentative 'King Charles' and 'The Devout Lover', have 'a certain merit'.[234] In Ronald Pearsall's

---

[231] *The Musical Times* 78 (December 1937), p.996.
[232] *The Times* (4 November 1937), p.19.
[233] Originally published in *The Times*. Quoted in *The Music Student* VI:12 (August 1914), p.243.
[234] Sydney Northcote, *Byrd to Britten: A Survey of English Song* (London: John Baker, 1966), p.96.

Edwardian Popular Music (1975), White, despite being described as 'an admirable professional' who 'coped well and was by no means a drawing room hack', is later used as an example of the many 'musicians of modest gifts' who were 'brain-washed into believing that they ought to go modern ... and introduced into their otherwise unremarkable pieces the clichés of modern music'.[235]

Recently, White has had more enthusiastic advocates, such as the pianist Graham Johnson, who has recorded several of her songs,[236] and Geoffrey Bush, who discussed her work in some depth in his chapter on 'Song' in *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age* (1981) and included 10 of her songs in the Musica Britannica volume *Songs 1860-1900* (1989).[237] But in general writers simply do not know what to do with her. Faced with a composer who concentrated on the widely misunderstood genre of late Victorian British song and without a context in which to place her career, it doubtless seems easiest to ignore this composer of songs in so many different styles and languages, whose deeply-felt emotion appears to sound to some late 20th-century ears like superficial sentimentality.

Yet White is in so many ways an extremely important composer. Her career provides a fascinating example of a thoroughly successful and independent professional who played almost no part whatsoever in the mainstream of the British musical establishment, clearly demonstrating the ways in which women negotiated their exclusion from such worlds and overcame internalised self-doubt. Her absence from the history of the British Musical Renaissance is hardly surprising when that history has concentrated on large-scale, publicly performed works that can be seen to establish a definably British musical style. Nevertheless, the influence of White's music can be heard in the work of many later British songwriters, such as Quilter or Vaughan Williams, an area of research which still awaits detailed study.[238] White brought to

---

[235] Ronald Pearsall, *Edwardian Popular Music* (Newton Abbott: David and Charles, 1975), pp.84 and 105. Pearsall's research is far from thorough. Lehmann's most famous work, *In a Persian Garden*, is mistitled *In a Persian Market* (and extraordinarily described as 'pop music masquerading as serious work'). See p.83.

[236] 'Chantez, chantez, jeune inspirée' on *Mélodies sur des poèmes de Victor Hugo*, Felicity Lott and Graham Johnson (Harmonia Mundi HMA 1901138); 'So we'll go no more a.roving' on *Favourite English Songs*, Felicity Lott and Graham Johnson (Chandos CHAN 8722); 'The Throstle', 'My soul is an enchanted boat', 'The Devout Lover', 'So we'll go no more a roving' on *In Praise of Woman: 150 Years of English Women Composers*, Anthony Rolfe Johnson and Graham Johnson (Hyperion CDA66709).

[237] ed. Geoffrey Bush, *Songs 1860-1900 Musica Britannica* 60 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1989).

[238] 'From Maude Valérie White to Roger Quilter the line of influence stretches, thin but taut'. Scott

British song inspiration from an extraordinarily wide range of texts and from the music of other cultures as well as an unashamed passion that often reaches beyond the expressions of her more straight-laced male contemporaries. Above all, her songs, written in an always identifiable musical voice despite their diversity, still have the power to move. The *Times* reviewer of White's 1905 Bechstein Hall concert summarised her achievement in words that still resonate today:

> There are few composers of either sex whose fountain of melodic invention has flowed so freely for so long. ... The secret of her success is that she is at once passionate and sincere, and if her ideas, and the manner of their performance, sometimes suggest the clinging air of a hot-house they have much of its fragrance too.[239]

Goddard, 'The Art of Roger Quilter' *The Chesterian* VI (1925), p.216. Trevor Hold points to the admiration of both these composers for White's songs. Trevor Hold, *The Walled-In Garden: A Study of the Songs of Roger Quilter (1877-1953)* (Rickmansworth: Triad Press, 1978), p.12. I am grateful to Byron Adams for confirming the similarity between White's work and the early songs of Vaughan Williams. The influence of White's songs on composers such as Elgar and Parry (both of whom would have known them well) remains unexplored.

[239] *The Times* (4 December, 1905), p.11.

Chapter 5: Liza Lehmann and Frances Allitsen

Liza Lehmann

Like White, Liza Lehmann was a composer who concentrated on writing vocal music and whose works were extremely popular at the turn of the century, although her background, career and musical language were significantly different from those of White and the reception of her work during her lifetime changed even more dramatically. When Lehmann's song-cycle *In a Persian Garden* was performed at a Monday Pop in 1896 a critic described it as 'one of the most impressive works ever penned by a female composer'.[1] But in a review of her opera *Everyman*, premiered nearly 20 years later, Lehmann was dismissed, with a barrage of all too familiar adjectives, as a composer of 'songs and quartets touched with a pretty feminine grace, a charming sentiment, and a sense, if not of humour, at least of coquettish fun'.[2] When her memoirs were posthumously published a few years later, one reviewer went as far as to declare that 'there is no call for any critical consideration of Liza Lehmann's music'.[3] Lehmann's career, like White's, spanned a period which saw enormous changes in both public taste and musical languages as well as in attitudes towards creative women. Her work was extremely varied, ranging from the sombre grandeur of her *In Memoriam* song-cycle (Tennyson, 1899) to what is now regarded as the kitsch simplicity of her still popular 'There are fairies at the bottom of our garden' (Rose Fyleman, 1917). Even during her lifetime, she found that most attention was paid to her lighter music, and since her death most of what she called her 'serious' work has been long forgotten.

Lehmann was born into an artistic family. Her father was the painter Rudolf Lehmann, born in Hamburg to parents of mixed British, German and Italian origins, while her Scottish mother, Amelia Chambers, was a skilful singer and composer whose own mother was well-known in Edinburgh as an amateur singer and harpist.[4] Rudolf and Amelia were living in Rome in the early 1860s but came to London for the birth of their eldest daughter Elisabetha Nina Mary Frederica, always known as Liza, on 11 July

---

[1] *The Musical Times* 38 (January 1897), p.20.
[2] Anon, 'A New "Everyman"' *The Times* (29 December 1915), p.11.
[3] *The Musical Times* 51 (November 1919), p.621.
[4] Unless otherwise noted, biographical details are taken from Liza Lehmann, *The Life of Liza Lehmann* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1919). Hereafter *Liza Lehmann.*

1862. Lehmann spent the first five years of her life in Italy and Italian was her first language.[5] The family settled in London in 1866.[6]

Amelia Lehmann was determined that her daughter should have the professional musical career that she herself had never achieved. In her memoirs, Lehmann explained that, despite her many musical talents, her mother did not study music until after her marriage and suffered, like so many women, from

> quite abnormally developed diffidence. ... She had a lovely singing voice, and studied singing with several vocal teachers of renown; but she was never confident about her own achievements, and could hardly ever be induced to sing before anyone. ... She wrote some beautiful music, notably an operatic setting of a Goethe libretto; but the same diffidence and exaggerated, almost morbid self-criticism, led her to destroy most of her compositions.[7]

Lehmann does not explore possible origins of this diffidence. Her mother's father, the writer and publisher Robert Chambers, would doubtless have been horrified if his daughter had taken up a public career as a singer, and he had not encouraged her to have music lessons as a child. A considerable amount of vocal music by Amelia Lehmann did find its way into print and performance, always under the discreet pseudonym A. L. The songs and arrangements that have survived show a fluent gift for melody.

Lehmann, on the other hand, and in contrast to her female contemporaries who were born into more conventional middle- and upper-class families, was positively encouraged by both her parents to take up a professional artistic career. She grew up in a world of musicians and artists. Liszt had been a frequent visitor to the Lehmann household in Rome and many 'musical soirées' were held at Rudolf Lehmann's Kensington studio with performers such as Anton Rubinstein and Raimond von zur Mühlen. The children's general education was undertaken by a succession of governesses. Lehmann also took piano lessons and studied singing with her mother and Alberto Randegger as well as attending classes given by Jenny Lind. British winters were regarded as too harsh for Amelia Lehmann's delicate health and as a young girl, Lehmann spent most winters on the continent with her mother. During these periods abroad she continued her musical education, singing to Verdi and Clara Novello and

---

[5] The unpopularity of Italian as a language for the song lyrics of British composers can be seen in the fact that Lehmann, unlike White, never set Italian poetry despite setting numerous German and a few French poems during her career.

[6] Lehmann had three sisters: Marianna (married Edward Heron-Allen); Amelia (married Barry Pain) and Alma (married Charles Goetz).

[7] *Liza Lehmann*, p.19.

taking her first composition lessons from the Danish composer Raunkilde in Rome and Wilhelm Freudenberg in Wiesbaden.

Lehmann's voice was a light soprano with a range from a to b''' which was felt to be too small for the opera house, so she concentrated on developing a career as a concert singer.[8] Although she had appeared in public as early as 1879, her formal debut was at the Monday Pops on 23 November 1885.[9] Lehmann soon became a popular singer, consistently praised by the critics for her artistic taste and in great demand for public and private concerts. She appeared at most of the important public concert series in London as well as at festivals throughout Britain, singing in oratorios and performing a wide range of solo repertoire including 17th- and 18th-century English songs:

> I used to take great trouble to find something unhackneyed to bring out - often some forgotten old English gem by Purcell, Arne, Hook, etc. ... I often spent hours at the British Museum, looking through scores ... and copying out anything I thought might prove suitable.[10]

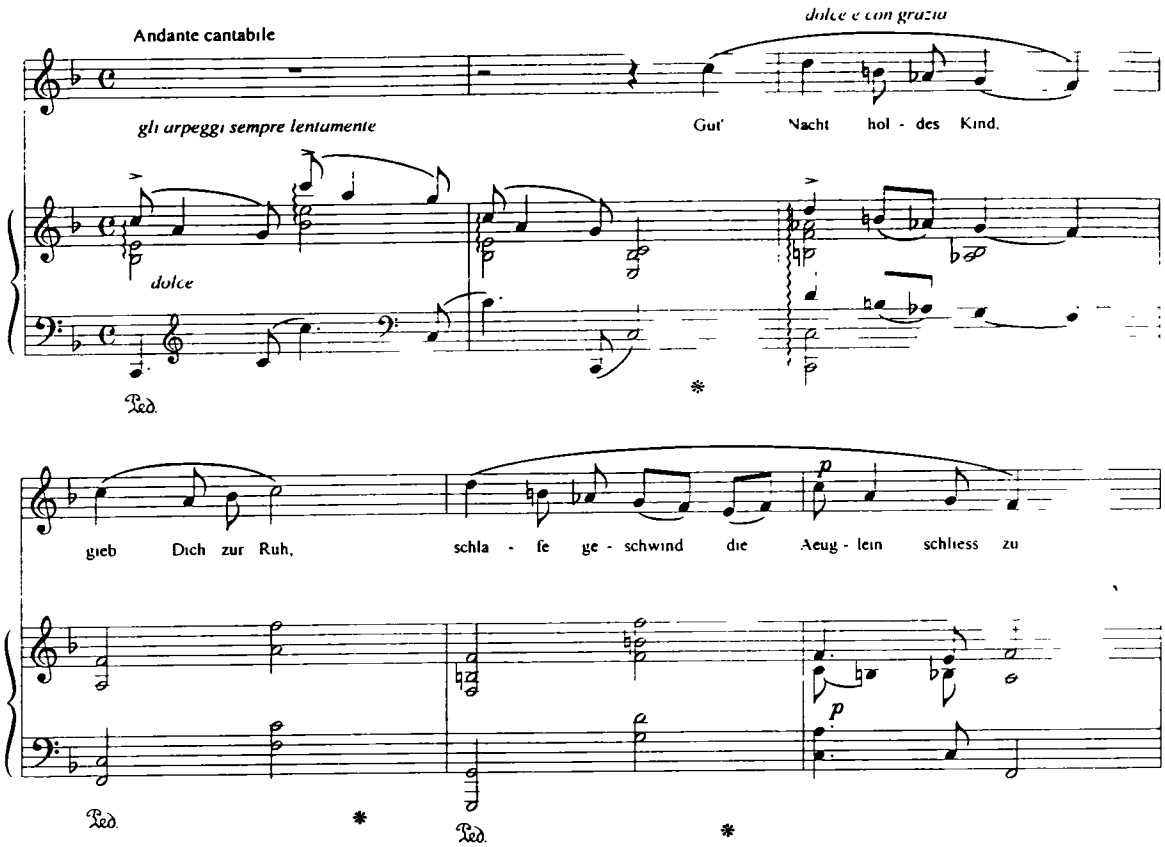
She also sang early romantic repertoire and once spent three weeks in Frankfurt with Clara Schumann working on Robert Schumann's *lieder*.

From an early stage in her career, Lehmann's programmes often included her own songs. She had taken further composition lessons from Hamish MacCunn, and in 1888 several of her songs were published, including a volume of *Eight German Songs*.[11] This collection shows the assured sense of vocal line that would be expected from a professional singer and an interesting approach to harmonic colouring clearly seen in the fifth song, 'Wiegenlied', a 23-bar lullaby in F major that makes considerable use of diminished chords and expressive dissonance. [See Example 20].

---

[8] Ed. Saerchinger, César. *International Who's Who in Music and Musical Gazetteer* (New York: Current Literature Publishing Co., 1918), pp.366-7.
[9] *The Musical Times* 20 (December 1879), p. 657; *The Musical Times* 26 (December 1885), p.719.
[10] *Liza Lehmann*, p.51.
[11] In her memoirs, Lehmann mentions 'a deplorable setting of some stanzas by Tom Moore' as her first published work, adding 'I am so ashamed of it that I will not even mention its title. It still occasionally rears its disagreeable little head in its publisher's royalty accounts, and brings a blush of shame to my cheek. My only excuse for it is - youth!'. *Liza Lehmann*, p.40. This work has not been identified. Lehmann's earliest surviving published Moore setting is 'The Castilian Maid', dating from about 1890.

Example 20. Lehmann, 'Wiegenlied', bars 1-6.



The 17th- and 18th-century English songs that Lehmann was performing do not appear to have influenced her own musical language, except perhaps in her thoughtful approach to word-setting in her English songs. The texts and musical style of her many German songs placed Lehmann firmly within the *lied* tradition, rather than that of the 'lady ballad writers' of the mid-19th century. A further volume, *Album of Twelve German Songs*, was published in 1889 and found to be

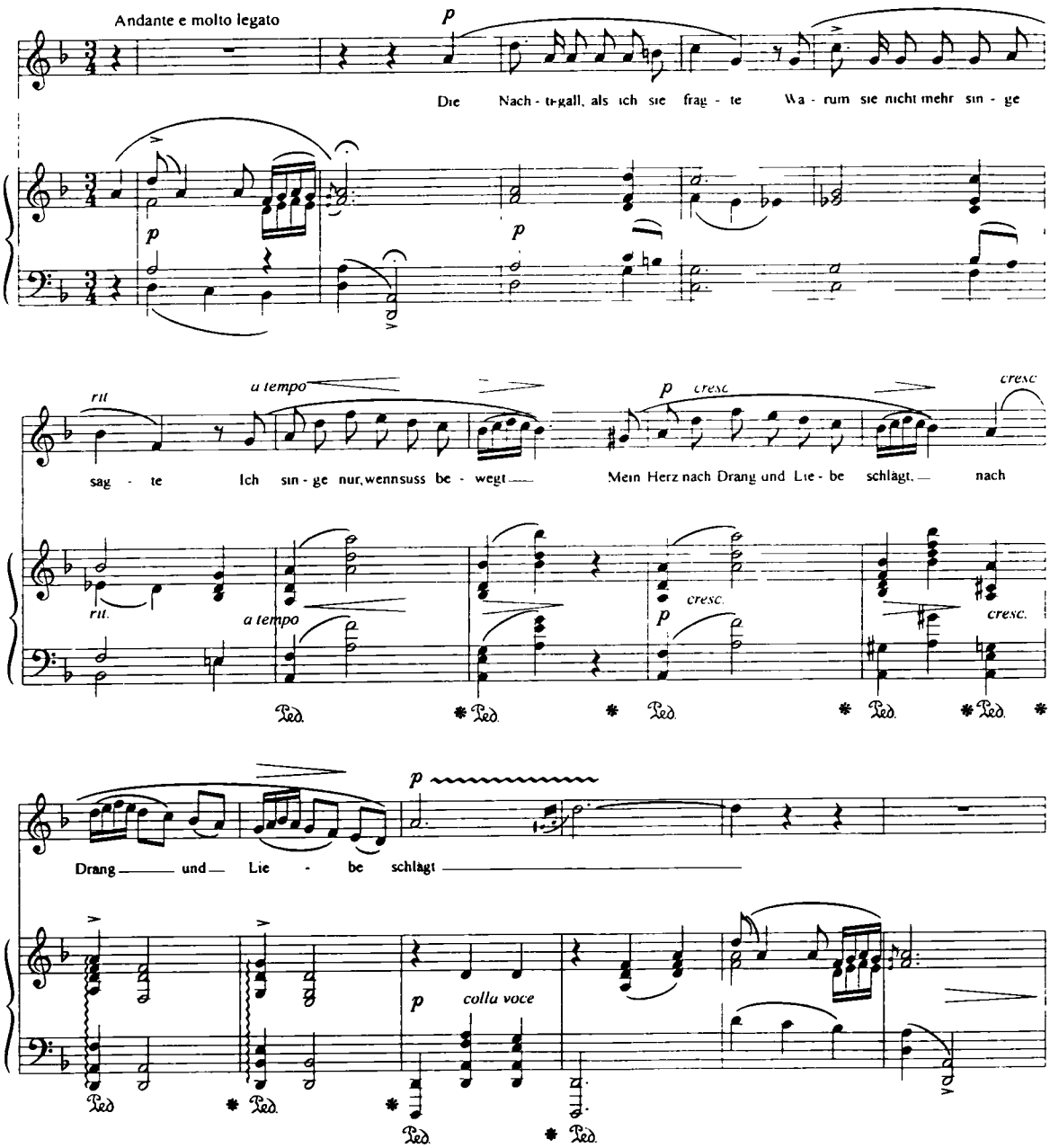
> thoroughly artistic and full of expression. The accompaniments are well written, and the collection is one that is likely to be highly prized by those who appreciate to the fullest extent the value of songs written for higher purposes than those which are influenced by commercial considerations.[12]

This second collection of songs, a few of which had already appeared separately, also included several volkslieder alongside settings of lyrics by Prutz, 'Mirza Schaffy', Geibel, von Fallersleben and Ruckert. The second song, 'Die Nachtigall, als ich sie fragte' to words by Friedrich Bodenstedt,[13] creates a distinct atmosphere with open

[12] *The Musical Times* (August 1889), p.490.
[13] Writing as himself translating 'Mirza Schaffy'.

fifths hinting at the supposedly Persian origins of the text and a vocal line with exotic melismas and bird-like trills.[14]

Example 21. Lehmann, 'Die Nachtigall, als ich sie fragte', bars 1-16.



On 14 July 1894 Lehmann appeared at a farewell concert at St James's Hall, giving her forthcoming marriage to Herbert Bedford as the reason for her departure from the public

[14] 'Die Nachtingall' has been published in ed. Geoffrey Bush, *Songs 1860-1900* Musica Brittanica 60 (London: The Musica Brittanica Trust and Stainer & Bell, 1989), pp.99-100.

stage. The press was generally regretful[15] although Shaw, writing in *The World*, was not convinced by the threat of retirement:

> As Miss Lehmann's only reason for retiring is that she is getting married, I question whether her renunciation of the lucrative activity of public singing will be permanent. Though a bachelor, I venture to doubt whether matrimony is so absorbing a pursuit as she thinks at present; and I look forward to the time when Miss Lehmann will reappear as Madame, and once more sing Love may go hang rather more appropriately than she did on this occasion.[16]

Lehmann never did take up her career as a singer again.[17] In her memoirs and in interviews given after her marriage, she was keen to stress that she suffered badly from nerves and had not enjoyed the nine years of her professional singing career. She saw retirement as an opportunity to devote herself to composition, writing in her memoirs of her 'intense longing to compose music, which I had for so long felt and which had been practically repressed for years' and her wish that she had 'given to the study of composition the years I devoted to the assiduous study of singing'.[18] In an interview given in 1910 she explained that as a young girl she had not considered composition as an occupation because 'the thought of a woman becoming a composer was not a popular one in England. ... It never seemed to occur to those who had the guidance of my early education that a woman could ever be taken seriously as a composer'.[19] Her mother's inability to take herself seriously as a composer was doubtless a strongly negative influence, yet Lehmann did acknowledge the achievements and example of other women, who were recognised publicly in a way that her mother never was:

> I simply worshipped at the shrine of any woman who wrote music. Maude Valérie White, Marie Wurm, Chaminade - they seemed to me goddesses![20]

White was the dedicatee of two songs in the *Album of Twelve German Songs*,[21] and her example as a professional songwriter was particularly important to Lehmann, who claimed that her 'career and influence were a source of greatest inspiration to me'.[22]

---

[15] See, for example, *Athenaeum* 3482 (21 July, 1894), p.105.
[16] George Bernard Shaw, *Music In London 1890-94* revised edition (London: Constable, 1932) III, p.273.
[17] In the late 1880s Lehmann suffered from 'a chill on a nerve' which resulted in permanently lame muscles in her throat, ensuring that taking up her singing career again was an impossibility (*Liza Lehmann*, pp.67-8).
[18] *Liza Lehmann*, pp.70 and 23.
[19] 'To the Young Musician who would Compose: An Interview with Mme Liza Lehmann' *The Musical Standard* 33: 857 (1903), p.373.
[20] *Liza Lehmann*, p.23.
[21] As well as the two songs dedicated to White, 'Die Nachtingall' is dedicated to White's younger sister, 'my friend Emily White', and another song in the collection is dedicated to White's older sister Annie Compton.
[22] Interview originally published in *Etude*, reprinted as 'To the Young Musician who would Compose: An Interview with Mme Liza Lehmann' *The Musical Standard* illustrated series 33: 857 (1903), p.373.

Lehmann also suggested that she was pushed into a singing career by her mother, and that the hard work and hours of practise needed to achieve her success precluded most other activities.[23] But despite the Bohemian artistic circles in which her parents moved, and their willingness to see their daughter take up a public career, Lehmann never studied at a music school, either in London or on the continent. All her musical tuition was with private teachers, and as a singer she only appeared in concert halls and private music rooms rather than the more disreputable opera house.[24] If she had studied at the Royal Academy, for example, she would have received systematic training in harmony, counterpoint and composition as well as singing.

Lehmann and Bedford were married on 10 October 1894 and set up house in Pinner, on the outskirts of London. Although Bedford earned a living by working as a partner in a City firm, he was also a painter and composer who had been 'brought up for an artist' and studied for several years at the Guildhall School of Music where he won prizes for composition.[25] Lehmann's farewell concert had included his *Ave Maria* for contralto solo, contralto chorus, cello, piano, harp and organ.[26] Two years later the Symphonic Prelude to his opera *Kit Marlowe* was heard at a Crystal Palace concert, a performance which provoked a reviewer to describe the work as suffering 'from a rather severe attack of Tristanitis'.[27] In an interview two years previously Lehmann had vouched for the work's 'modernity', a term which at that time probably referred to a Wagnerian approach to chromatic harmonies.[28] Although she had enjoyed a visit to Bayreuth in the 1880s, Lehmann found that Wagner's music left her with 'a sense of mental nausea', preferring what she called the 'romantic school' of Schumann, Schubert, Brahms,

---

[23] 'I became a singer principally because I had a voice sufficient to enable me to make a success upon the concert stage and because my mother's greatest desire was to have me become a singer.' 'To the Young Musician who would Compose: An Interview with Mme Liza Lehmann' *The Musical Standard* 33: 857 (1903), p.373.

[24] It is interesting to speculate what would have happened if her voice had been felt to be strong enough to sing opera. None of Lehmann's sisters had professional careers although Amelia published a novel (*Saint Eva*, 1897) and three collections of plays aimed at amateurs (1906, 1908, 1913), while Alma published over 20 songs, including the popular and strangely ominous 'Mélisande in the Wood' (Ethel Clifford, 1903).

[25] Anon., 'Mr and Mrs Herbert Bedford (Liza Lehmann)' *Strand Musical Magazine* 3 (January-June, 1896), p.158.

[26] *Athenaeum* 3482 (21 July, 1894), p.105.

[27] *The Musical Times* (April 1898), p.247. *Kit Marlowe* (to his own libretto based on a play by W. L. Courtney) does not ever appear to have been staged. Bedford wrote several orchestral works at the turn of the century but did not devote himself exclusively to music until after Lehmann's death, when he became well known for his work on unaccompanied song. See J. Brown and Stephen Stratton, *British Music Biography* (Stratton: Birmingham, 1897), p.38 and Eric Blom, 'Herbert Bedford' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980) 2, p.346.

[28] 'Mr and Mrs Herbert Bedford', p.159.

Mendelssohn and Gounod.[29] There is little reflection of Wagnerian traits in her own work.

Bedford's support of Lehmann was invaluable: in her memoirs she praised his 'critical faculty' and claimed that she learnt 'as much, if not more, from him than from any other source'.[30] She had relied on her mother for criticism and encouragement during her years as a singer and turned to Bedford for similar support during her career as a composer. But there were also other friends in Pinner who provided an artistic community. W. S. Gilbert and his wife lived nearby, and while White lived in the village the two women took up the fashionable bicycling craze as well as frequently playing each other their most recent works. Many of the leading singers of the day, such as Harry Plunket Greene, Clara Butt and Lilian Nordica, continued to be close friends and colleagues. But in her memoirs, Lehmann was keen to stress her absorption in a happily domestic home life. The Bedfords lived in Pinner for two years before moving back to London, and Lehmann felt that

> perhaps they were the happiest years I have ever known. ... I had no heavier duties than that of combing the hair of a lovely Angora cat ... and of keeping house for a husband who was pleased with anything and everything - he even forgave the home-made teacake on which he broke an eye-tooth.[31]

This contented domestic life was also highly conducive to composition, and in the last years of the 19th century Lehmann was to write some of her most outstanding work. In her memoirs she was somewhat dismissive of the music written before her retirement, although, as well as at least 14 published individual songs, including the acclaimed 'Mirage' (Henry Malesh, 1894),[32] and the two collections of German songs, she had also published four instrumental works in 1892: an *Album of Ten Pianoforte Sketches*; a *Romance* for pianoforte; a *Romance* for violin with pianoforte accompaniment and *Trois Valses de Sentiment* for the pianoforte.[33] By the time she came to devote her musical

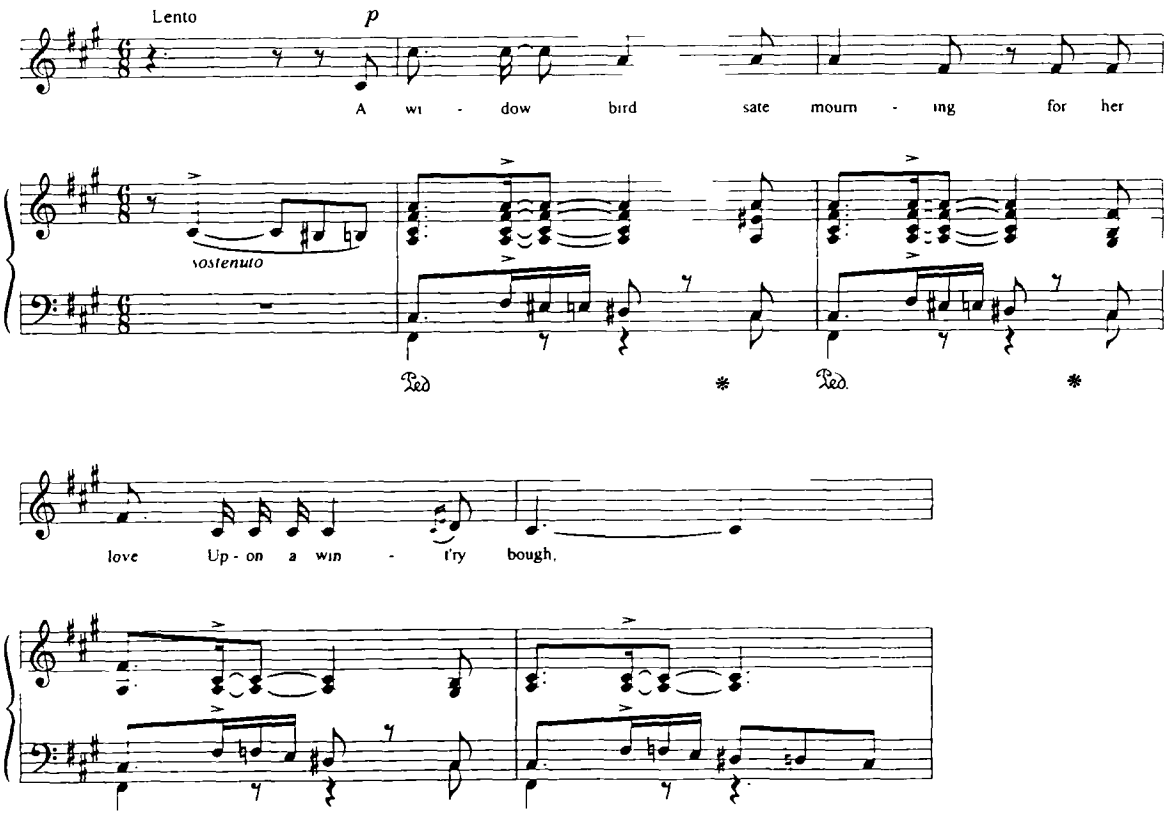
---

[29] Arthur Lawrence, 'Women and Musical Composition: A Chat with Miss Liza Lehmann (Mrs Herbert Bedford)' *The Young Woman* VIII (1899-1900), p.415.
[30] *Liza Lehmann*, p.67.
[31] *Ibid.*, p.68.
[32] Described by a reviewer for the *Athenaeum* as 'a love song of an unconventional sort, written with musicianly skill'. *Athenaeum* 3488 (1 September 1894), p.298.
[33] The instrumental works were all published by Chappell. Lehmann described Arthur Chappell (director of the Pops at St James's Hall) as 'my greatest patron of all'. *Liza Lehmann*, p.51. Not all her compositions were published. The Lehmann archive belonging to the Bedford family includes many unpublished manuscripts most of which are not dated, although some of those that are date from before Lehmann's marriage.

attention exclusively to composition, she had established not only a reputation as a composer, but also a firm technical grounding. Her standing and assurance were such that she gave informal composition lessons to Lucy Broadwood.[34]

Several works appeared in print during the year after Lehmann's marriage, including *The Secrets of the Heart*, a 'musical duologue' for soprano and contralto to a poem by Austin Dobson, which was scheduled for production by the German Reed company,[35] and an *Album of Nine English Songs* setting Ann Boleyn, Coleridge, Moore, Shakespeare and Shelley. The *Album* contained a collection of 'artistic' songs in English to match the earlier German volumes. 'A widow bird sate mourning', for example, is a short, through-composed song which, with its unusual rhythmic patterns, falling chromatic motif in the accompaniment and thoughtful piano postlude, creates a vividly appropriate interpretation of Shelley's poem.

Example 22. Lehmann, 'A widow bird sate mourning', bars 1-5.



[34] The lessons stopped after Lehmann's marriage. Dorothy de Val, 'Only connect: Lucy Broadwood and musical life in late 19th-century London', paper read at 'Music in 19th-Century Britain conference, University of Hull (July 1997).

[35] 'Mr and Mrs Herbert Bedford', 158. No record of performance has been found.

In 1896 Lehmann produced what she called her 'first serious composition'[36] and the work that was to catapult her to world-wide fame as a composer. The text that she chose to set was the 12th-century Persian poet Omar Khayyám's *Rubáiyát*, a series of meditations on life, death and the 'mysteries of existence', in the translation by Edward FitzGerald. This had first appeared in 1859, but was particularly well-loved several decades later and has been described as 'the most popular poetic expression of pessimism at the end of the century'.[37] In Lehmann's own words, it was 'very much in the air about that time'. She had long wanted to write 'something of larger dimensions than a song' and decided to set the text as a song-cycle for four voices and piano.[38] After discovering that the word 'garden' in Persian also translated as 'poem', she called the work *In a Persian Garden.*

The song-cycle, whether for solo voice or several voices and piano, was not a genre commonly used by British composers at this time, and Lehmann has been consistently credited with establishing it in Britain. In 1903, for example, Edwin Evans wrote that 'she was the first to apply the form of the song-cycle to English songs - an innovation which has had remarkable results'.[39] Before Lehmann's many works in the genre, the best known example was Sullivan's collaboration with Tennyson on *The Window, or The Songs of the Wrens* (1869) for single voice and piano, generally regarded, both then and now, as a somewhat weak work.[40] In January 1877 'specimens from a cycle of

---

[36] *Liza Lehmann*, p.70.

[37] Donald Read, *England 1868-1914: The Age of Urban Democracy* (London: Longman, 1979), p.276. On its popularity see also Dick Davis, introduction to Edward FitzGerald, *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* (London: Penguin, 1989), pp.1-2. Granville Bantock was to set the entire poem for soloists, chorus and orchestra, premiered in three parts at the Birmingham Festival of 1906, the Cardiff Festival of 1907 and the Birmingham Festival of 1909. See, for example, H. Orsmond Anderton, *Granville Bantock* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1915), pp.93-103.

[38] *Liza Lehmann*, p.70.

[39] Edwin Evans, 'Modern British Composers: Liza Lehmann' *The Musical Standard* illustrated series xx (17 October 1903), p.242. See also Alexis Chitty, 'Elizabetta Nina Mary Frederika Lehmann' in ed. J. A. Fuller Maitland, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* second edition (London: Macmillan, 1906) II, p.667; ed. Percy Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844-1944* (London: Novello and Oxford University Press, 1947) II, p.733 or Arthur Jacobs, 'The British Isles' in ed. Denis Stevens, *A History of Song* (London: Hutchinson, 1960), p.157.

[40] See for example, Geoffrey Bush, 'Songs' in ed. Nicholas Temperley, *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age* 1800-1914 (London: Athlone Press, 1981), pp.278-9 or Stephen Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.3. A long review of the published edition in *The Musical Times* was highly indignant at the quality of the lyrics supplied by Tennyson but decided that 'the songs are remarkable for artistic finish, and in many of them we discover a continuity of idea which is highly commendable on account of the positive eccentricity of the poetry. Were Mr Sullivan more fully impressed with the necessity of songs being purely vocal, and more thoroughly convinced that the skill displayed in the instrumental portion can never compensate for the want of defined melody in the voice part, he might have the credit of founding a style of writing in this country which ... time could but ripen into maturity'. *The Musical Times* 12 (February 1871), p.781. Another early cycle for single voice and

English songs and lyrics' for four voices and piano by Edward Dannreuther to words by various different authors were performed at a concert at 12 Orme Square.[41] A song-cycle by Mary Carmichael, to words by Hichens, was performed at a soirée held by the Lyric Club in November 1887. A reviewer described this work as

> a series of connected vocal pieces strung together in the manner of a Liederspiel or Liederkreis, to be sung by four solo voices. As far as we know, *The Stream* is the first attempt at a work of the kind in England.[42]

The following month, the cycle was performed in public as *The Songs of the Stream* at the Steinway Hall, and the critic for *The Musical Times* bestowed 'unreserved praise'.[43] Despite such acclaim, *The Songs of the Stream* was never published and does not appear to have survived.[44]

Nearly 10 years later, Lehmann was also to have difficulty in getting her first work in this genre published. She showed *In A Persian Garden* to 'ever so many' publishers who all refused it, claiming that it was too difficult and involved too many singers to be marketable.[45] Lehmann turned to friends who wielded power in the private musical world. The influential musical patron Angelina Goetz not only persuaded Metzler to publish the work but also arranged for a performance to take place at her own house in July 1896, with the singers Emma Albani, Hilda Wilson, Ben Davies and David Bispham, and Lehmann herself playing the piano part.[46] Among the guests at this private party was Hermann Klein, music critic for *The Sunday Times*, who gave the work an enthusiastic review, describing it as

> a composition of very remarkable merit.... The music was quite a revelation - not of mere talent, but of unsuspected power and variety of expression, of depth of melodic charm and technical resource.[47]

The performance and review were enough to launch the work into the wider world where other critics agreed with Klein's assessment, seeing *In a Persian Garden* as

---

piano, written in England although not to an English text, was Gounod's *Biondina* (1871-2).

[41] BL: Programme d488d.

[42] *The Musical World* (12 November, 1887), p.898.

[43] *The Musical Times* (January 1888), p.40.

[44] Carmichael (1851-1935) had studied music in Munich and at the Royal Academy of Music in London. She had been publishing songs and piano pieces since the 1870s and was a well-known accompanist. See chapter 3 and Sophie Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers: Britain and the United States, 1629-Present* (London: Pandora, 1994), pp.84-5.

[45] Discussing the success of *In a Persian Garden* in his memoirs, William Boosey admitted: 'I blush to say I refused it'. William Boosey, *Fifty Years of Music* (London: Ernest Benn, 1931), p.28.

[46] Lehmann's sister Alma later married Goetz's son Charles.

[47] Quoted in *Liza Lehmann*, p.77.

unusually and surprisingly good for a woman but never criticising Lehmann for writing such a powerful piece. Later that year it was performed at the Pops and reviewed in *The Musical Times* where it was described as 'written after the manner of Brahms' and as 'a musical superstructure of surprising strength and beauty'.[48] A reviewer of the Metzler edition in the following month's issue, wrote that

> the music possesses individuality, the most striking feature of which is its masculine grip and expression. It may, in fact, be said unhesitatingly that 'In a Persian Garden' is the strongest musical work of its kind which has emanated from a lady's pen.[49]

The critic for the *Athenaeum* agreed that the work was 'the highest achievement of any female composer' and praised the music for 'a sense of beauty and individuality'.[50]

In a Persian Garden is a commanding work. Lehmann created her own text by selecting about a third of FitzGerald's 101 stanzas, taken from the different versions that he published during his lifetime, and setting them as a large-scale, continuous cycle which falls into clearly defined sections linked by recurring themes. Most sections use the singers as soloists but there is also a duet and four quartets (one repeating a previous tenor solo).[51] The solo vocal writing moves between recitative-like declamation and more lyrical song, accompanied by rich chromatic harmonies and expansive piano writing. Many commentators were struck by what they saw as the modernity of Lehmann's harmonic language. Edward Dickinson wrote that she 'often exhibits a startling boldness in the use of dissonant harmonies' and 'occasionally she almost exceeds the bounds of the permissible'.[52] The novelist George du Maurier is reported to have said on hearing the work in the last year of his life, ' I confess it is too modern for me - I cannot follow it!'.[53] [See Example 23].

---

[48] *The Musical Times* 38 (January 1897), p.20. The comparison with Brahms in these early reviews must refer simply to the genre of the work since there is little Brahmsian about Lehmann's actual musical writing. It also performs the familiar act of relating a woman's work to that of a better known man, although in this case the comparison could be seen to be lending dignity and status to Lehmann's work.

[49] *The Musical Times* 38 (February 1897), p.113.

[50] *Athenaeum* 3608 (19 December 1996), p.881.

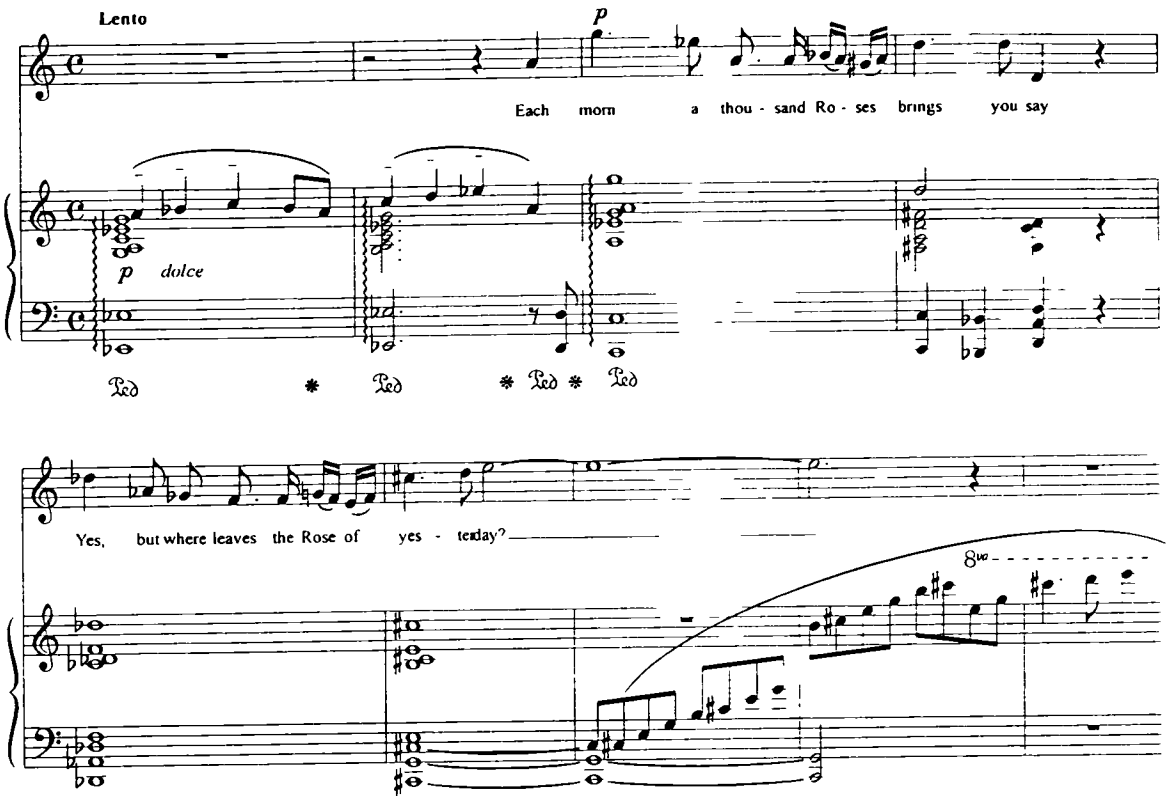
[51] The duet appropriately sets the well-known stanza beginning:

> A Book of Verses underneath the Bough,
> A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread - and Thou
> Beside me singing in the wilderness.

[52] Edward Dickinson in *The Musician*, quoted in *Liza Lehmann*, p.86.

[53] *Liza Lehmann*, p.61.

Example 23. Lehmann, *In a Persian Garden*, soprano solo 'Each morn a thousand Roses', bars 1-9.



It is hard to overestimate the popularity of *In a Persian Garden*. Edwin Evans, writing seven years after the first performances, felt that 'its phenomenal success places it almost beyond the sphere of ordinary discussion'.[54] It continued to be frequently performed throughout Britain long after the first World War and was especially successful in the United States, modestly explained by Lehmann 'by the fact that over there they make a great feature of four-part singing'.[55] But its popularity was also doubtless due to Lehmann's drawing together of images, sounds and ideas that were resonating throughout the final years of the century on both sides of the Atlantic. Her moments of tuneful lyricism, such as the popular tenor solo 'Ah!, Moon of my Delight',[56] are brief, and contrast sharply with the darker intensity of the more chromatic, declamatory sections, highlighting Khayyám and FitzGerald's emphasis on the fleeting nature of youth and beauty and capturing the fin-de-siècle mood of living for

[54] Evans, 'Modern British Composers: Liza Lehmann' *The Musical Standard* xx (17 October 1903), p.243.
[55] Lawrence, 'Women and Musical Composition', p.415.
[56] 'Ah!, Moon of my Delight' was published and frequently performed as a solo item. Even as early as the same year of the first edition of the whole work, Metzler issued it in a transcription for violin and piano.

the moment. Lehmann's melodies and harmonies were heard, to her surprise, as reflecting the orientalism of her Persian text. This, together with the pagan philosophy of the work, provided a faint reflection of the decadent aesthetic that was still, despite Wilde's recent disgrace, a part of cultural life in the late 1890s.[57] Lehmann leaves the listener in no doubt about the meaning that she wishes to draw from her text, repeating the text and music of a central tenor solo as the final quartet in close, quiet homophony with a final disquieting flattened sixth in the penultimate tonic chord of the piano:

> Alas, that Spring should vanish with the Rose,
> That Youth's sweet-scented Manuscript should close
> The Nightingale that in the Branches sang,
> Ah, whence and whither flown again, who knows?[58]

The success of *In a Persian Garden* was an important incentive to Lehmann to produce more music, and also meant that publishers and performers were eager to take on her work. A reviewer of her song 'The Guardian Angel' (E. Nesbit) wrote in 1899 that 'Since... *In a Persian Garden* every product of her pen has acquired importance'.[59]

Although she wrote a handful of songs in the years immediately following *In a Persian Garden*, Lehmann concentrated on larger vocal works. In 1898 Boosey published two of her extended pieces, *Good-Night Babette!* (Austin Dobson) and *Young Lochinvar* (Walter Scott). Described as a 'Musical Idyll for Soprano and Baritone with accompaniments for pianoforte, violin and violoncello', *Good-Night Babette!* portrays a scene between an old man and his maid in which he remembers a long lost love, using as elaborate a musical language as *In a Persian Garden*. *Young Lochinvar* for baritone solo, chorus and orchestra is a lively and dramatic setting of Scott's poem, which appears to have been premiered at the Wakefield Festival, conducted by Wakefield herself, on 13 April 1899 and was performed again at the Crystal Palace concerts nine days later. The reviews of these performances in *The Musical Times* took different views of the work. At the Wakefield performance it was seen as

> a capital piece of work, combining lyrical charm with picturesqueness and even dramatic force. The ballad character is well preserved, but the monotony of unbroken lyrical form is avoided by the development of any romantic or dramatic situation suggested by the text.[60]

---

[57] See for example, Philip Hoare, *Wilde's Last Stand: Decadence, Conspiracy and the First World War* (London: Duckworth, 1997).
[58] The final couplet was added, presumably by Bedford, to the end of Lehmann's memoirs, published posthumously in 1919.
[59] *The Musical Times* 40 (July 1899), p.478.
[60] *The Musical Times* 40 (May 1899), p.314.

But the reviewer who attended the Crystal Palace performance was disappointed, raising the charge so often levelled at women composers who attempted heroic themes, that 'the romantic and robust spirit of the text is weakly reflected in the music'.[61] The critic for *The Athenaeum*, on the other hand, felt that 'the quiet unpretentious way in which the music reflects the spirit of the words deserves recognition'.[62]

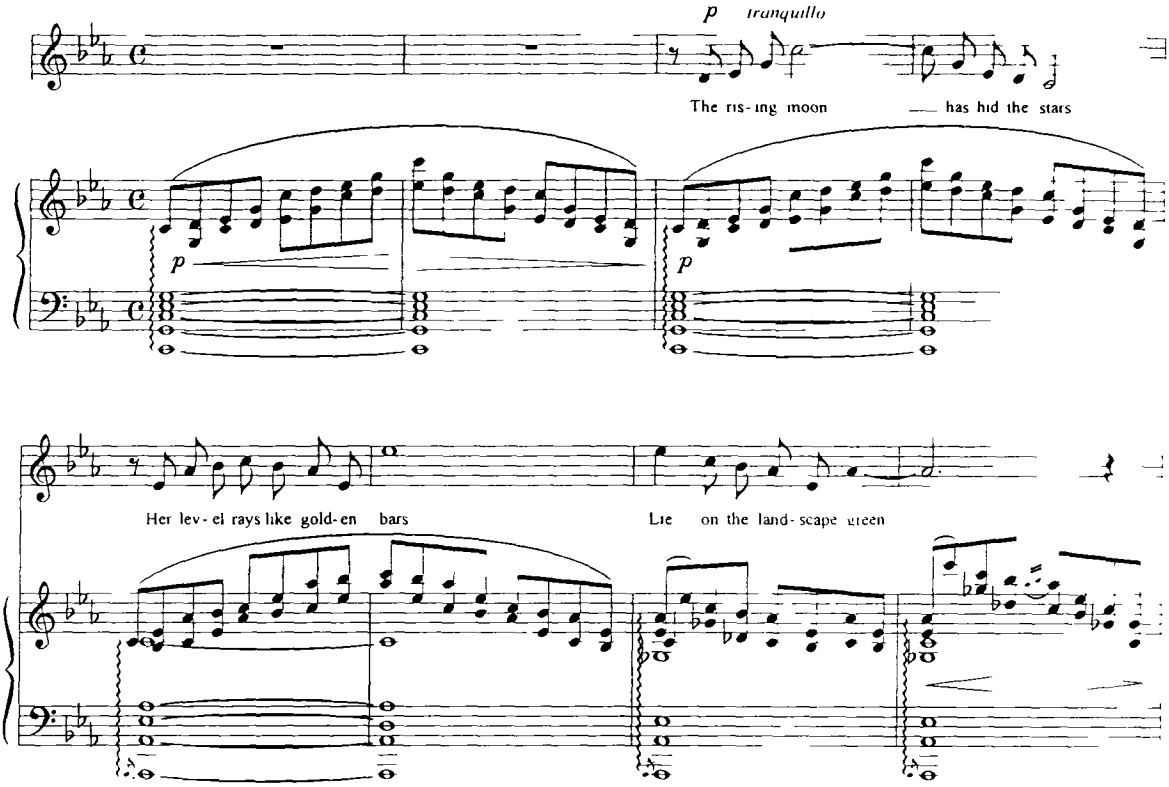
In 1899 the publishers John Church issued Lehmann's *Endymion* for soprano and orchestra, an extended setting of Longfellow's poem about love. There is no surviving record of any performance of this work although Lehmann claimed, in an interview, that 'Miss Esther Palliser sings it most beautifully'.[63] The work is simply constructed with an extended introduction for voice and piano (bars 1-47) based on an arpeggiated figure which builds up to the lyrical centre of the work, in which the vocal line seems, somewhat uncharacteristically, to sacrifice declamation to the flow of the melody. [See Example 24].

It was perhaps the comparative lack of success of her two vocal works with orchestral accompaniment which led Lehmann to omit any mention of them from her memoirs and also to return to writing music for voices and piano. Her suitably solemn setting of John Henry Newman's *Lead Kindly Light* (1902), for example, with its effective measured tread, was written for solo soprano and chorus with piano or organ accompaniment.[64] It was certainly both easier to obtain performances of such works and to convince publishers of their marketability. Like so many women of her generation, Lehmann appears never to have had much training in orchestration and doubtless felt more comfortable writing for the medium that she knew best.[65] It was also at this time, in 1897, that Lehmann had her first child, Rudolf, and her second, Leslie, was born three years later, on 21 June 1900. Even with domestic help, she must have found that she had much less time to devote to composition and that it was easier to work with smaller forms.

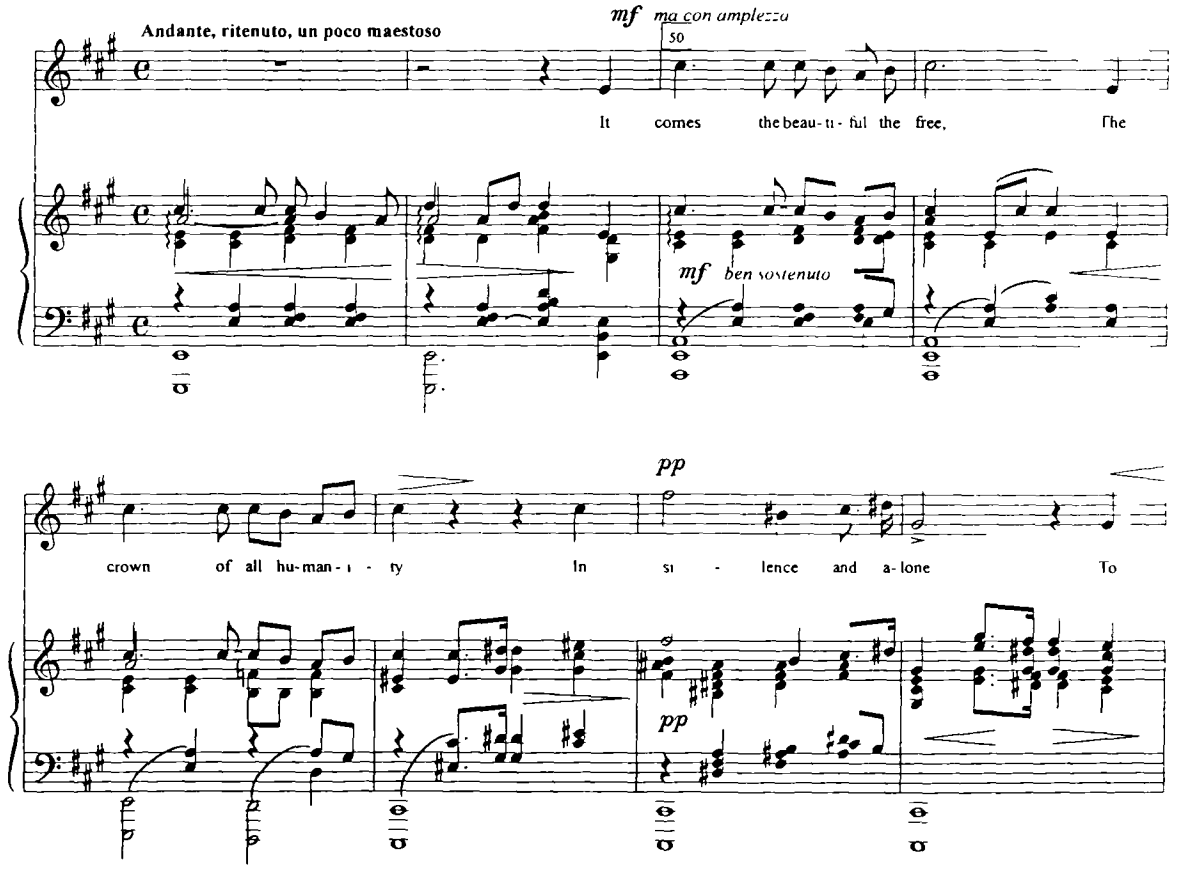
---

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 312. Although a vocal score was published by Boosey in 1898, no full score appears to have survived.
[62] *The Athenaeum* 3731 (29 April 1899), p.539.
[63] Lawrence, 'Women and Musical Composition', p.415. Only a vocal score, published by John Church, appears to have survived.
[64] This work was dedicated to Mary Wakefield and may well have been performed at her Westmorland festival.
[65] Bedford was to orchestrate Lehmann's light opera *The Vicar of Wakefield* but this seems to have been the only time that he orchestrated one of her works. *Liza Lehmann*, p.111.

Example 24a. Lehmann, *Endymion*, bars 9-16.



Example 24b. Lehmann, *Endymion*, bars 48-55.



In her memoirs Lehmann claimed that she was

> far more wrapped up in my 'living poems' than in any art, however absorbing and fascinating. ... Love of my children became the very mainspring of my existence. I have always ... placed them before my art and before any other interest in life.[66]

But Lehmann's memoirs were written shortly after Rudolf had died at the age of 17, and her memories and opinions are inevitably coloured by this tragedy and a need to portray herself as a devoted mother.

Lehmann's next song-cycle, although it did not use an orchestral accompaniment, was by no means a small work. *In Memoriam* is a setting for baritone or mezzo-soprano and piano of selections from Tennyson's poem *In Memoriam A. H. H* and was first performed by Kennerley Rumford at the Saturday Pops in November 1899.[67] Lehmann herself felt, justifiably, that 'some of my best writing is to be found in the pages of *In Memoriam*'.[68] Like *In A Persian Garden*, *In Memoriam* is a continuous work that falls into clearly defined sections, or 'numbers' as Lehmann refers to them in the score. The text that she created from Tennyson's long poem is built from carefully chosen passages, not following the original order of the poem, and uses Tennyson's words to make her own elegy to grief. Lehmann takes considerable liberties with the persistently regular abba structure of Tennyson's stanzas since she does not always use whole stanzas, or even whole lines from stanzas, and allows herself to repeat lines, phrases or stanzas.[69] The result is a striking and individual text which moves through different expressions of sorrow, grief and anger as reactions to death. The cycle as a whole presents a portrayal of anguished despair interwoven with moments of calmer acceptance.

Music itself features at important moments in Lehmann's elegy. She starts her text with lines taken from section 21 which set the scene for a sung version of *In Memoriam*:

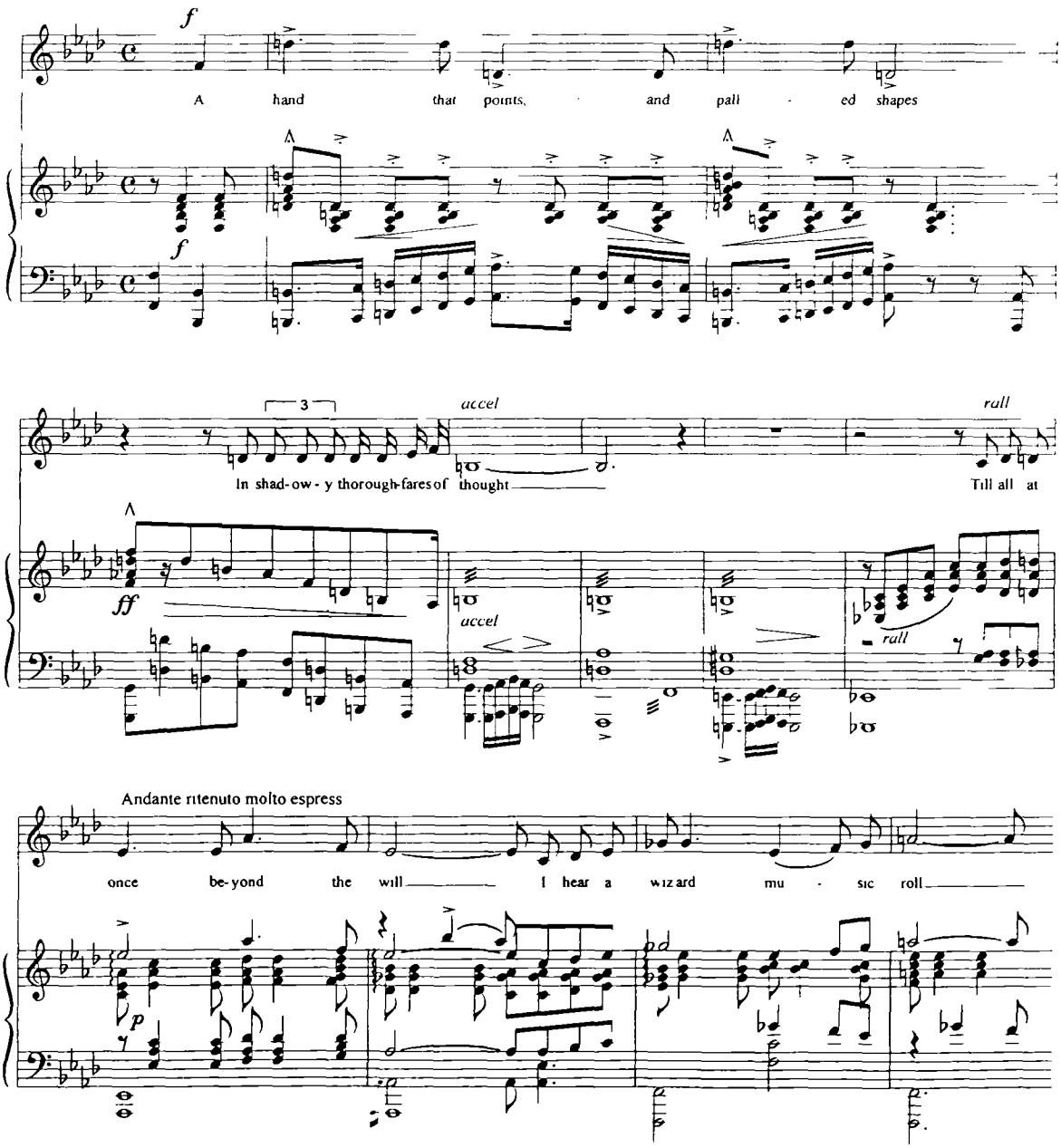
> I sing to him that rests below,
> And, since the grasses round me wave,
> I take the grasses of the grave
> And make them pipes whereon to blow.

---

[66] *Liza Lehmann*, p.95.
[67] *The Musical Standard* illustrated series XII (2 December 1899), p.353.
[68] *Liza Lehmann*, p.91.
[69] She adds a final 'Ah', set almost as an agonised wail, to the last line of each stanza of her horror-struck and despairing fourth number.

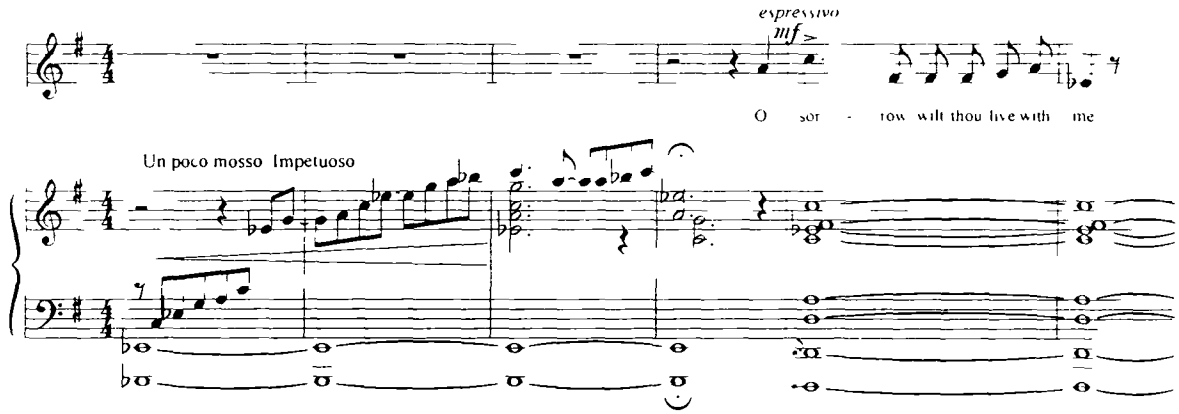
Her epilogue is taken from section 125 and opens with the line 'Whatever I have said or sung', neatly framing the cycle. A further pivotal reference to music comes in Lehmann's sixth section. The first two stanzas from Tennyson's section 70 are set to hurried, uneasy music, recalling a scalic figure from the opening piano introduction, as the narrator tries to remember the face of the beloved. In the setting of the next stanza (bars 16-29), the face is finally seen through the agency of music, and Lehmann returns to one of the central themes of her work, a gently lyrical melody with a typically song-like piano accompaniment figure, first heard in her third section, as the cycle takes its first respite from more painful grief.

Example 25. Lehmann, *In Memoriam*, Section 6: bars 9-20.

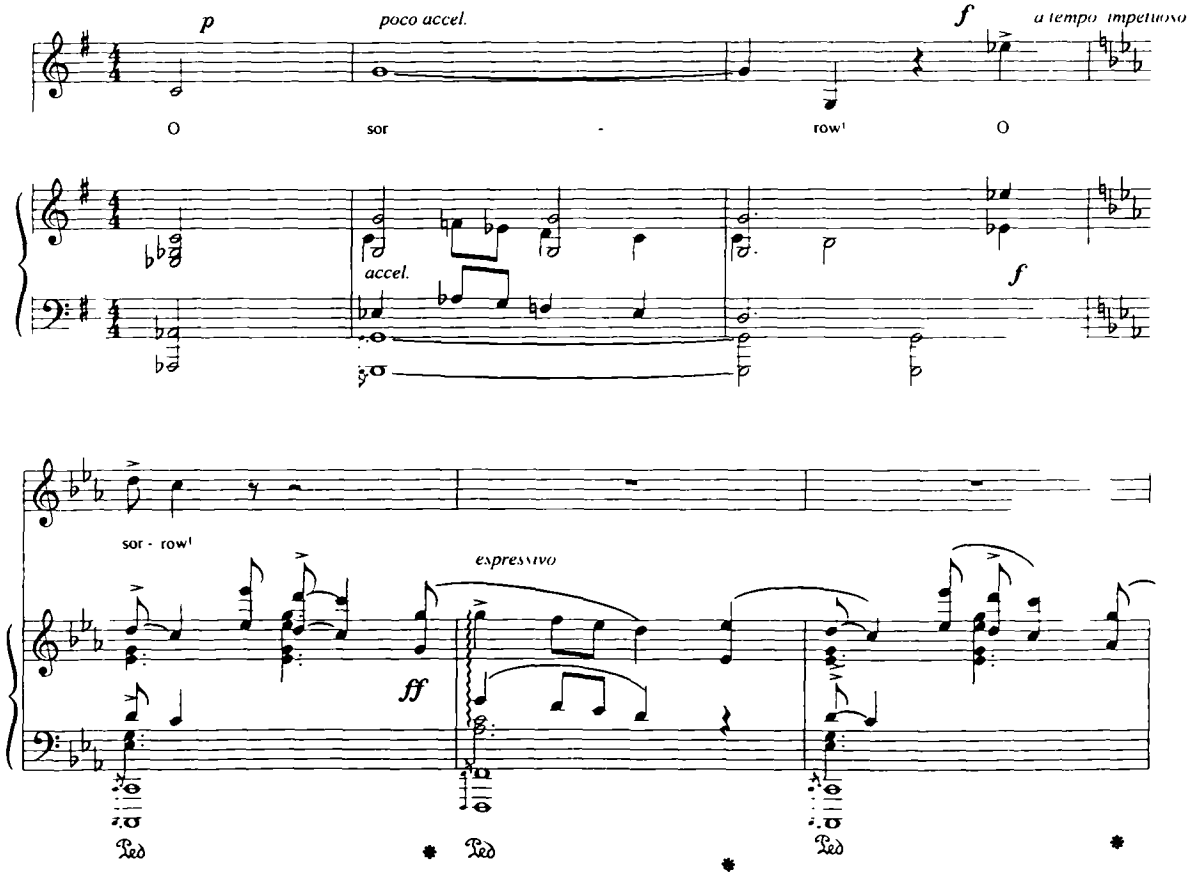


In Memoriam is a much more unified work than *In A Persian Garden*, with themes and motifs from the piano introduction and the first three numbers recurring frequently throughout the cycle. One motif, constantly changing yet immediately audible as a falling minor third, is first heard in the short second section, associated with the words 'O sorrow'. Different variants of the motif are heard at key moments in several sections, including as a development of the vocal line in section 5 (which also employs a variant of the first vocal theme) and at the opening of section 6.

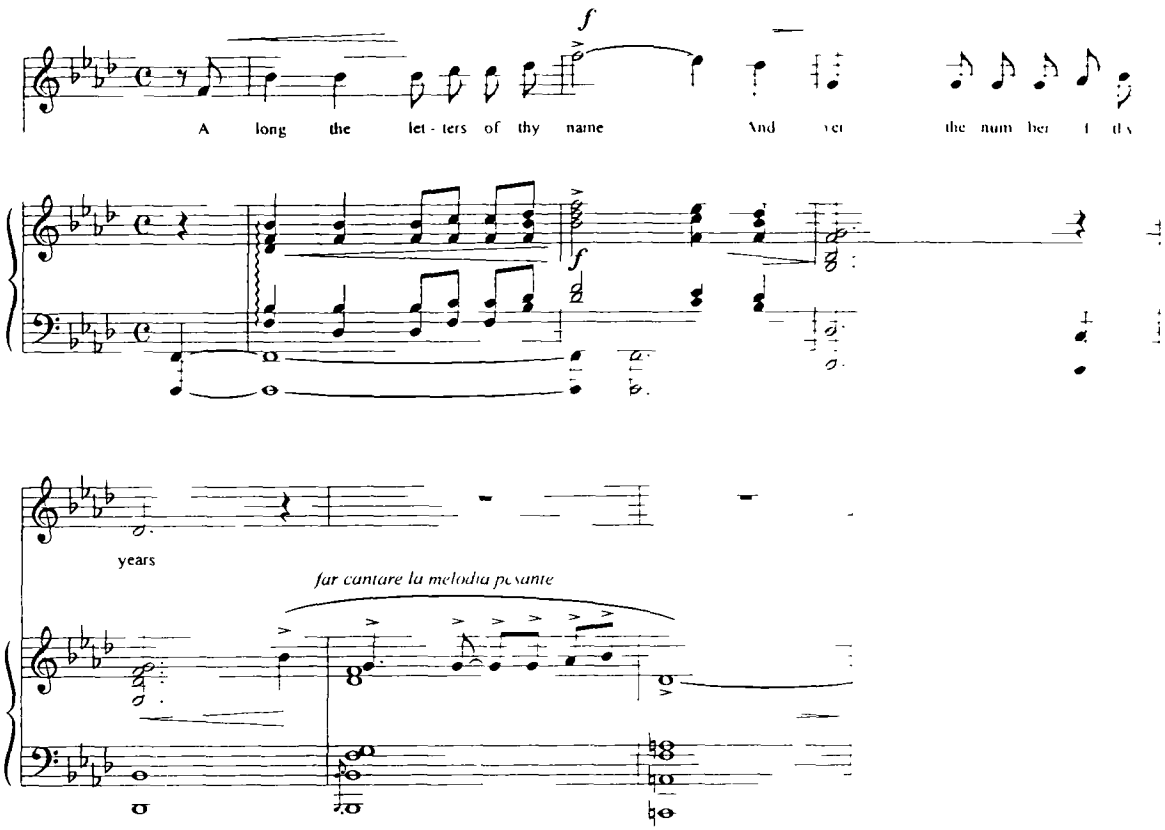
Example 26a. Lehmann, *In Memoriam*, Section 2: bars 1-6.



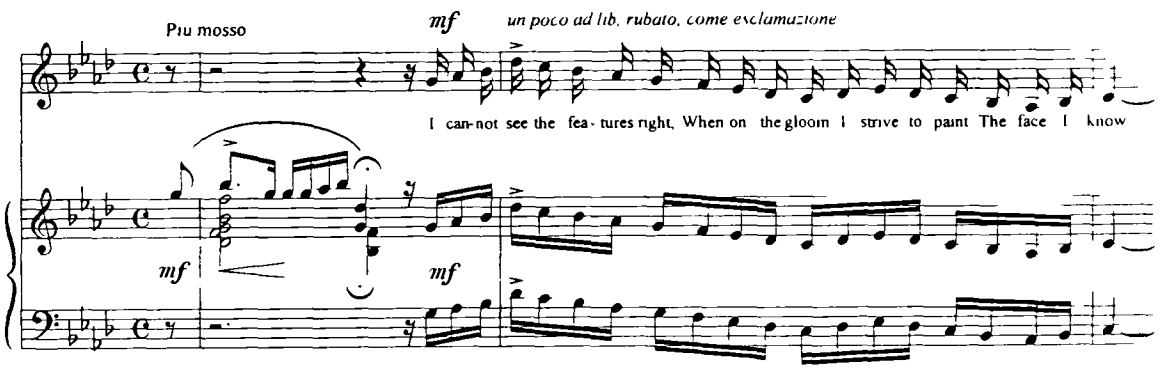
Example 26b. Lehmann, *In Memoriam*, Section 2: bars 14-19.



Example 26c. Lehmann, *In Memoriam*, Section 5: bars 23-29.



Example 26d. Lehmann, *In Memoriam*, Section 6: bars 1-3.



Such a figure has been commonly used to express grief but it is surely more homage than coincidence that a motif remarkably similar to the memorably insistent variant found towards the end of Lehmann's second section [Example 26b], had opened White's first *In Memoriam* setting, written in 1884, 'I sometimes hold it half a sin'. [See example 10].

Geoffrey Bush felt that 'Lehmann has been unlucky in that her *In Memoriam* was overshadowed by another and greater Tennyson cycle published the previous year: *Maud* (1989) by Arthur Somervell (1863-1937)'.[70] Bush is not alone among late 20th-century critics in his praise for Somervell's cycle, but any overshadowing of Lehmann's work is retrospective.[71] *Maud* was not well received at the turn of the century. After a performance by Plunket Greene and Borwick in 1900 one reviewer felt that 'the settings are, with scarcely an exception, devoid of interest, and there is not sufficient variety in the treatment to compensate for the lack of melodic interest'.[72] Over three years later a critic reviewing another performance by Plunket Greene was 'obliged to say that the music does not gain on re-hearing. It is rather dull, even when sung by so intelligent an artist'.[73] By contrast the critics were generally approving of Lehmann's cycle. One reviewer of the premiere felt that it was not only her best work but 'perhaps the most considerable, because the most complete, work which has yet been written by a woman', adding that though it 'may not be big it has an individuality and a sensitive poetic fancy which in their own way are great'.[74] This is an extremely unusual example, for this period, of music by a woman being described, even if only in its 'own way', with the word 'great'. In 1903 Edwin Evans observed that the work had 'moments of positive grandeur yet withal retaining the element of warmth, which would possibly have eluded a man's grasp of the subject'.[75] As discussed above in regard to White's settings, *In Memoriam*'s intense expressions of grief and emotion over the death of a friend, were probably still regarded as somewhat problematic and more appropriately interpreted by a woman.[76] At this stage in her career Lehmann's work was in the rare position of being regarded as both distinctly 'feminine' and yet also approaching 'greatness'.

---

[70] Bush, 'Songs' in ed. Temperley, *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age* 1800-1914, p.282.

[71] See, for example, Banfield's lengthy consideration of Somervell's cycle (*Sensibility and English Song*, pp.43-50), prefaced by the sentence: 'He [Somervell] was the only composer to interpret mature works by Tennyson and Browning successfully (although Liza Lehmann's *In Memoriam* has its advocates)'.

[72] *The Athenaeum* 3773 (17 February 1900), p.218.

[73] *The Musical Standard* illustrated series XX (14 November 1903), p.312. In an article on Somervell's cycle Linda Hughes only quotes a rather more positive review from a 1901 performance. Linda K. Hughes, 'From Parlor to Concert Hall: Arthur Somervell's Song-Cycle on Tennyson's *Maud*' in ed. Nicholas Temperley, *The Lost Chord: Essays on Victorian Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), p.103. Hughes does not place Somervell's work within the context of other British song-cycles.

[74] *The Musical Standard* illustrated series XI (2 December 1899), p.353.

[75] Evans, 'Modern British Composers: Liza Lehmann' *The Musical Standard* xx (17 October 1903), p.243.

[76] Although Lehmann's cycle is designated for either baritone or mezzo-soprano, it always seems to have been sung by a male voice, despite the overt gendering of the dead beloved in Lehmann's first line, 'I sing to him that rests below'. (Lehmann mentions Kennerley Rumford, Bispham and George Baker as performers of the cycle. *Liza Lehmann*, p.91).

Contemporary critics may have been drawn to Lehmann's lyrical melodies (probably the musical elements that represent Evans's 'warmth') and her clear structure with its frequent thematic cross-referencing. Lehmann's interpretation of her text is perhaps less subtle but more immediately powerful than that achieved by Somervell in *Maud.* Although such a view was already beginning to be old-fashioned, Lehmann was to stress the importance of melody in her 1910 interview:

> But if one desires to be a composer, the melodies must come, and they must be melodies that have an individual and original interest. Without the facility to produce beautiful melodies it is foolish to strive to become a composer.[77]

One of the main problems of *In Memoriam* for the late 20th-century listener is Lehmann's Epilogue, which uses spoken rather than sung text. This seems to have been problematic even for contemporary audiences since Lehmann indicated that it could be omitted, and at least one reviewer described it as 'a mistake'.[78] If the Epilogue is omitted the cycle ends with Lehmann's *maestoso* setting of Tennyson's opening section, 'Strong Son of God, immortal Love', which provides the listener with a textually conclusive ending, relying on a belief in faith and the justness of God to explain the mystery of death. But this number is not musically conclusive, ending in the dominant key of B minor[79] and perhaps suggesting that Lehmann was not entirely convinced by such a dogmatic Christian solution for grief. Her Epilogue, as well as framing the presentation of the cycle with its reference to the narrator, brings back both the lyrical theme from the third section and the 'sorrow' motif, as well as ending in the tonic major with a rather more convincing acknowledgement of contradiction and a belief in hope, love and truth:

> Whatever I have said or sung,
> Some bitter notes my harp would give,
> Yea, tho' there often seem'd to live
> A contradiction on the tongue.
>
> Yet hope had never lost her youth;
> She did but look through dimmer eyes;
> Or Love but play'd with gracious lies,
> Because he felt so fix'd in truth.

---

[77] 'To the Young Musician who would Compose: An Interview with Mme Liza Lehmann' *The Musical Standard* 33: 857 (1903), p.373.

[78] Review in *The Manchester Guardian*, quoted in *Liza Lehmann*, p.93.

[79] Although the work can be seen as opening in B minor, the key is functioning as an introductory dominant to the E minor of the first vocal passage.

Lehmann was to write several 'musical recitations' in which poems or stories were recited to incidental music for the piano. These included two stories by Wilde, *The Happy Prince* (1908) and *The Selfish Giant* (1911), a poem by Jean Ingelow, *The High Tide - On the Coast of Lincolnshire, 1571* (1912), and *Behind the Nightlight* (1913), descriptions of imaginary animals invented by the three-year old Joan Maude, one of Lehmann's godchildren.[80] Lehmann's music for these works provides imaginative backgrounds to the texts, particularly in her use of repeated bell-like themes in *The High Tide* and her effectively minimal accompaniment for *The Happy Prince*. As Stephen Banfield has shown, indicating works by Bantock, Elgar, Hurlstone, Ireland, Mackenzie and others, there was 'a strong tradition of accompanied poetic recitation in England'.[81] Other late Victorian and Edwardian works in this genre have also survived, such as White's piano accompaniment for Hichens' *Little Pictures of School Life* or Horrocks's piano, violin and cello music for Tennyson's 'Lady of Shalott'.[82] Lehmann herself described the 'musical recitation' as 'an art-form that greatly attracts me, and which I think is capable of much development'.[83] A reviewer of an 1889 performance of Holmès's dramatic symphony *Lutèce*, which uses a reciter, agreed: 'that there is a future for such works we do not doubt'.[84] But few post-war composers decided to develop this genre, which perhaps flourished best in an age when poetry was commonly recited aloud.[85]

Lehmann's *In Memoriam* never achieved the success of *In a Persian Garden*[86] or of her next song-cycle, *The Daisy-chain* (1900) for four solo voices and piano, which she described as 'a garland of songs of childhood written in a light-hearted vein'.[87] The first performance of this work was again at a private concert, this time at Lehmann's own house, followed by a public performance given by the National Sunday League. Settings of poems by Laurence Alma-Tadema, Norman Gale, W. B. Rands, 'anon' and Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Daisy-chain* is essentially a collection of separate songs for solo

[80] These 'animals' became so popular that reproductions were sold in Selfridges. *Liza Lehmann*, p.172.
[81] Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song*, p.371.
[82] Performed in November 1898. *The Monthly Musical Record* (December 1898), p.283.
[83] *Liza Lehmann*, p.171
[84] *The Musical Times* 30 (July 1889), p.405.
[85] Tenuous parallels might perhaps be drawn with Schoenberg's works with recitation or even to the work of jazz poets at the end of the 20th century.
[86] Lehmann felt that *In Memoriam*'s comparative lack of success was because of 'the sombre nature of the subject and the fact that one voice had to bear the whole burden'. *Liza Lehmann*, p.91.
[87] *Liza Lehmann*, p.93. *The Daisy-chain* was dedicated 'to my small son Rudolf'.

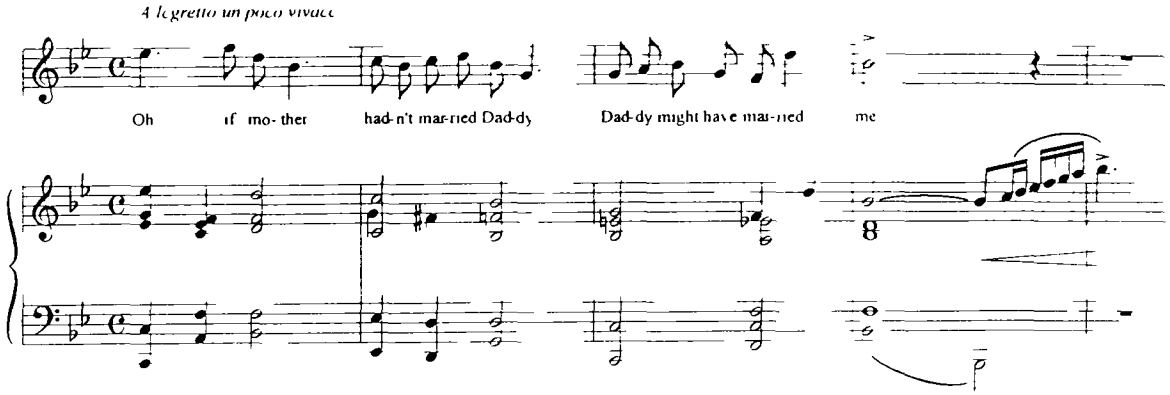
singers or the whole quartet. Brief modulating piano passages between songs can be played in performances of the whole cycle, but the composer indicates that these are to be omitted if the songs are sung separately. Lehmann drastically simplified her musical language for this cycle, producing straight-forward, tuneful but always carefully crafted numbers, presumably aimed at evoking the simplicity of childhood.

Striking a chord with the turn-of-the-century fascination with the world of the child, the cycle found an enthusiastic adult audience.[88] Among the many 'children's songs' of the period are Stanford's Stevenson settings *A Child's Garland of Songs* (1892) and White's collection *Twelve Songs for Children* (1893).[89] But Lehmann was to produce more 'children's songs' than any other composer. The birth of each of her sons was met with a song: 'You and I' (Don Lemon, 1897) for Rudolf ('To R.E.D.B.') and 'At Sunset - A Slumber Song' (E. O. Cooke, 1901) for Leslie ('To L.H.B.'). The success of *The Daisy-chain* was followed in 1902 with *More Daisies*, a similar collection of 12 songs. Some of Lehmann's best-loved humorous collections were closely related to childhood, including *Nonsense Songs* (1908), a song-cycle of witty settings from Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* for four voices and piano, and the Hilaire Belloc settings *Four Cautionary Songs and a Moral* (1909) for two voices and piano. Other sets of songs included *Mr Coggs and other Songs for Children* (E. V. Lucas, 1908), sung by the boy soprano Albert Hole at ballad concerts in London and the United States, and *Songs of a "Flapper"* to poems by Lehmann herself, which were, according to the printed edition of 1911, 'supposed to be sung by a very young girl (not yet "out") for whom the world is still entirely rosy'. Other songs in which the text is written in a 'cute' child's voice include 'Daddy's Sweetheart' (Curtis Hardin-Burnley, 1908) with its coy refrain. [See Example 27].

[88] On turn-of-the-century fascination with childhood and children see, for example, Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp.187-196. Dijkstra convincingly argues that this fascination represents a rejection of women as objects of desire in favour of the less threatening and demanding image of the child.

[89] See the song lists in Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song* for further works.

Example 27. Lehmann, 'Daddy's Sweetheart', bars 21-25.



In a similar vein, although set with slightly more musical imagination, is one of Lehmann's few songs to have stayed in the repertory: 'There are fairies at the bottom of our garden' to words by Rose Fyleman.[90]

Banfield claims that the child songs of the Edwardian period 'show a confusion between songs *for* children and music and poetry *about* children'.[91] In many of Lehmann's songs these two categories seem to be purposely blended, producing work both about and for children which was nevertheless enjoyed and consumed by adults as well, however uncomfortable or ridiculous the results may seem to late 20th-century adult listeners.[92] The public audiences for these songs were by no means exclusively made up of children, although children may have been present. Privately, many of the works may have been performed by or specifically for children. Many of the collections set poetry written in a child's voice using a deliberately simple musical language, but this does not imply that they were performed by children. *Mr Coggs* is one exception, but the two Daisy collections were certainly always sung by adults.[93] 'Children's songs' were a way of offering a jaded late 19th-century audience a new and usually light-hearted view of

[90] Performed, for example, by an effete male entertainer during a pivotal scene in Channel 4's 1997 adaptation of Anthony Powell's *A Dance to the Music of Time*. Lehmann's song was substituted by the producer or musical director for the original song given in the novel, presumably because Lehmann and Fyle's fairies were felt to convey more strongly the camp sensibility of this episode.

[91] Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song*, p.114. Dijkstra stresses the late 19th-century establishment of art and literature supposedly aimed at children but which actually consists of fantasies about childhood. *Idols of Perversity*, p.188.

[92] Could a similar confusion perhaps be read into late 20th-century works such as Oliver Knussen's two operas based on children's books, *Where the Wild Things Are?* (1979-83) and *Higgelty Piggelty Pop!* (1984-90)?

[93] Apart from the public peformances of *Mr Coggs* given by Albert Hole (the only recorded public performances of any of Lehmann's works by children), the published edition notes that: 'Chromatic intervals, variations in rhythm, and occasional wide skips have not been altogether avoided on account of their educational value in training the ear'.

familiar subjects while adding an element of nostalgia for lost innocence. A writer in the *San Francisco Bulletin* praised Lehmann for recreating 'the pleasurable emotions of childhood - wonder, faint fear of the supernatural, and the love of simple beauty', while another American writer admired her 'deep comprehension of the child-life that is the inmost life of us all'.[94]

Women have long been regarded as child-like in relation to men, and their particular association with childhood is not just related to the fact that they have the potential to be mothers. The contemporary reception of Lehmann's work found it natural that, as a woman and a mother, she should be particularly successful with songs of this genre.[95] Evans felt that *A Daisy-chain* 'reveals the full charm of a true woman's love of children'.[96] Lehmann successfully cultivated the image of 'true woman' in her memoirs and interviews, constantly stressing her enjoyment of marriage and motherhood, and reinforced the image with this aspect of her musical work, implicitly distancing herself from the contemporary stereotype of the single, childless 'new woman' with her successful career.

After the disappointing reception of *In Memoriam* Lehmann was never again to write a cycle for voice or voices and piano which could only be performed in its entirety. *Cameos* (1901), for example, is a cycle of five expressive Greek love songs to texts by various authors in translations by Jane Minot Sedgwick which move through various faces of love. The five songs are linked by optional piano interludes or introductions but Lehmann is careful to note that the songs can be sung separately, and also suggests a shorter cycle consisting of the first, third and fourth song without the piano introduction. There is little thematic cross referencing in the cycle apart from an allusion to the first theme in the piano interlude before the fourth song, and the use of the *marcato* theme from the third song in the opening piano prelude.

By the early years of the 20th century there was a particular reason for Lehmann to make her works more marketable. In late 1902 or early 1903 Bedford's business was 'brought

---

[94] Quoted in *Liza Lehmann*, pp.147 and 149.

[95] Lehmann is one of the first British women composers to become associated with works for children. Later in the 20th century, educational music was to become one of the few genres in which women composers were expected to be successful.

[96] Evans, 'Modern British Composers: Liza Lehmann' *The Musical Standard* xx (17 October 1903), p.243.

to grief' by the Boer War. What this phrase from Lehmann's memoirs meant financially is unclear but the family were forced to move out to Wimbledon, although they were still able to afford to employ a nurse for the children.[97] The greater need for Lehmann to make money from her composition provides one explanation for her move at about this time into writing music for the theatre. Her first theatrical work was to provide incidental music for *The Twin Sister*, a four-act comedy by Louis N. Parker which ran for 59 performances at the Duke of York's Theatre in London in early 1902.[98] Lehmann found the experience as unsatisfying as White had done a few years earlier, describing the composition of incidental music as 'generally something of a heart-break for the composer',[99] although in 1903 she was apparently at work on incidental music for Theresa Hauptmann's *Kleine Elise*.[100] Other early stage works included the brief scena *The Eternal Feminine* (1902), described in the published edition as a 'musical monologue' and performed by the author of its text, Lilian Eldée. The story is of a young art student in Paris determined to leave the lover who has been treating her badly but who then runs back to him at the first available opportunity. Most of the text is spoken, sometimes over incidental music, and there are just two songs, both of which were also published separately.

In 1904 Lehmann was commissioned by Frank Curzon to write the music for a 'musical farce', *Sergeant Brue*, with a libretto by 'Owen Hall' and lyrics by J. Hickory Wood. This was the first time in Britain that a woman had been commissioned to write the music for a musical comedy. As Kurt Gänzl points out, Lehmann was an unusual choice for Curzon to make since 'he could afford to go the top' and she had little experience of composing for the theatre and none at all of writing a musical. [101] She was not even known at this point in her career for writing humorous songs. Nevertheless, general opinion both then and now was that her music worked well, and *Sergeant Brue* was an undoubted success, playing in London for 290 performances between 1904 and 1905.[102]

---

[97] This upheaval was followed by the deaths in quick sucession of Lehmann's sister Marianna and then her mother. Her father died in 1905.

[98] J. P. Wearing, *The London Stage 1900-1909: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981) I, p.137. The play, adapted from Ludwig Fulda, was produced by Henry Irving.

[99] *Liza Lehmann*, p.103.

[100] Evans, 'Modern British Composers: Liza Lehmann' *The Musical Standard* xx (17 October 1903), p.243. No record of a performance with Lehmann's music has been traced.

[101] Kurt Gänzl, *The British Musical Theatre* I 1865-1914 (London: Macmillan, 1986), p.865.

[102] At the Prince of Wales Theatre and at the Strand Theatre. Gänzl, *The British Musical Theatre*, pp.866-7. In her memoirs, Lehmann mistakenly claims that *Sergeant Brue* was produced before *The Twin Sister* rather than two years later. This, of course, calls into question the accuracy of other unsubstantiated details in the memoirs.

Several of the numbers from *Brue* were published separately, bringing in additional income from the work. Lehmann, who had been furious at the management's incorporation of popular hits into *Brue*, seems to have been unimpressed with her own work:

> Everyone was so busy impressing on me "*No Persian Gardens here, please*!" that perhaps I took too much trouble to make the music even more commonplace than it need have been.[103]

She was determined to retain more control over her next theatrical work, a project which she initiated herself. This was 'a musical version', usually described as a 'light opera', of Oliver Goldsmith's novel *The Vicar of Wakefield.*[104] Lehmann's publisher, Arthur Boosey, commissioned Laurence Housman to write the libretto and her friend the American singer David Bispham took up the rights to the work, produced it and played the title role.[105] Lehmann saw the work as 'to some extent an experiment' and modelled it on '"opéra comique" as given in Paris - that is, almost continuous music with *very little* spoken dialogue'.[106] Unfortunately Housman did not understand her concept and provided a lengthy libretto with long passages unsuitable for musical setting. Despite giving permission for his work to be revised he was so horrified by what he heard at the dress rehearsal that he refused to allow the book of words to be sold at performances and had to be forcibly removed from the theatre at the London opening after trying to disrupt the performance.[107] Housman's efforts notwithstanding, the reviews for *The Vicar of Wakefield* were largely enthusiastic. The *Times* critic decided that 'never has Mme Lehmann produced a more successful work'; *The Daily Telegraph* pronounced the opera 'altogether delicious'; *The Crown* compared Lehmann's work to that of Sullivan, while the critic for *The Sphere* decided that the score was 'essentially English' and showed that 'operatic music by English composers is once more possible'.[108] But despite such praise, after a short run in the provinces, *The Vicar of Wakefield* only

---

[103] *Liza Lehmann*, p.101.
[104] See Gänzl, *The British Musical Theatre* 946; *Liza Lehmann*, p.107 and *The Musical Times* (December 1906), p.832.
[105] Bispham had sung in the premiere and had been responsible for the first New York performance of *In a Persian Garden*, as well as giving early performances of *In Memoriam*. Bispham's memoirs suggest that Lehmann composed the opera specifically for him, whereas she suggests that she had been working on the opera for a while when she discovered that Bispham had been independently interested in the subject. See David Bispham, *A Quaker Singer's Recollections* (New York: Macmillan, 1920), pp.332.
[106] *Liza Lehmann*, pp.105 and 109.
[107] See *ibid.*, pp.105-8.
[108] Quoted in *ibid.*, pp.110-3.

played for 37 performances in London during December 1906 and January 1907.[109] Lehmann blamed this short run on the problems with the libretto and the distractions of the Pantomime season. But reviews that she does not quote in her memoirs show that some critics were not happy with the 'experimental' genre. The *Musical News* reviewer, for example, felt that the book and the music did not work well together and that the score would have been more effective as 'a "Song-Cycle"'.[110] Bispham summed up the problem when he wrote of the work that 'as beautiful a light romantic opéra comique as ever was put upon boards fell between the stools of grand and comic opera and failed to satisfy the adherents of either'.[111] After *The Vicar of Wakefield*'s short run, Bispham abandoned his foray into 'light opera', returning to the concert hall and grand opera house, while it was to be nearly 10 years before Lehmann wrote another stage work, despite W. S. Gilbert's suggestion that she set one of his libretti.[112]

As well as her theatrical ventures, during the early years of the 20th century Lehmann produced many other lighter vocal works, such as *Once Upon a Time* (1903), a 'fairy cantata' (with a libretto by G. H. Jessop based on the story of Sleeping Beauty) for narrator, soloists, chorus, orchestra and piano, *The Life of a Rose* (1905), a group of seven songs for voice and piano to her own poems, and the five *Bird Songs* (1907) for voice and piano to lyrics by 'A. S.'. These works are all in the simpler style of the two *Daisy* song-cycles, with considerably simplified accompaniments and harmonies, straightforward, tuneful vocal lines and a much greater use of strophic forms. *Once Upon a Time*, premiered by the National Sunday League at the Queen's Hall on 22 February 1903, attracted much press attention, but most of the reviews sounded a disappointed note. The critic for *The Musical News* decided that the music 'though not reaching any great height of expression, is always graceful and most suitable to the subject dealt with', while the *Musical Times* reviewer felt that 'there is no great subtlety in the music; it is thematic in texture, characteristically graceful and imaginative, often naive and sometimes dramatic'.[113] Nevertheless, all three works continued to be popular with audiences for many years.

---

[109] At Curzon's Prince of Wales Theatre. Gänzl, *The British Musical Theatre*, p.957.
[110] *The Musical News* (22 December 1906), p.573.
[111] Bispham, *A Quaker Singer's Recollections*, p.333.
[112] *Liza Lehmann*, p.114. In about 1910 she was offered a contract for an American opera to a libretto by Harriet Ford but refused to sign it when the producers insisted on retaining a clause which allowed them to add any extra musical material that they thought necessary. *Ibid.*, pp.167-8. Sometimes Lehmann's song-cycles were semi-staged, in particular *The Life of a Rose*. *Ibid.*, p.117.
[113] *The Musical News* (28 February 1903), p.199; *The Musical Times* (March 1903), p.187.

On a slightly more serious note was Lehmann's 'Indian Song-Garland', *The Golden Threshold* (1906), settings of poems by the Indian poet and suffragette Sarojini Naidu for soloists, chorus and orchestra which form a song-cycle somewhat lacking in cohesion. A reviewer in *The Musical Times* was disparaging, claiming that 'for the most part the music, although always well written, is of a superficial and popular character'.[114] Lehmann's score seems to tap into a fashionable and clichéd exoticism, with touches such as the sharpened fourths of 'The Royal Tombs of Golconda'. The subtlety or personal voice of *In a Persian Garden* is rarely heard. Although a few songs, such as 'The Rose Gardener' (Flora Steel, 1908), recreate this 'oriental' mood, Lehmann never returned to it for an extended work. She once wrote that she 'always tried to avoid repeating a subject, rather seeking to break fresh ground. One's second cup of tea is generally inferior to the first'.[115]

Lehmann was too domesticated to enjoy travelling to the extent that White or many of her contemporaries did, but still found some inspiration in the cultures of other countries, such as the reflections of Brittany found in her cycle *Breton Folk-Songs* (Frances Gostling, 1909) for four voices and piano, 'partly founded on the original Breton legends' but paying little attention to traditional Breton music. Another country which excited Lehmann was the United States, where her work had been particularly well received. In the first decade of the 20th century she had started touring Britain with a group of singers, accompanying them in her songs and song-cycles. In December 1909 she embarked on her first American tour, arranged by an impresario. The whole enterprise was exhausting but an undoubted success, with audiences and press equally enthusiastic. One journalist described her as 'one of the geniuses of England, one of the greatest of women in music'.[116] Lehmann was particularly taken with the Western States, noting particularly that 'the regions still inhabited by North American Indians fired my imagination'.[117] On her return to Britain she wrote *Prairie Pictures* (1911), a 'North American Indian Song-Cycle' for four voices and piano, and *Cowboy Ballads* (1912) for voice and piano with words taken from the Texan folklorist John Avery Lomax's *Cowboy Songs and other Frontier Ballads*.

---

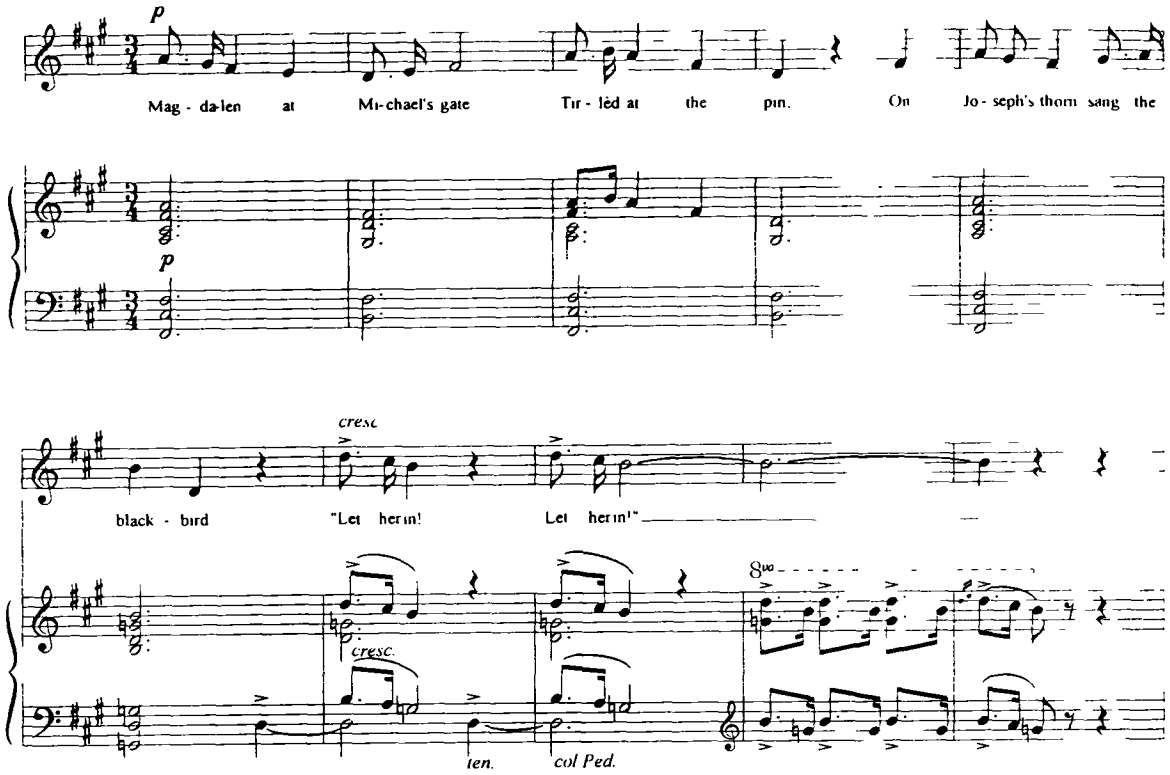
[114] *The Musical Times* (June 1907), p.387.
[115] *Liza Lehmann*, p.166.
[116] *Ibid.*, p.149.
[117] *Ibid.*, p.131. She was also fascinated by the Chinese quarters of Californian towns.

As well as such popular works, Lehmann continued to write 'more ambitious work' which was never as successful as her lighter music. Although it had been commissioned and published by Chappell, *Leaves from Ossian* (1909), described as 'fragments from the poems of the ancient Gaelic bard' for four soloists, chorus and orchestra, never received a London performance. At one of its provincial performances Lehmann remembered Bedford stepping in at the last minute to 'play' the first bassoon part 'through a brown paper tube made to represent the instrument'.[118] Her *Four Shakespearian Part-Songs* (1911), described by a critic as 'no ordinary settings', were slightly more successful, doubtless in part because it was easier to mount a performance of a part-song than a large choral work with soloists and orchestra. [119] These are short, effective pieces using atmospheric effects such as the humming accompaniment of 'I know a Bank'.

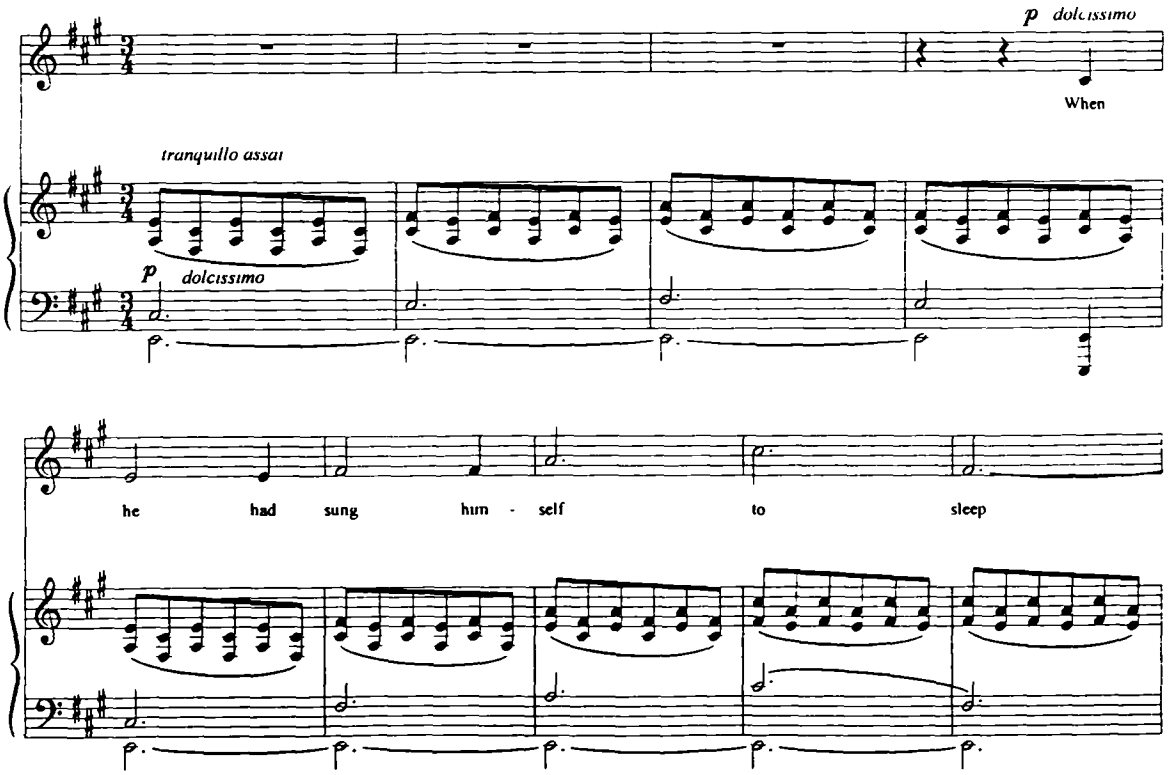
Lehmann regarded several of her solo songs as more serious work, including 'The Poet and the Nightingale' (James White, 1914), with its elaborate piano accompaniment and difficult vocal part imitating the nightingale with long, high trills, and her setting of Henry Kingsley's poem 'Magdalen at Michael's Gate', published by Chappell in 1913.[120] The first four verses of this song are set over static piano chords broken only by the repeated refrain of 'Let her in! Let her in!' with its decorative piano portrayal of the blackbird. [See Example 28a]. Although rooted in F# minor, the harmonies of each of these verses uneasily shift and alter, while there is a change of texture for the somewhat harmonically ambiguous final verse (starting at bar 47). This uses undulating fourths and fifths in the piano accompaniment to create a calmer mood, leading to Magdalen's acceptance into heaven, a moment marked by a subtle move to the tonic major. [See Example 28b].

[118] *Ibid.*, p.115.
[119] *The Musical Times* 52 (December 1911), p.790.
[120] According to Steuart Bedford, 'Magdalen at Michael's Gate' was written for Nellie Melba and Lehmann's personal favourite among her own songs. Steuart Bedford, sleeve notes to *Liza Lehmann* Collins Classics (The English Song Series 4) 15082 (1997).

Example 28a. Lehmann, 'Magdalen at Michael's Gate', bars 5-14.



Example 28b. Lehmann, 'Magdalen at Michael's Gate', bars 47-55.



One of her most heart-felt works of the early 20th century and the one whose failure seems to have mattered the most to her was her short opera *Everyman*, based on the 15th-century morality play. This was staged at the Shaftesbury Theatre on 28 and 29 December 1915 by the Beecham Opera Company in a double bill with Debussy's *Enfant Prodigue*.[121] Lehmann blamed its lack of success on the difficulty of mounting a solemn work during the Christmas pantomime season (the lesson of *The Vicar of Wakefield* had obviously not been learnt) and on the particular demand of the public at that stage of the war for amusing entertainment. To add to the production's problems, the leading singer lost her voice before the first night and had to be replaced by an understudy. The press was generally not impressed with the opera. By this stage in her career, Lehmann had become indelibly associated in the public mind with light, elegant entertainment and not with such a sombre, didactic work, although Edwin Evans obviously felt that the opera was not challenging enough, claiming that it failed 'due to the national vice of doping with sedative sound'.[122] Nevertheless one American reviewer was impressed enough to claim that 'Everyman is a splendid argument for opera in English, as Madame Lehmann has written with a knowledge of the singing-value of English, and her handling of the inflexions in the recitatives was a revelation'.[123]

In *Everyman* the characters rarely break into song, and much of the work is set in a declamatory or recitative style. Everyman is sung by a mezzo-soprano, perhaps a conscious gesture at universalising the work, and with the other two leading roles, Good Deeds and Knowledge, sung by a soprano and a contralto, the opera focuses on the female voice. The monk who sings the opening prologue, Death and Riches are bass roles, and Fellowship, who like Riches refuses to accompany Everyman on his journey, is sung by a tenor. Various other roles are taken by members of the chorus which also, as the 'invisible choir', represents God. Lehmann draws on many different musical styles in the opera. The published vocal score directs the play 'to be mounted and produced in the severe Elizabethan manner', and the music occasionally echoes this historical approach, perhaps most markedly in the fugal accompaniment to the scene with Everyman's kinsmen. Other passages reflect a more sparse and even dissonant approach, such as the incessant minor second semiquavers representing the clinking of

[121] J. P. Wearing, *The London Stage 1910-1919: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1982) I, p.606.
[122] Edwin Evans, 'Musical Notes' *The English Review* 22 (1916), p.205.
[123] *Liza Lehmann*, p.206.

coins during the scene with Riches, or the accompaniment of parallel fourths that represents Knowledge and which is used to end the work. In several passages, such as the intoned introduction or Everyman's hymn-like prayer, Lehmann creates a simple religiosity and only occasionally, as in the passage where Good Deeds is first heard, breaks into the kind of lyrical melody that might have been expected of her. But despite such stylistic diversity, there is enough thematic cross referencing for the work to form a coherent whole, although overall it perhaps lacks the subtlety of earlier 'serious' works.

Despite her absorption in domestic life as wife and mother, Lehmann always remained a thoroughly professional composer and musician who never retired form the musical world, despite her retirement from the public stage. As well as touring as accompanist to singers of her songs, she also worked as a teacher, both privately and, for a few years at the end of her life, as a Professor at the Guildhall School of Music. In 1913 she published a teaching manual, *Practical Hints for Students of Singing* (1913), which was followed by collections of *Useful Teaching Songs* (1914) and *Studies in Recitative* (1915).

By the second decade of the 20th century, Lehmann was undoubtedly one of Britain's most popular composers, although no longer critically admired and respected as she had been at the time of *In a Persian Garden.* A reviewer for *The Times* of a concert of her music given in 1913 wrote:

> It is some years now since Madame Lehmann first acquired the art of writing successfully for a public which looks primarily for a taking melody with an harmonious accompaniment in a song, and yesterday's concert proves that her hand has not lost any of its cunning. The tunes are of the kind that can be easily memorized; they offer the singers just the opportunities that singers like for showing off their voices without too much effort, and the pianoforte part keeps the player occupied and yet is not so prominent as to attract attention away from the singer. It would be unimaginative perhaps to be surprised that a formula which has been found and used many times with success should continue to be repeated.[124]

But the public was satisfied, and given her prominence it is not surprising that Lehmann was asked to become the first president of the Society of Women Musicians when it was formed in 1911. She found that she was too busy to keep the post for more than a year but gave an address at the first official meeting of the Society in which she talked of her

[124] *The Times* (31 January 1913), p.9.

> conviction that the Society of Women Musicians has "come to stay" and to shed the beneficial influence of its sincere and noble aims on all who come into contact with it. It is a great movement, and one capable of immense expansion.[125]

In return for Lehmann's support, the Society gave several performances of her music, often of the lesser played, more serious works. At the 'First Public Concert of Members' Works' in 1912, the Society gave the London premiere of *In Sherwood Forest*, an intermezzo to words by Basil Hood for four female soloists, female choir and piano which Lehmann had written the previous year for the New York St Cecilia Club.[126] In the spring of 1915 members of the Society performed selections from *In Memoriam* at a concert given by Thomas Dunhill,[127] and five songs from the same cycle were sung at a chamber concert celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Society in July 1936.[128]

In the autumn of 1915, Lehmann's eldest son Rudolf enrolled as a senior gunner-cadet at the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich. The following spring, he caught pneumonia while training and died. Lehmann was devastated. In a letter to Gertrude Eaton of the Society of Women Musicians written at around this time she explained that she could not write an article because of her heavy teaching schedule but also because 'something has "snapped" in me, and I could not write in a lively or readable vein. I struggle on and do my best - but there it is!'.[129] In her memoirs, written two years after Rudolf's death, she wrote of having 'renounced the pleasures of life'.[130] It was at this time that she wrote two of her most moving songs, 'The Lily of a Day' (Ben Jonson) and 'When I am dead, my dearest' (Christina Rossetti), both of which remained unpublished at her death.[131] On 19 September 1918, two weeks after she had written to Bedford, who was away fighting, that she had finished the memoirs, Lehmann herself died, of an unspecified 'fatal malady'.[132] The Society of Women Musicians organised a

---

[125] *Liza Lehmann*, p.179.
[126] This London performance was conducted by Bedford with Lehmann at the piano. Programme. RCM: SWM archive.
[127] *The Musical Times* 56 (April 1915), p.231. The selections were performed with string parts added by the composer. Society of Women Musicians: Fourth Annual Report 1915-16. RCM: SWM archive.
[128] Programme. RCM: SWM archive.
[129] Undated letter to Gertrude Eaton. RCM: SWM archive.
[130] *Liza Lehmann*, p.222.
[131] 'The Lily of a Day is dated 'April 1917' and 'When I am dead, my dearest' is dated '29 July 1918'. Steuart Bedford, sleeve notes to *Liza Lehmann* Collins Classics (The English Song Series 4) 15082 (1997).
[132] Herbert Bedford, 'Afterword' to *Liza Lehmann*, p.226.

memorial concert of her music at the Aeolian Hall which sold out in two days and had to be repeated the following month.[133]

It is perhaps difficult for a late 20th-century listener to believe that the composer of *In Memoriam* or *Everyman* could also be the composer of 'Daddy's Sweetheart' and 'There are fairies at the bottom of our garden' without finding tension or conflict between the two kinds of work. Lehmann did differentiate between her 'light' and 'more serious' work, writing in her memoirs that

> The demand of my publisher for works of a light and humorous description, such as I had begun quite spontaneously and happily with the Nonsense Songs, became rather oppressive at one time, and was in danger of getting on my nerves.[134]

At the same time she categorically claimed that 'bad verses should, of course, never be set', implying that she found some kind of value in a poem such as 'Daddy's Sweetheart'.[135] In her memoirs she goes some way to explaining the apparent distance in musical language between the complex imagination of *In a Persian Garden* and the harmonic and melodic clichés, well-constructed as they are, of some of her later songs:

> I have never been burdened with musical snobbery, and I often think one of the qualities that I admire most in composers is aptness, that is, a due sense of proportion - the cutting of one's musical coat according to the poetic cloth.[136]

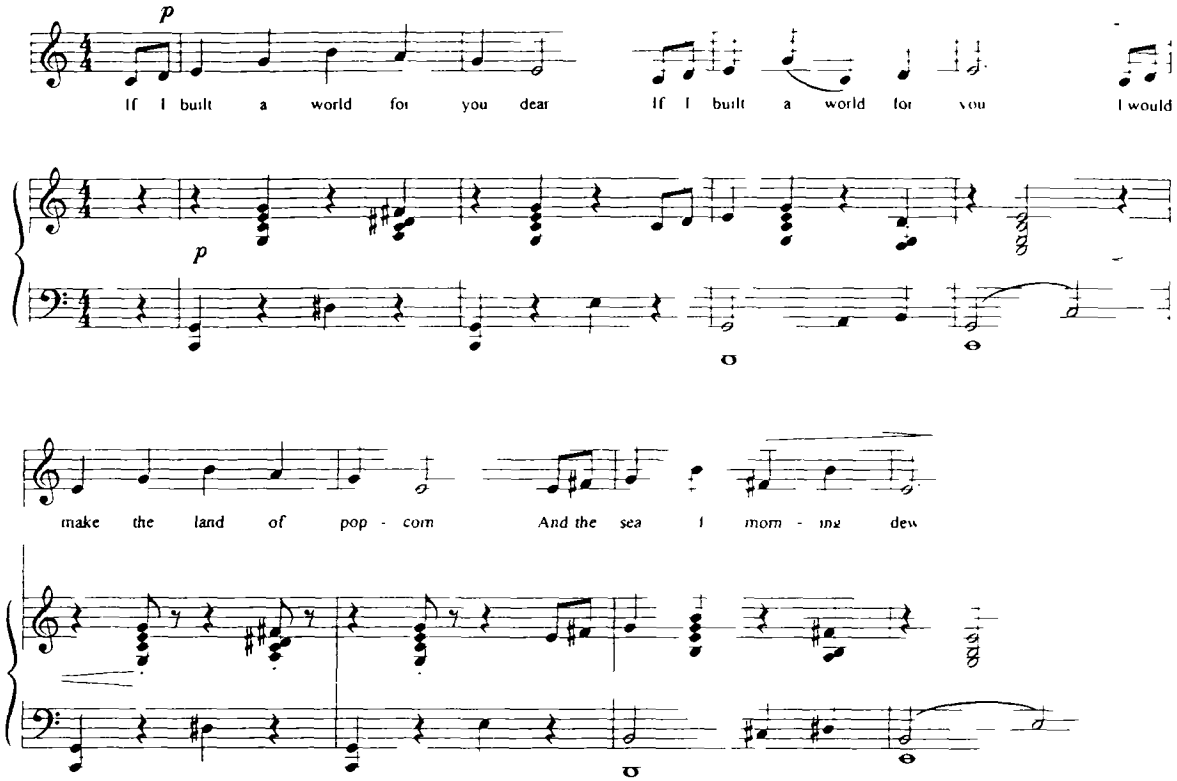
Nevertheless she undoubtedly did feel that some of her songs had less value than others. In her memoirs she described 'If I built a world for you', a number composed for *Sergeant Brue*, as 'frankly mere "fluff" ', adding that it 'achieved a wide popularity that has often made me blush'.[137] But pressures from her publisher were hard to resist. The song had not actually been used in the musical and Lehmann wrote of playing a different song to Arthur Boosey, who told her that it was too serious:

> and in lugubrious accents expressed himself as doubtful regarding its prospects. ... "Oh," I exclaimed, "I know the sort of thing you want!" - and in derision I began singing and playing *If I built a World for you.* I had scarcely played more than the first three or four bars when Mr. Boosey leant forward and quietly said, "Yes, that is exactly what I *do* want!". A few weeks later

[133] The concerts were held on 27 January and 3 February 1919. *The Times* (23 January 1919), p.13 and (28 January 1919), p.5.
[134] *Liza Lehmann*, pp.198-99.
[135] *Ibid.*, p.167.
[136] *Ibid.*, p.123.
[137] *Ibid.*, p.102.

Miss Dale sang it at one of his London Ballad Concerts, and ever after that its sale has continued with extraordinary obstinacy.[138]

Example 29. Lehmann, 'If I built a world for you', bars 2-10.



The Bedfords undoubtedly needed money in the early years of the 20th century and the sales of Lehmann's more popular works as well as the money she made by touring must have provided a welcome source of income, despite her claim that 'unless one would sell one's very soul, one must write straight from the heart, and without any consideration of "market value" whatsoever'.[139]

To understand the range of Lehmann's compositional output, it is important to appreciate the aesthetic of an age when many composers, from Elgar to Sullivan, were writing in a wide variety of musical styles and when distinctions between high and low culture differed from distinctions made at the end of the 20th century. Nevertheless, several contemporary critics felt the need to justify some of Lehmann's lighter works. During her American tour a critic explained that 'light music, nonsensical, burlesquing music, if you please, may be very good music indeed',[140] while a reviewer of *The Daisy-chain* in the *Athenaeum* reminded the reader:

[138] *Ibid.*, p.102-103.
[139] *Ibid.*, p.199.
[140] *Ibid.*, p.146.

> Here fancy, frolic and dainty humour have principal play and the very ease and lightness of the various settings makes one forget the thought and skill which went towards the making of the music.[141]

As her musical output began to concentrate more frequently on lighter works with humorous or 'child-like' texts, some critics felt, while admiring her skill, that she was betraying the earlier promise of works such as her early German songs, *In a Persian Garden* or *In Memoriam*. The *Musical Standard* reviewer of *Once Upon a Time* wrote in 1903 that

> Mrs Lehmann uses the so-called 'leit-motif system' with considerable appropriateness and effect. But the music seems to me unnecessarily slight, and I refuse to believe it is really representative of her talent.[142]

In the same year Evans published an article on her work in his series 'Modern British Music' for *The Musical Standard* in which he was at pains to explain that the composers he was including were not simply modern in the chronological sense but those 'who actually are modern, breathe the modern spirit and write modern music .... the pioneers and innovators who, taking modernity for their springboard, boldly plunge into the future'.[143] He acknowledged his respect for Parry, Stanford, Mackenzie and Cowen but excluded discussion of their work from the series.[144] Lehmann's inclusion is remarkable in that Evans had decided 'to avoid the vortex of the English song world'[145] but made an exception for Lehmann, feeling that there were several reasons, such as her introduction of the song-cycle, for writing about her 'apart from the artistic excellence of her work'.[146]

If Evans had been writing this series just a few years later it is certain that he would not have made the same decision. Changing attitudes towards songwriters and songs, Lehmann's own change of emphasis in her work (or at least in that part of it which reached the public), perhaps even the sheer popularity of her music, would all have

---

[141] *Athenaeum* 3821 (19 January 1901), p.90.
[142] *The Musical Standard* illustrated series XIX (28 February 1903), p.129.
[143] Edwin Evans, 'Modern British Composers I' *The Musical Standard* illustrated series XIX (23 May 1903), p.321.
[144] The composers Evans did choose to write about included Algernon Ashton, Herbert Bedford, Josef Holbrooke, W. Y. Hurlstone, Cyril Scott, Edith Swepstone and Ralph Vaughan Williams.
[145] Edwin Evans, 'Modern British Composers XI' *The Musical Standard* illustrated series XX (17 October 1903), p.242.
[146] *Ibid.*

made her inclusion unthinkable. 13 years later a rather more scathing Evans was to describe her as

> adept at the style of song beloved by the public of the ballad concerts. She knows the idiom thoroughly, and has even been clever enough at times to give it a seasoning of freshness without impairing its familiarity, a perfectly plausible paradox, but one that is seldom so well illustrated.[147]

Lehmann negotiated her position as a composer with considerable skill. She was fiercely professional and managed her own career as performer and composer with astounding success. The wife of singer Denis O'Sullivan once remarked, 'I'd call her a mixture of silk and steel, for charming though she was she could be adamant in asserting her authority at rehearsals'.[148] Publicly, at least, Lehmann played into every stereotype of a middle-class Edwardian lady - always elegantly dressed and well behaved, a devoted wife and mother who put her family before any other aspect of her life. Her memoirs and interviews constantly project charm and restrained good humour. Contemporary critics saw all these attributes clearly reflected in her music, which in the first decade of the 20th century regularly attracted the same familiar set of 'feminine' adjectives: graceful, dainty, charming and refined.[149] Most, although not all, of Lehmann's later works did indeed stay firmly within the boundaries of what was perceived as the 'feminine' sphere. Her texts abandoned the wide-ranging philosophical concerns of *In a Persian Garden* or *In Memoriam* for the lighter subjects of uncomplicated love, childhood and humour, while her music moved away from harmonic and structural complexity to a drastically simplified language expressed in less ambitious genres. Did the relatively poor reception of *Young Lochinvar* and *In Memoriam* push her towards subjects and musical languages that were more acceptable from a woman? It is, of course, impossible to know whether Lehmann consciously realised that her career would be less confrontational if she stayed within the bounds of acceptable femininity. The musical style and texts that she chose to use for her more popular works have not lasted

---

[147] Edwin Evans, 'Musical Notes' *The English Review* 22 (1916), p.205.

[148] Quoted in script for Perceval Graves, 'Three Broadcasts on Liza Lehmann 1862-1918' (1949). Held at the BL.

[149] For example: a review of *The Life of a Rose* described the work as 'of slight character, but the songs which are seven in number, are poetical in conception and graceful in character; the second number of the cycle, a little gem of dantiness, so enchanted the audience that it had to be repeated'. *The Musical Times* 46 (December 1905), p.810. At its first London performance *The Vicar of Wakefield* was described as 'graceful and refined' *The Musical Times* 48 (January 1907), p.40 and 'charming' and 'unpretentious' *Athenaeum* 4129 (15 December 1906), p.782.

well in the late 20th century (other than with devotees of Edwardian kitsch), and although her 'serious' music has loyal advocates, it still remains largely unknown.[150]

Frances Allitsen

The work of Frances Allitsen has fallen into even greater neglect than that of Lehmann. Like both White and Lehmann, Allitsen was a composer best known during her lifetime for her songwriting. Some of her work achieved considerable popularity although it never received the critical acclaim awarded to that of her two slightly younger contemporaries. No memoirs, letters or manuscripts survive and much of Allitsen's life and career remains hidden, although the picture that does emerge is of a composer who believed in herself and her music through all setbacks and difficulties, continually expanding the range of her musical language and creating a body of work in a distinctively ardent voice. The world in which she grew up was one where 'the chief talk was on the subject of garments, and the most extravagant excitement consisted of sandwich parties'.[151] Her parents were strongly opposed to the idea of their daughter entering the musical profession, and Allitsen was in her 30s before she embarked on a musical career.

Born Mary Frances Bumpus at 159 Oxford Street on 30 December, 1848, Allitsen was one of seven siblings belonging to the well-known family of London booksellers.[152] A contemporary article states that 'as a child she was far more inclined to literature than to music' and claimed that she had written a novel and several short stories.[153] She later wrote that

> My first attempts at song making where when, as a small child, I used to improvise ballads (words and music), chiefly about battles. ... As a girl, my modest ambitions were to become a singer and a novelist. After passing

[150] Perhaps foremost among Lehmann's advocates is her grandson Steuart Bedford who was responsible for the revival of *In A Persian Garden* at the 1997 Aldeburgh Festival and for a recording of her songs, *Liza Lehmann*, on Collins Classics (The English Song Series 4) 15082 (1997). Geoffrey Bush discussed her work in *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age* (1981) and included several of her songs in the Musica Britannica volume *Songs 1860-1900* (1989) while the baritone Henry Wickham and pianist Susie Allan have recorded *In Memoriam, Cameos* and *The Selfish Giant*, together with songs by A. L. (Meridian CDE 84322, 1996).

[151] Quoted in Arthur Elson, *Woman's Work in Music* (Boston: L. C. Page, 1904), p.148. See also A. J. Weir, *The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1938), p.34.

[152] Her birth certificate simply gives her the name Mary, but her will gives her full name as Mary Frances Bumpus. Her death certificate has not been traced. Details of her siblings are found in her will.

[153] Anon, 'Popular Lady Composers: Miss Frances Allitsen' *The Strand Musical Magazine* 2 (1895), p.251. Neither novel nor short stories appear to have been published and have not survived.

> through experiences in each of these capacities I aimed at musical composition. I started on the poems of Byron, Shelley and Longfellow. I did not know a rule of harmony. I was ignorant even of the notes that make a common chord, but I could always get the effects I wanted.[154]

Probably due to her family's disapproval of public life, she chose to be known from the start of her musical career by a pseudonym, Frances Allitsen, and first appeared under that name as a singer with the Kilburn Musical Association in November 1880.[155] In the following year her first work as a student composer, an ambitious three-movement piano sonata in F minor, was performed at the Guildhall School of Music.[156] Allitsen had taken some of her early work to the principal Weist Hill to 'hear whether he considered I had sufficient ability to take up the real study of music seriously'.[157] Hill was impressed and arranged for her to study composition at the Guildhall with Henry Gadsby. Allitsen appears to have given singing lessons in order to pay for her lessons, which perhaps implies that her parents had refused to help her financially.[158] By the autumn of 1882, she was a Corporation Exhibitioner.[159]

No records survive to show whether Allitsen took singing or instrumental lessons at the Guildhall but her frequent appearances in student concerts are almost entirely as composer rather than singer or pianist. In 1882, two of her works were heard at these concerts: a well-received setting of Longfellow's 'Stars of the Summer Night' for tenor and piano[160] and a *Caprice* for piano which was published a few years later and taken up by the pianist Vladimir de Pachmann.[161]

---

[154] Percy Cross Standing, 'Some Lady Composers: Miss Frances Allitsen' *Lady's Pictorial* XXXIX (2 June, 1900), p.1020. Standing appears to have solicited reminiscences from his subjects for this series of articles on women composers.

[155] *The Musical Times* 22 (January 1881), p.31.

[156] Corporation of London Records Office: Guildhall School of Music and Drama Archives. Programmes Volume 1 1879-85. Programme for concert on 20 October, 1881 at 16, Aldermanbury. This was the only student work on the programme and was played by Minnie Hailstone. The work was not published and has not survived.

[157] Standing, 'Some Lady Composers: Miss Frances Allitsen', p.1020.

[158] See Elson, *Woman's Work in Music*, p. 148 and Weir, *The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, p.34.

[159] Corporation of London Records Office: Guildhall School of Music and Drama Archives. Programmes Volume 1 1879-85. Programme for concert on 19 October, 1882.

[160] See Corporation of London Records Office: Guildhall School of Music and Drama Archives. Scrapbook: November 1878; April 1880 - December 1884 and *The Musical Times* 23 (April 1882), p.202.

[161] A. T. C. Pratt ed. *People of the Period* (London: Neville Beeman, 1897), p.29.

By 1883 Allitsen was composing large-scale orchestral works. Her Suite for orchestra was performed twice in piano duet form that year, while in 1884 her 'Slavonic' overture was premiered at a Guildhall concert and her 'Undine' overture won the Lady Mayoress's Prize.[162] 1884 also saw student performances of *Three Sketches* for violin and piano and the song 'A Moorish Serenade' with obbligato violin accompaniment. Apart from *Caprice* and the song 'Forget Thee', performed at two student concerts in the autumn of 1885 and published the following year, none of Allitsen's music played at these concerts has survived. But it is clear that by the time she stopped studying at the Guildhall in the mid-1880s she had experience of writing music in a variety of vocal, instrumental and orchestral genres, and had heard much of this music performed.[163]

After Allitsen left the Guildhall and its supportive performance opportunities, there are few records of her orchestral music being played anywhere until the last years of her life.[164] A *Funeral March* and a *Tarantella* were apparently performed by the Royal Academy of Music orchestra and the Crystal Palace orchestra some time before 1895.[165] The only other contemporary reference to her orchestral writing is in a review of a concert of her music given at the home of Mrs Binnie Smith in 1888 which suggests that 'it was perhaps the difficulty of arranging for the performance of orchestral music so late in the season which compelled Miss Allitsen to appear on this occasion as a songwriter only'.[166] Allitsen may have simply stopped composing orchestral music in the later 1880s and the 1890s but, given the scale and complexity of the vocal and orchestral works that she produced in the early years of the 20th century, it seems likely that she did continue to develop her orchestral writing throughout her career despite what must have been a disheartening lack of success in achieving performances of this work.

Although her work as an instrumental composer may not have been in demand, Allitsen soon began to find an appreciative market for her songs. She paid great attention to the

---

[162] See Corporation of London Records Office: Guildhall School of Music and Drama Archives. Programmes Volume I 1879-85 and Harold Simpson, *A Century of Ballads 1810-1910: Their Composers and Singers* (London: Mills and Boon, 1910), p.308. The 'Slavonic' overture was performed on 3 May.

[163] There are no records of works by Allitsen being performed at Guildhall concerts after 1885.

[164] Weir stands alone in claiming that Allitsen 'achieved considerable success in the field of orchestral composition'. *The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, p.34.

[165] Anon, 'Popular Lady Composers: Miss Frances Allitsen', p. 251. Records of these performances have not been traced.

[166] *The Musical World* LXVI (28 July 1888), p.597.

financial details of her career, keeping a meticulous record of her transactions with publishers in the period from 1885 to 1896. This document, which also contains a brief diary for 1911, provides a fascinating insight into the various systems of payment for songwriters at this time.[167] Allitsen received no payment for her first published works, two Longfellow settings issued by Reid Brothers in 1885,[168] but these proved successful enough for the same publishers to pay for two further songs which they published the following year. For 'Love we must part!', to her own words, Allitsen received five guineas with a further 10 guineas to be paid if sales reached 1,000 copies. 'Over the bridge', to words by James Thomson,[169] seems to have been regarded as a less marketable song since she was paid only three guineas down with a further two guineas on sales reaching 500 copies. In the years to 1896, neither song sold enough for further payment to be made.

Two other songs were published in 1886 but both had been bought outright by other people. 'After long years' (Allitsen) was bought by Cunningham Boosey for 10 guineas and published for him by the family firm; 'One or two' (Will Carlton) was bought for five guineas by J. Dalgety Henderson, the singer to whom it was dedicated, and published for him by Chappell. Reviews of these songs were not entirely complimentary. 'One or Two' was described as 'a melodious, if not strikingly original, setting of some conventional words which are sure to hit the taste of the public',[170] while 'After long years' was regarded as containing grammatical errors, although showing 'considerable feeling as well as originality'.[171]

Allitsen's first popular success came in 1887 with 'An Old English Love Song' (to words taken from 'Dowland's Song Book'), which was sung by Herbert Thorndike and Charles Santley.[172] Her terms with Boosey were £5 down and a further £15 when sales

---

[167] Frances Allitsen, 'Book for entering Musical and Literary agreements' BL Add. Ms 50071. This document contains records of several published songs which have not survived in the various copyright libraries of the UK. All references to financial transactions refer to this document unless otherwise stated.
[168] 'My Lady Sleeps' and 'O Hemlock Tree'. There is no record of Allitsen herself paying for the publication of these songs.
[169] James Thomson (1834-1882) was a poet to whom Allitsen was to return for several further settings. He published under the intials B. V. (for Bysshe Vanolis). Remembered chiefly as a proponent of free thought and for his 'expression of an atheistic and despairing creed'. Allitsen seems to have chosen atypical poems to set. See Paul Harvey, *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* fourth edition revised Dorothy Eagle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p.816.
[170] *The Musical World* LXIV (8 May 1886), p.293.
[171] *The Musical World* LXIV (13 November 1886), p.727.
[172] Standing, 'Some Lady Composers: Miss Frances Allitsen', p.1020.

reached 2,000 copies, which they did in April 1895. Another song, 'When the Boys Come Home' (John Hay), published by Boosey that year on similar terms, failed to reach the required sales figure.[173] For her only other song published in 1887, 'Mary Hamilton' to words by Whyte Melville, Boosey offered a royalty of 3d a copy, the same as for the piano piece *Caprice*, published the previous year.[174]

The terms on which these songs were published show the various ways in which a composer could receive payment for a work. A song was either sold outright; or received a down payment with further payment forthcoming once a certain number of copies had been sold. If the royalty system was involved there was either a straightforward royalty per copy (for Allitsen this was usually 3d) or a down payment with a royalty only after a certain number of copies had been sold. The last method of payment seems to have become more common for Allitsen as she became better known and her songs were in greater demand.[175] The transactions could become somewhat complicated. For three songs published in 1892 by Robert Cocks, for example, Allitsen received an initial 10 guineas with a royalty of 3d in Britain, 1½d in the United States and 1d in Canada after 500 copies had been sold, with seven copies counting as six.[176]

Certain works were offered much better terms than others, with Allitsen's various publishers obviously having clear ideas about what they believed would sell.[177] In 1888, for example, Ascherberg gave her three guineas outright for 'Marjorie' (W. Eltringham Kendall) but only two guineas for the more complex 'Unto the Heart' (Victor Hugo), a serenade with violin obbligato described by one reviewer as 'unconventional, melodious and well written'.[178] In the same year Augener published a *Nocturne* for piano but seem to have made no payment for the work and to have produced only 50 copies, suggesting that it was not regarded as a piece that would find a large market.[179] The composition of such works, as Allitsen, like so many other composers, must have realised, would never

---

[173] The terms were £5 down with £10 on sales reaching 2,000 copies.
[174] Allitsen does not record how many copies were sold.
[175] Publishers may also have been paying singers a royalty to perform the songs but such payments are not recorded in Allitsen's document.
[176] 'Warning' (Hermann Lingg, translated F. d'Anvers); 'A Song of the Four Seasons' (Austin Dobson); 'Apart for Evermore' (Caris Brooke).
[177] Allitsen's works were published by many different publishers, including Ascherberg, Augener, Boosey, Chappell, John Church, Robert Cocks, J. B. Cramer, Enoch, Hutchings, F. Jeffreys, Metzler, Phillips and Page, Pitt and Hatzfeld, Reid Brothers, Ricordi, G. Schirmer, Weekes, Willcocks and Joseph Williams.
[178] *The Musical World* LXVI (20 October 1888), p.816.
[179] BL Add. Ms 50071, f.12v. No copy of the work survives but this is Allitsen's only work to be published by Augener, whose catalogue consisted largely of works by 'high-brow' European composers.

be financially lucrative. It is not clear whether Allitsen, who never married, needed to earn her own living, but her detailed financial record-keeping and the small legacies left in her will, suggest that this may have been the case.[180] The amount of money she earned from publishing her work in the period before 1896 was small but not insignificant and she also worked as a singing teacher as well as accompanying her own songs.

The publishers Ascherberg seem to have been uncertain about the likely success of the collection of *Six Songs* by Allitsen that they issued in 1889, offering a 6d royalty only after 500 copies had been distributed. 300 of these were complimentary and the remaining 200 were 'to repay Ascherberg for outlay'.[181] Nevertheless, the volume was a success and Allitsen received a steady stream of royalty payments which had amounted to £18 2s 11d by 31 December 1895.[182] The press was reasonably enthusiastic about the collection. A reviewer for the *Athenaeum* described it as 'very fresh and pleasing, with well-chosen words',[183] while the critic writing for *The Musical World* felt that

> These songs are far above average merit, the mostly impassioned verses being set to music of an equally glowing and earnest nature. The songs particularly appeal to singers able to render them with proper musical and poetical expression without degenerating into "gush". The accompaniments of some of the numbers are unusually fine.[184]

The songs of this collection are in many ways typical of Allitsen's songwriting. All are settings of love poetry, usually a depicting a love that is lost or unrequited and always deeply passionate.[185] The last song, 'Thy voice is heard thro'rolling drums', a very short, through-composed setting of lines from Tennyson, introduces a martial theme with the piano vividly depicting drums and trumpets. Allitsen's settings display a formal and harmonic complexity as well as often elaborate word painting. Only one, 'Margaret' (William Hurrell Mallock), is strophic although even this is not entirely straightforward,

---

[180] As suggested above, her parents may have refused to support her financially. It is also possible that they were simply unable to support financially those of their eight children who needed such help.
[181] BL Add. Ms 50071, f.13v.
[182] See *ibid.*, f.14. In 1897 the copyright was renewed and the collection republished.
[183] *Athenaeum* 3279 (30 August 1890), p.299.
[184] *The Musical World* LXX (1 March 1890), p.177.
[185] The collection consists of 'Not quite alone' (Colonel John Hay), 'Come not when I am dead' (Lord Tennyson), 'Margaret' (W. H. Mallock), 'Thy Presence' (Fanny Kemble), 'Prince Ivan's Song' (Marie Corelli), 'Thy voice is heard thro'rolling drums' (Lord Tennyson). All were also later issued separately. The collection was published in two versions - one for mezzo-soprano or baritone and the second for soprano or tenor.

with the last verse opening in the tonic minor. Most of the songs involve distinct changes of mood, key, tempo and piano accompaniment figuration, all reflecting changes in the text. Allitsen's harmonies are often heavily chromatically inflected and the voice is supported by a variety of fluent piano accompaniments, sometimes doubling the vocal line at an octave or two below or above.

The second song in the collection, a through-composed setting of Tennyson's 'Come not when I am dead', stands somewhat apart as a movingly simple setting with a much sparser piano accompaniment both in texture and rhythmic figuration. The second verse, marked 'tranquillo ma con dolore', invokes a distinctly chorale-like mood. In the other songs 'appassionato' is the most frequent indication and they all reach loud, sensational climaxes, often several times within the same song. The most dramatic song is a Marie Corelli setting, 'Prince Ivan's Song', which opens with a relentlessly driving piano accompaniment marked 'molto impetusoso ed appassionato' with the tune in the bass.[186] [See Example 30]. For the second and third verses the accompaniment changes to flowing arpeggiated semiquavers and semiquaver triplets and then to rhythmically simpler quavers but with moments of dissonance for the 'bitter black frost' that 'slays the roses with pitiless might'. Doubtless as a concession to the publishers and an amateur public, Allitsen supplied an alternative, simplified ending to this song. Corelli herself described the setting as 'the very fire of sound'.[187]

Allitsen's next collection of songs, eight settings of lyrics by Heine, were published by Robert Cocks in their 'Series of Artistic Songs' in 1893 and praised in *The Musical Times* as 'poems in word and tone, and not simply verses to which a more or less good tune has been fitted'.[188] The collection shows Allitsen producing work that aimed to find a place within the *lied* tradition; but, needless to say, such songs were not financially rewarding and Cocks bought the collection outright for just 10 guineas.[189]

---

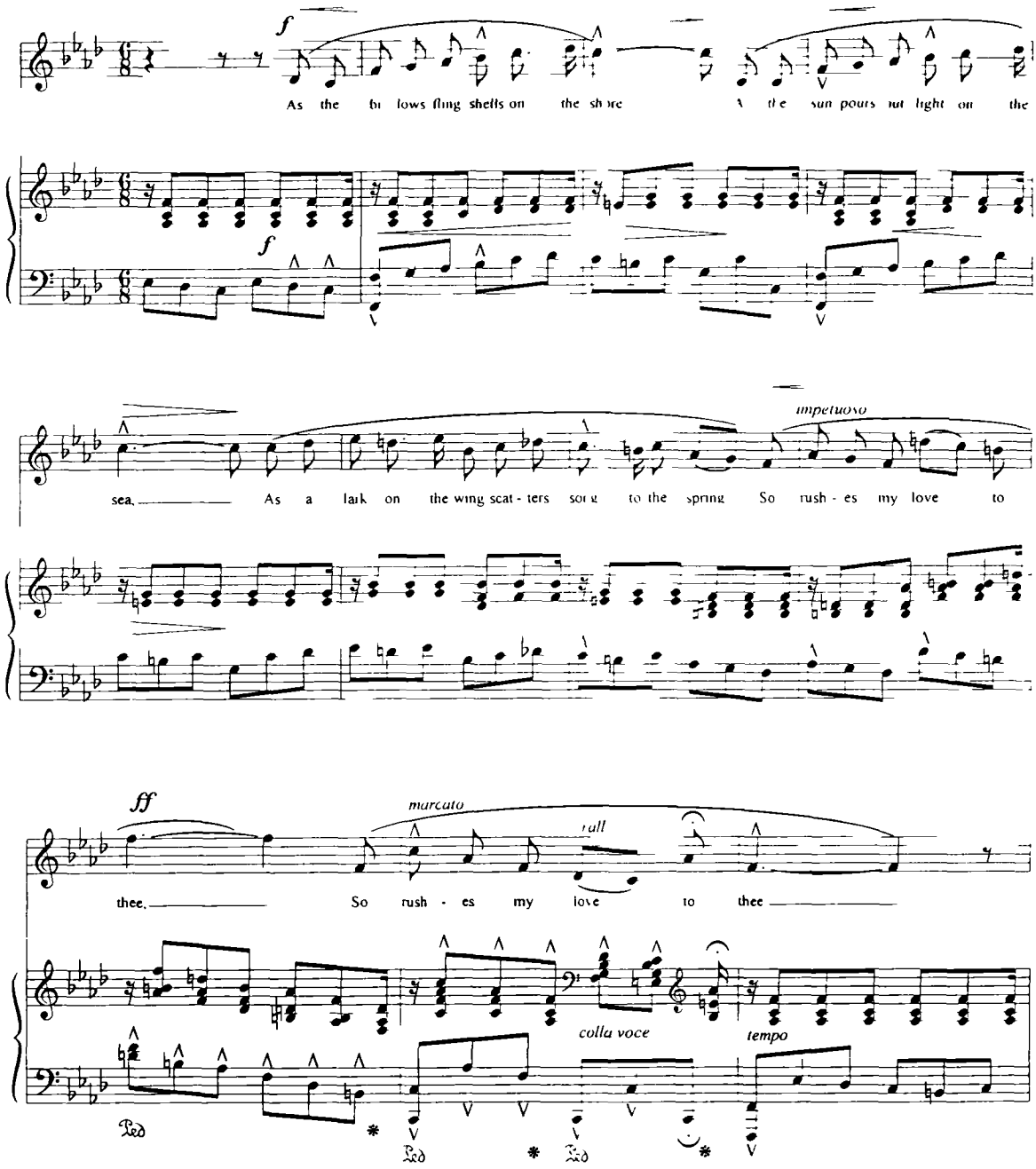
[186] 'Marie Corelli' was the pseudonym of Mary Mills/Mackay (1855-1924) who had originally intended to take up a musical career but instead became a best-selling and extremely popular novelist with a remarkably overblown prose style. 'Prince Ivan's Song' was taken from her first novel *The Romance of Two Worlds* (1886). See Joanne Shattock, *The Oxford Guide to British Women Writers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 117-8 and Brian Masters, *Now Barabbas was a Rotter: The Extraordinary Life of Marie Corelli* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978).

[187] Anon, 'Popular Lady Composers: Miss Frances Allitsen', p. 251. The two women knew each other. Allitsen's song 'Love in Spring Time' to words by Lewis Morris was dedicated to Corelli, and Corelli's 'father' (whether adoptive or biological is unclear) was Charles Mackay, author of the poem Allitsen set for her best known song 'There's a Land'.

[188] *The Musical Times* 34 (June 1893), p. 362.

[189] The songs are given in both German and English, although the English translations are given first.

Example 30. Allitsen, 'Prince Ivan's Song', bars 4-14.



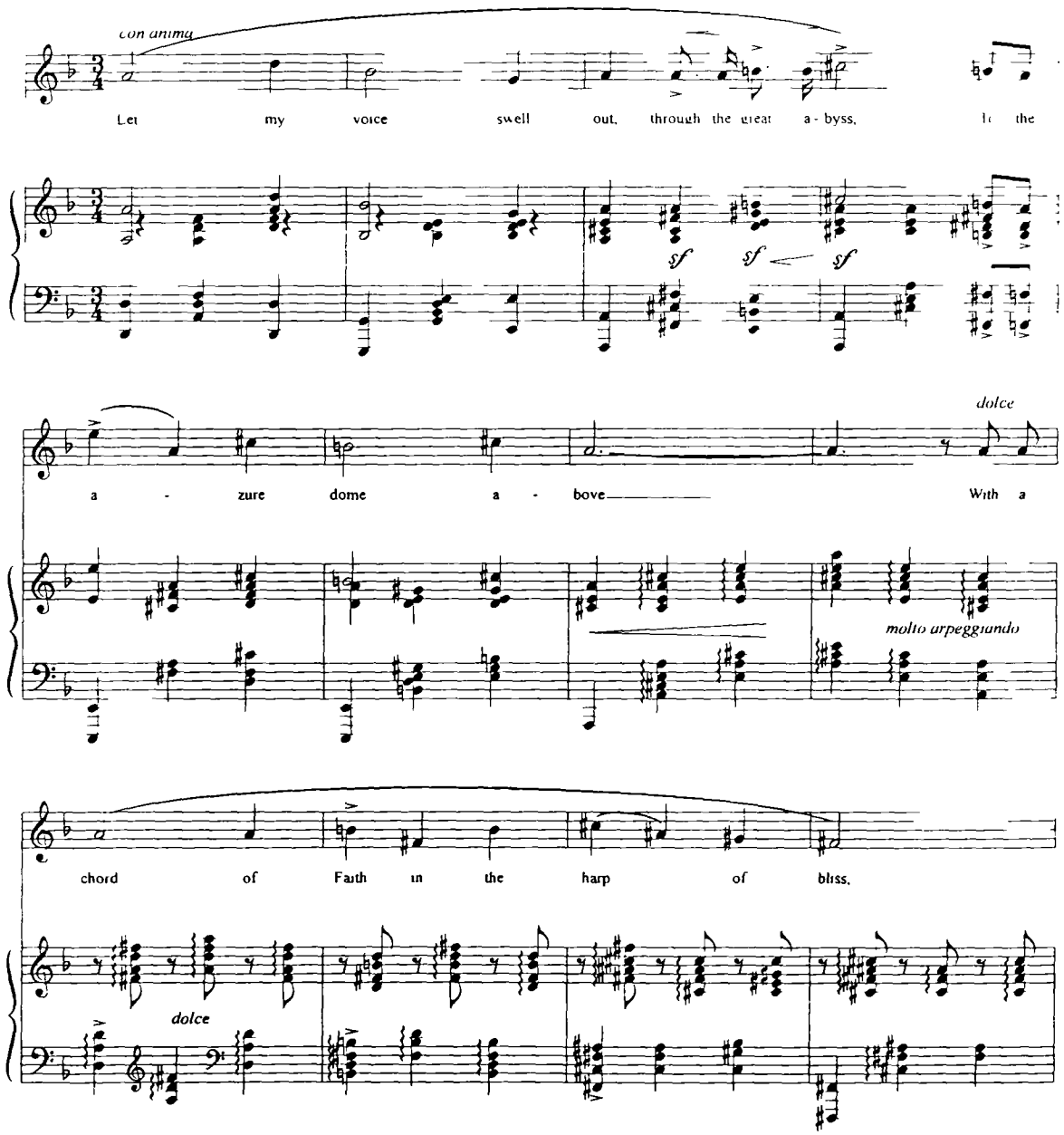
This payment contrasts sharply with the sum of 15 guineas down with a 2d royalty after 1000 copies that Cocks gave for her single song 'King and Slave' (Adelaide Proctor) in the same year.[190] The *Musical Times* reviewer praised 'King and Slave' for 'bold modulations and a rich, full, and effective accompaniment' but felt that 'the pianistic

Unlike White, Allitsen never published a song in a foreign language without providing an English translation.

[190] Allitsen gave up this royalty 'so the song would have a better chance'. BL Add. Ms 50071, f. 22v. In 1893 Robert Cocks bought Allitsen's two violin and piano pieces *Cradle Song* and *Lullaby* outright for three guineas each, reflecting the lower sales potential of instrumental music. These pieces have not survived. The following year they published her *Spring Contrasts*, two songs to lyrics by William Ernest Henley, in the 'Series of Artistic Songs', giving her six guineas down and a royalty of 3d after 500 copies.

manifestation of passion is here so extravagant as to occasionally approach vulgarity'.[191] Many of Allitsen's other single songs were in a similarly over-expressive vein, including the widely performed 'A Song of Thanksgiving' (James Thomson, 1891). According to Harold Simpson, this song was 'considered a hopeless venture by the publishers, on account of its difficult accompaniment', probably reflected in their terms - no down payment, but simply a 3d royalty. The accompaniment is no more difficult than many of those in the collection *Six Songs* but contains widely spaced chords as well as frequent modulations and chromatic inflections.

Example 31. Allitsen, 'A Song of Thanksgiving', bars 47-58.



[191] *The Musical Times* 34 (June 1893), p. 362.

Allitsen continued to publish a steady stream of songs throughout the 1890s. These were sung at a variety of concerts by some of the leading popular singers of the day, including David Bispham, Clara Butt, Ada Crossley, Esther Palliser and Herbert Thorndike, often accompanied by Allitsen herself. In 1895 a brief article on Allitsen appeared in *The Strand Musical Magazine* as part of their series on 'Popular Lady Composers', quoting Vladimir de Pachmann as saying that Allitsen 'possesses four gifts for composition: Originality, imagination, feeling, and grace'.[192] But, probably out of deference to her parents' wishes, Allitsen generally managed to keep away from the glare of publicity. Edgar Jacques' biographical programme notes for Bispham's concert of 'English Music of Modern Times' given at St James's Hall in 1896 stated that

> Details of Miss Allitsen's career have not yet been made public; but her songs are now so widely known and admired that she cannot much longer escape the notice of biography-writers.[193]

Allitsen herself gave a concert in St James's Hall later that year. It consisted entirely of her own songs sung by eight different singers.[194] Even the high-brow papers were impressed, with the reviewer from the *Athenaeum* describing her songs as 'refined and piquant in character' and bearing 'a distinct resemblance to those of the able French composer Mlle. Chaminade'.[195]

1896 was also the year in which Boosey first published what was later to become Allitsen's best-known work, a simple, strophic but full-blooded setting of Charles Mackay's 'There's A Land'. This song became truly popular only when, at the time of the Boer War, it was reissued with a verse by Agnes Sibley referring directly to the Queen and the Empire, and was widely performed by Clara Butt. During this war, Allitsen composed several more patriotic songs in a similar vein with rich harmonies and stirring rhythms such as 'England, My England' (William Ernest Henley) or 'The Boys who will not return' (J. A. Edgerton), dedicated 'To the Memory of Our Heroes in South Africa' and also sung by Butt. From the later 1890s onwards Allitsen also achieved considerable success with her similarly bombastic religious songs, perhaps especially her two psalm settings 'The Lord is my Light' (1897) which was sung by Butt, and 'Like as the hart desireth' with accompaniment for piano and cello, which was sung by Ada Crossley. Both these singers were contraltos and Allitsen seems to have

---

[192] Anon, 'Popular Lady Composers: Miss Frances Allitsen', p. 251.
[193] Programme for Mr Bispham's Second Concert. Season 1895-96. 7 January 1896. BL d488c.
[194] Programme for Miss Frances Allitsen's Afternoon Concert. 4 May 1896. BL d488.
[195] *Athenaeum* 3577 (9 May 1896), p. 628. See also *The Musical Times* 37 (June 1896), p.409.

had a preference for lower voices, although most of her solo songs were issued in several keys so that they could be sung by all voice types. Allitsen had been taking the opportunity to add another instrument to her piano accompaniments since her student work 'A Moorish Serenade', premiered in 1884. Her piano accompaniments often seem to stretch the bounds of the instrument's expressive power, and the addition of another instrument was a logical step towards a greater depth of expression, as well as greater volume. In 1908 J. Church published her *Two Songs* 'Nocturne' and 'The Sou'Wester' to words by her friend C. Whitworth Wynne. These songs not only had an obbligato violin, cello or horn part but the published edition noted that 'orchestral parts of these songs may be had from the composer'.[196]

The formal structures of Allitsen's songs also seem to strain at something larger and more complex than is usually found in the work of her contemporaries. Many of her songs are through-composed, and strophic settings are rare in comparison to ternary forms that often incorporate elements of development. It is therefore not surprising that by the turn of the century Allitsen had started to compose vocal works on a larger scale - cycles and collections of songs and works for voice or voices with orchestra, as well as an opera. She did not, however, write many part-songs despite the huge market for such works and the wider textural possibilities that they offered. Such works that have survived include a choral song *Thanksgiving for Victory* (G. W.), published at the turn of the century, and a secular *Magnificat* (Arthur L. Salmon) for contralto or baritone solo with chorus, published in 1909 and subtitled 'A Hymn of the Woodland'.

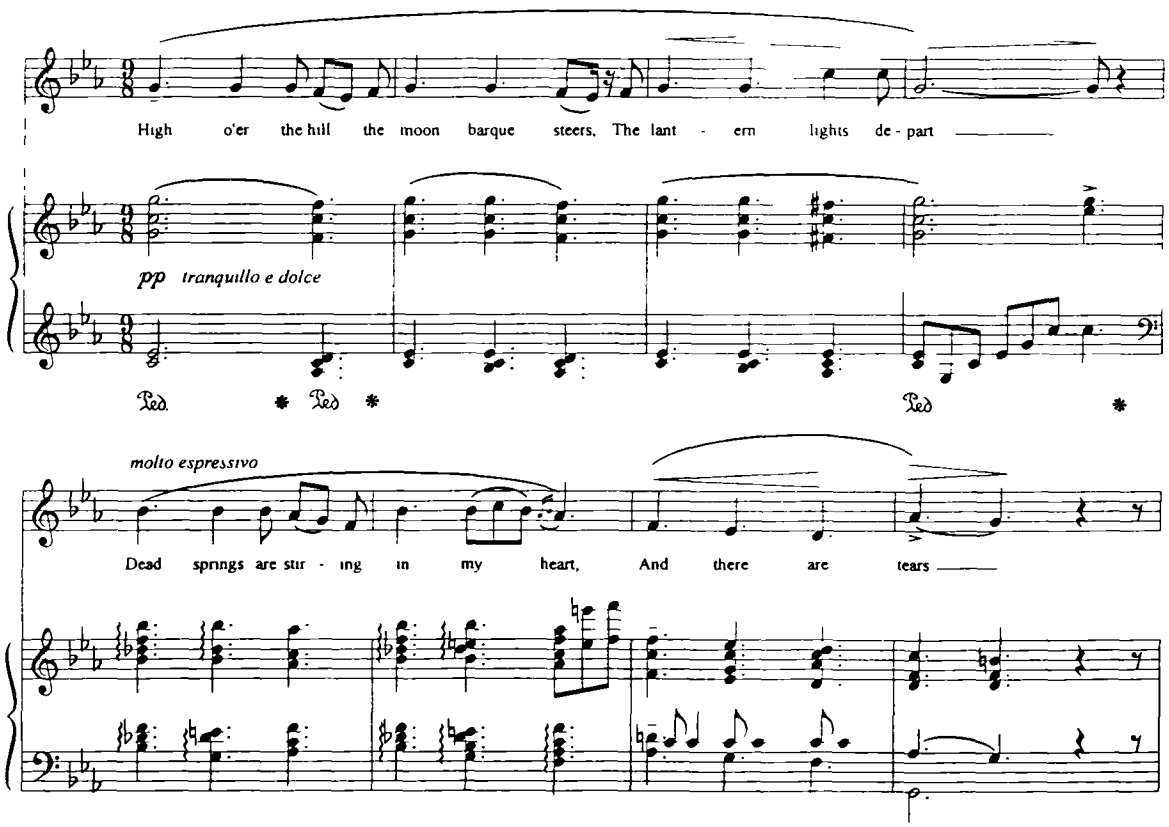
During the first decade of the 20th century, several of Allitsen's songs were published as collections of two, three or four songs, sometimes thematically and musically linked. Only one of these collections, *Moods and Tenses (Phases in a Love Drama)*, was planned as a cycle. This group of eight songs by different authors was dedicated 'to my friend Louise Sutherland Morris'[197] and published by Boosey in 1905, although it had been performed as early as July 1903.[198] Like most of Allitsen's love songs the texts are in a male voice (all but one of the cycle are by male poets) and are as dramatic as the

[196] The edition also included German translations of the songs, indicating a desire to capture the German market and perhaps also to raise the 'tone' of the songs for the English market.
[197] Louise Sutherland Morris was obviously a close friend. She was left the largest legacy (£300) in Allitsen's will as well as 'my collection of autograph letters that is marked with her name and the collection of letters marked "For dark days" '.
[198] Whitney Tew Recital at St James's Hall, 3 July 1903. *The Musical Times* 44 (August 1903), p.548.

early *Six Songs*. As she was to do for several later works, Allitsen chose to use a low voice for *Moods and Tenses*, specifying the singer as a baritone.

Among Allitsen's last works to be published were the *Four Songs from 'A Lute of Jade'* issued by Weekes in 1910. Part of the Edwardian obsession with the far East, *A Lute of Jade* was a collection of old Chinese texts in translations by Launcelot Cranmer Byng published in 1909. The collection was very popular, and several composers used the texts for songs, including Bantock who produced six sets of *Songs from the Chinese Poets* in Cranmer Byng's translations between 1918 and 1933.[199] Allitsen's songs, 'The Waning Moon', 'The Nightless Tryst', 'High o'er the hill' and 'A King of Liang', use a simplified musical language that reflects the oriental origins of the texts in uncharacteristically minimal piano accompaniments, ornamented writing in the vocal line and the occasional use of parallel fourths, fifths and octaves, while always remaining firmly rooted in diatonic harmonies.

Example 32. Allitsen, 'High o'er the hill', bars 9-16.



[199] See Stephen Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 410-11. Other composers who set Cranmer-Byng's translations include Adela Maddison, whose song 'Tears' (to the same text as Allitsen's 'High O'er the Hill' but using a rather more inventive musical setting) was published by Curwen in 1924. See chapter 6.

Despite the success of her psalm settings, Allitsen does not seem to have been interested in writing large-scale sacred works, publishing no religious cantatas or oratorios. She may perhaps have felt that it was impossible for her to gain a hearing in the provincial festival world which provided the focus for such works. However, at the turn of the century she started producing secular dramatic works for voices and orchestra in which the scale of her musical imagination could find full expression. The first of these was *Cleopatra*, a scena for contralto and orchestra 'composed expressly for and sung by Madame Clara Butt' using a text taken from Shakespeare, with words for a central aria by Thomas C. Collier. The work was programmed for a Crystal Palace Saturday Concert in late February 1900 but was replaced at the last minute by a performance of Elgar's *Sea Pictures*.[200] Butt was reported to be 'greatly in love with the scena' and the Crystal Palace performance seems to have been cancelled because the work was not finished in time.[201] The first recorded performance was given by Butt at the Royal Albert Hall on 10 November, 1903 and the work was also performed by Butt 'at the Liverpool Philharmonic Society's Concert with great success'.[202] *Cleopatra* is divided into five sections: recitative; prayer; recitative; aria and a final recitative as Cleopatra agonises over Antony's death. The vocal part fully exploits Butt's powerful contralto voice, at one dramatic moment in the aria moving over almost two octaves in the space of three bars. The *Monthly Musical Record* reviewer of Butt's Albert Hall performance felt that

> Miss Frances Allitsen, pretty though some of her songs are, failed to convince us by her setting of portions of Shakespeare's 'Cleopatra' that she possesses any very marked dramatic talent.[203]

Allitsen was not deterred by such criticism and produced two even larger-scale dramatic works in the last years of her life - the cantata *For the Queen* (Frank Hyde), published by Boosey in 1911, and her opera *Bindra the Minstrel*, to her own libretto adapted from *Songs from the Book of Jaffir*, published by Weekes in 1912.

For three months in 1911, Allitsen kept a brief monthly diary in the back of her 'Book for entering Musical and Literary agreements', which gives some idea of her attempts to

---

[200] 'Bass Trombone', 'Musical Notes' *Lady's Pictorial* XXXIX (3 March, 1900), p.335.

[201] Standing, 'Some Lady Composers: Miss Frances Allitsen', p.1020. Standing claims that Butt would have taken the work on her Spring tour of the States if it had been ready and suggests that she was going to perform it during the London Spring season of 1900, but no records of such a performance apear to have survived.

[202] *The Musical Times* 41 (March 1900), p.168; *The Monthly Musical Record* (November 1903), p. 214; list of published compositions by Allitsen printed on back cover of *Bindra the Minstrel* (Weekes, 1912). Cleopatra was published in vocal score by Boosey in 1904. No full score has survived.

[203] *The Monthly Musical Record* (November 1903), p.214.

have these two works published and performed. She was obviously not happy with Boosey's arrangements over the publication of *For the Queen*, writing in the January entry: 'After much legal bother had to accept Boosey's terms for 'For the Queen' which was published'.[204] In February she sent the cantata to Roderick Williams in Cardiff, presumably hoping for a performance there, while in March she records a performance on 25 March at Crystal Palace, remarking: 'Success. Miss Gibson superb'.[205] This performance, given by the Dulwich Philharmonic Society, appears to have been the only one that *For the Queen* ever received.[206] Reviews of this premiere were sparse. R. M. W., writing for *The Dulwich, Peckham and Camberwell Post*, was far from complimentary, although admitting that part of the problem was Julius Harrison's conducting: 'Mrs Allitsen's work, to be candid, is a rather dreary, colourless piece of crude writing lacking altogether in inspiration, and, where melodically attractive, far too reminiscent to be original.'[207]

For the Queen is a large-scale work for baritone, mezzo-soprano, bass and chorus, with stage directions given in the vocal score. It is set in a forest in 12th-century Eastern Europe where King Arpad and Queen Narenta, together with the soldiers and ladies of the court who form the chorus, have fled after being defeated and deposed by a neighbouring king. In the first of the two scenes Arpad is stung into action by Narenta and resolves to go back and fight the usurper. In the second scene Narenta is told by a messenger that Arpad is dead but has defeated the enemy and won back the kingdom for their son. The work ends with 'an enthusiastic patriotic chorus'.[208] Hyde's libretto combines the two central themes of Allitsen's solo songs, passionate love and patriotic heroism.[209] *For the Queen* centres around Queen Narenta, who is, like Cleopatra, a low-voiced female role although a mezzo-soprano rather than a contralto. It is Narenta who saves the kingdom, although not by going back and rousing the people herself as she initially suggests, a tactic that is too shaming for Arpad to contemplate, but through the

[204] The full score of this work does not appear to have survived.
[205] BL Add. Ms 50071, f.70.
[206] *The Musical Times* 52 (May 1911), p.323.
[207] R. M. W., 'Musical and Dramatic Notes' *The Dulwich, Peckham and Camberwell Post* (1 April 1911), p.3.
[208] Frances Allitsen, *For the Queen* (London: Boosey, 1911), p.v.
[209] Frank Hyde had written three of the songs set in *Moods and Tenses*. Allitsen may have worked closely with him on *For the Queen*'s libretto.

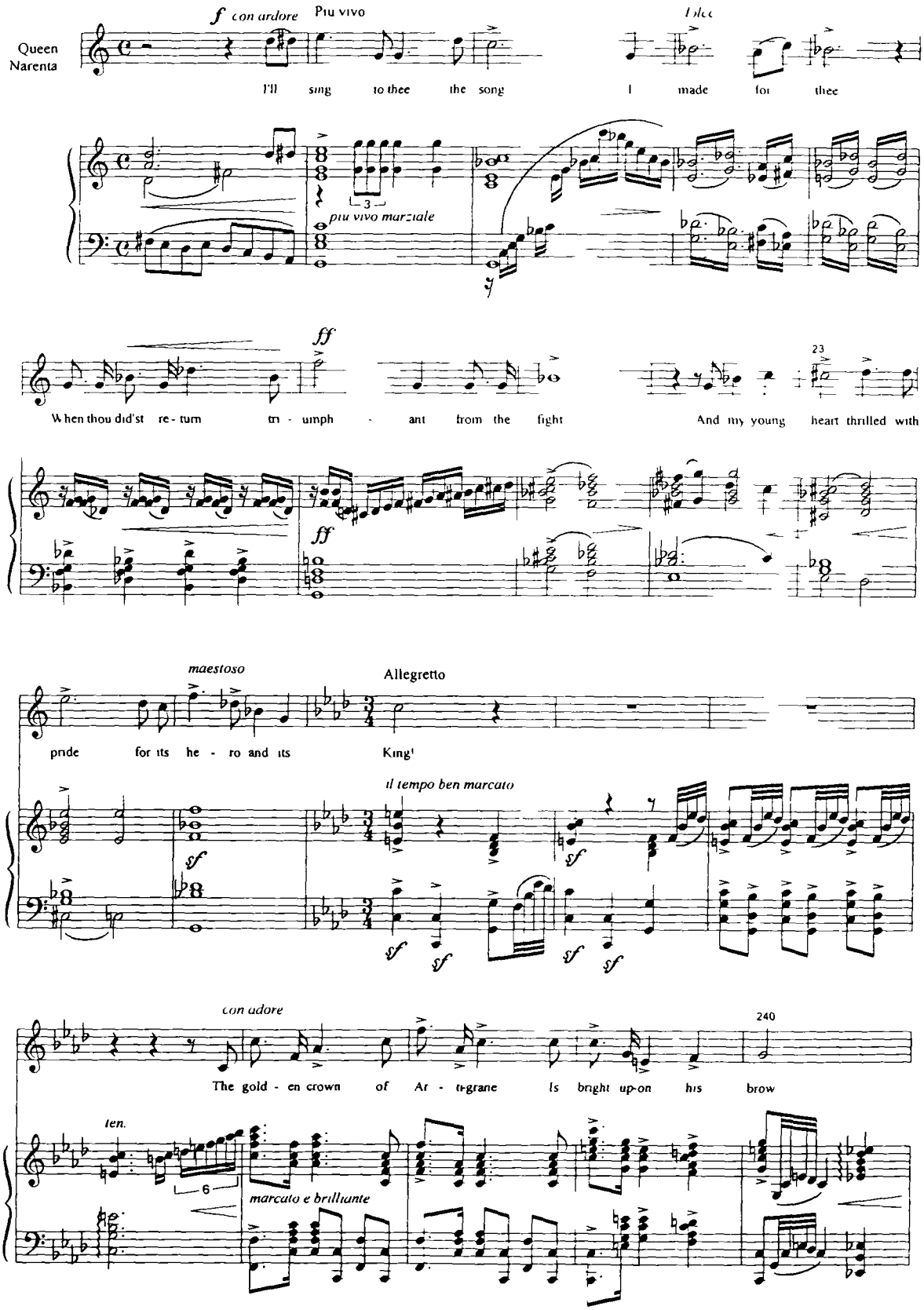
power of her song which rouses him from his depressed lethargy and which she not only sings but has created herself.[210]

The cantata is written in a through-composed and fast moving declamatory style, almost never breaking into recognisable set pieces. One exception is Narenta's song 'The Golden Crown of Artigrane', setting words taken from 'Songs from the Book of Jaffir', also used by Allitsen for *Bindra the Minstrel*. The stirring rhythms of this passage, and particularly a decorative demisemiquaver motif, are picked up by Arpad as he decides to return to battle, although there is no direct repetition of Narenta's music. [See Example 33]. Much of the work is for single voice (Arpad, Narenta or the messenger) and accompaniment. The chorus is only heard very briefly in the first scene, though they play a larger part in the second, commenting on the arrival of the messenger, and singing a lament (taken from Walter Scott's *Coronach*), a funeral march and the final rousing song of praise and hope for the future. Arpad and Narenta have only one duet, with the change of texture creating a climax towards the end of the first scene, although their voices die away under a pianissimo accompaniment in a high register, perhaps providing a forewarning of Arpad's tragic end.

No full score appears to have survived of *For the Queen*, but the vocal score published by Boosey does give a few indications of instruments to be used at key passages, such as the violin solo accompanying Narenta as she first tries to rouse Arpad, or the brass fanfares that accompany her towards the end of the work. Allitsen's harmonies are typically rich and chromatic with frequent modulations although the vocal lines move only sparingly into the lyricism that might be expected from a composer who was primarily a songwriter.

[210] Hyde and Allitsen's views on the suffrage movement are not known, but the effectiveness of this kind of subtle wielding of a woman's power over men was one of the arguments put forward by anti-suffragists to show that women had no need for the vote. Narenta is represented as the true power behind the throne and as a woman who knows exactly how to manipulate her husband.

Example 33. Allitsen, *For the Queen*, Scene 1: bars 221-240.



Bindra the Minstrel has never been performed, although Allitsen's brief diary records 'excitement re-possibilities of opera being given in Berlin' for January 1911.[211] She probably paid for publication of the work herself since the same entry notes that she received 'estimates for publishing - Breitkoft [sic] & Härtel, Röder, Weekes'.[212] In the end Weekes published a vocal score with both the original English libretto and a German version by Lily Henkel. Such an edition would have been invaluable for Allitsen in her attempts to get the work staged either in Germany, the country that offered so many British composers their only hope of opera performance at this time.

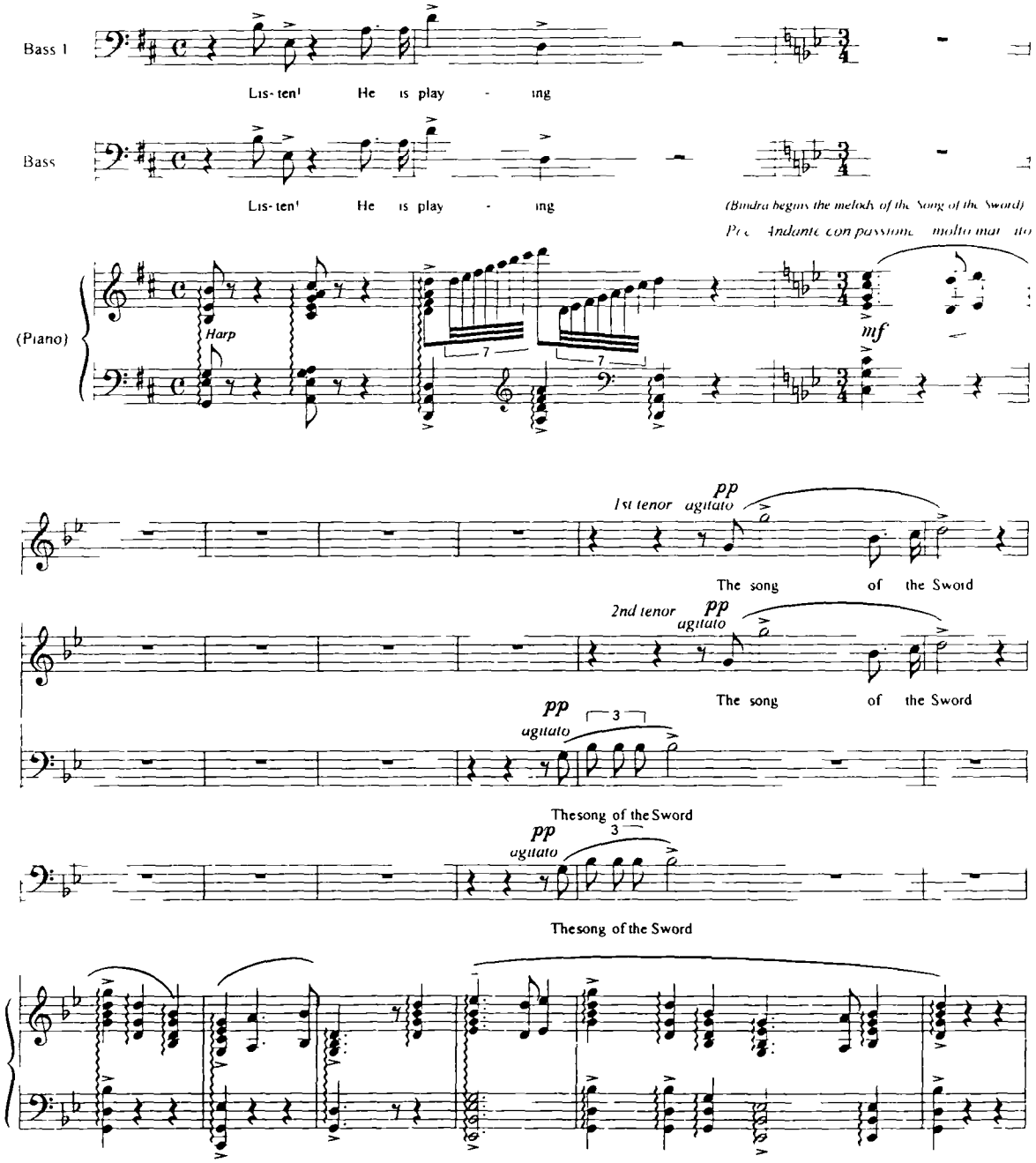
There are many similarities between the plots of *Bindra the Minstrel* and *For the Queen*, although *Bindra* is set in Aphadeis, a country of 10th-century Western Asia rather than 12th-century Eastern Europe. The opera uses a scenario that had only been suggested in the cantata. With her husband King Ita defeated and deposed by the usurper Artabas, Queen Otomis has returned to their country in the hopes of inspiring the people to rise in support of her and the king. As the opera opens, Ita's minstrel, Bindra, brings him the news that Otomis has been captured by Artabas and sentenced to death. Like Arpad, Ita is dissolved in useless despair that lifts only when Bindra declares that he will return and rouse the people to action with the power of his song. The second scene of the first act opens with Otomis in prison, bravely facing her death. But Artabas, who has fallen in love with her, sends a last-minute reprieve. The second act opens with Bindra managing to win round peasants and soldiers by singing them patriotic songs. The final scene takes place at the palace. Otomis has been in contact with Bindra and is pretending to have consented to Artabas's offer of marriage, while Bindra has been 'pardoned' by Artabas and will play at the wedding. The ceremonies begin with Bindra and his singers performing various songs including the national 'Song of the Sword' which is the signal to Ita and his men to attack. Artabas is killed, Ita and Otomis are reunited and there is general rejoicing.

As well as bringing out again the themes of love and patriotism, *Bindra the Minstrel* also highlights the power of music and especially of song. The whole work centres round the 'Song of the Sword' which is first heard in an orchestral prelude and then

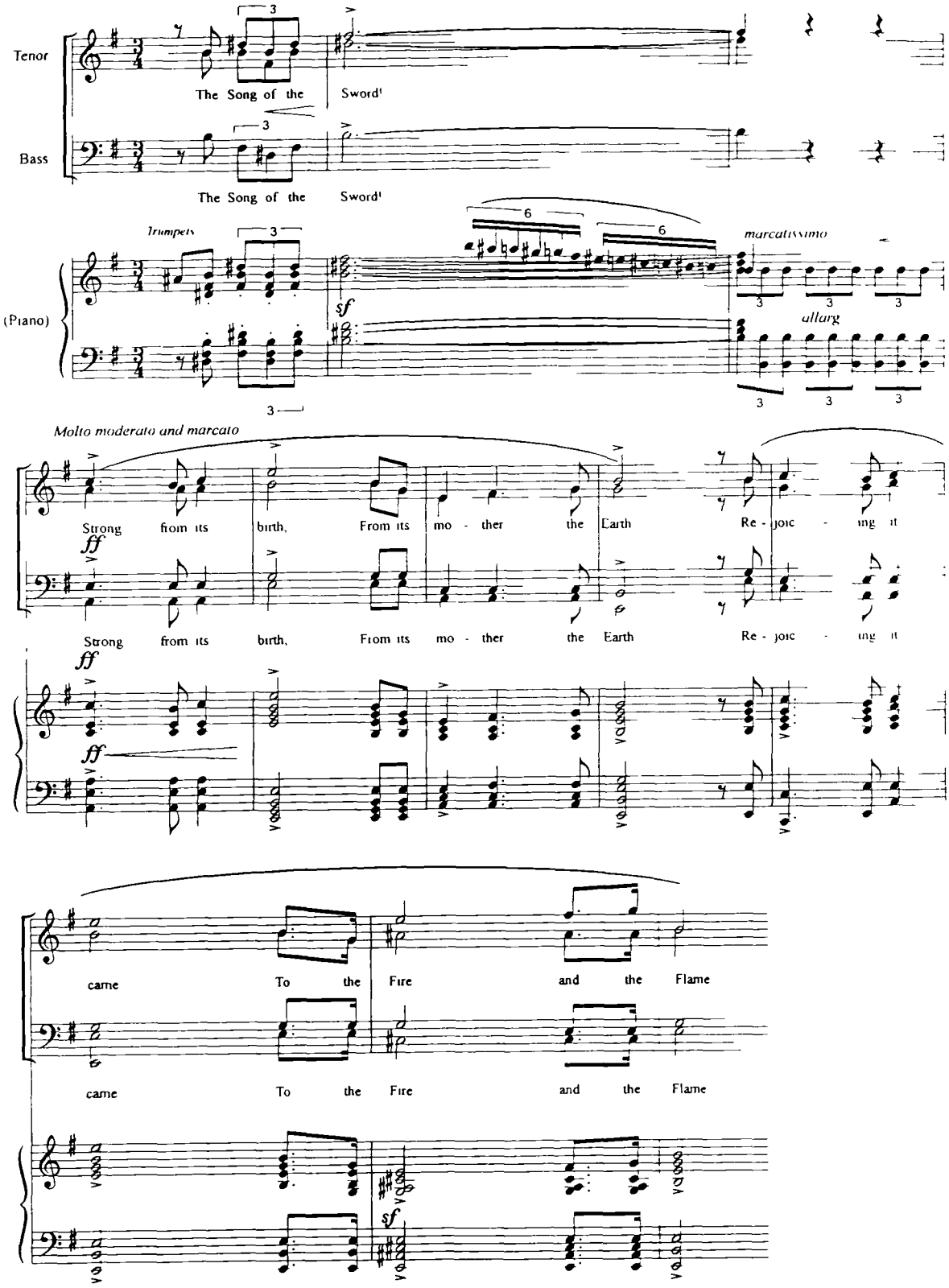
[211] Extracts were given at 'Out of the Shadows' (10 December 1990) an evening of 19th and early 20th-century opera music by British women, promoted by Women and Music and the Baylis Programme at English National Opera. This was probably the first public performance of any part of the opera.
[212] BL Add. Ms 50071, f. 70

again in the orchestra as Bindra first begs Ita to be strong. Bindra also plays a fragment of the theme as he is winning over the people and it is heard again as he explains to a messenger that it is the signal for attack. [See Example 34a]. The song is finally heard in its full majesty only in Act II, Scene 2, when it is sung by Bindra and his minstrels before Ita and his soldiers rush in and kill the usurper. [See Example 34b].

Example 34a. Allitsen, *Bindra the Minstrel*, from Act I, Scene 1.



Example 34b. Allitsen, *Bindra the Minstrel*, from Act II, Scene 2.



Bindra the Minstrel is on a much larger scale than *For the Queen* with, for example, the chorus playing a more integral part in the work, whether as Ita's followers, the peasants, soldiers and courtiers of Aphadeis or Bindra's singers. Bindra's occupation also provides plenty of scope for Allitsen to incorporate songs rather than declamatory vocal writing into the score. Sometimes these are marked as such, including Bindra's 'aria' 'My starlight, my moonlight' in the second act.[213] He sings set-piece songs to Ita in the first scene, to the peasants and soldiers at the opening of the second act and, with his male-voice minstrels, to Artabas at the wedding celebrations although as might be expected, none of these songs are in a straightforward strophic form. Despite the Eastern setting of the opera, Allitsen makes little attempt at providing local colour in the harmonies, melodies or rhythms of her writing. Bindra's aria mentioned above may be marked 'orientale', but there is little that is oriental about this Ab minor setting, except perhaps the vocal ornamentation.

In *Bindra the Minstrel* Allitsen's soloists are once again characterised by low-register voices. Ita and Bindra are both baritones and Otomis is a mezzo-soprano. Only Artabas the villain, sung by a tenor, has a high-register voice. In *For the Queen*, it is not just Narenta who is low-voiced: the other two soloists, Arpad and the messenger, are a baritone and a bass. Elizabeth Wood has pointed to the low-voiced tessitura of Ethel Smyth's opera *The Wreckers* as

> an arrangement quite unlike the high female-dominated tessitura and texture in contemporary operas by Puccini and Strauss, for example, that represent the high voice as feminine dementia, hysteria and excess. Smyth's Sapphonic voices, like her own are unsentimental, powerful and defiant in expressions of desire.[214]

The low tessitura of *For the Queen* and *Bindra the Minstrel* are even more striking and unrelieved than that of *The Wreckers*. Allitsen herself, like Smyth, had a mezzo-soprano voice.[215] Was she simply writing within her own range, transposing down an octave, to produce baritone parts? Was she perhaps writing for specific singers?[216] Certainly the baritone Charles Hayden Coffin and the contralto Clara Butt were frequent performers

---

[213] The words to this aria are by James Clarence Mangan.

[214] Elizabeth Wood, 'Sapphonics' in Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood and Gary C. Thomas eds., *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology* (London: Routhledge, 1994), p.53.

[215] Anon, 'Popular Lady Composers: Miss Frances Allitsen', p. 251.

[216] An undated letter from Allitsen to the contralto Antoinette Sterling survives, in which Allitsen asks for an appointment in order to show Sterling some newly composed sacred songs. Music and Musicians Collection at the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Michigan Library.

of her songs.[217] Perhaps, like Smyth, Allitsen was avoiding the usual romantic associations of tenor and soprano hero and heroine and particularly the assumptions, stereotypes and expectations gathered round the dramatic soprano roles of the early 20th century. The independent and professional Allitsen would certainly have found such depiction of female characters alien to her own experience of womanhood. All three of her large-scale dramatic works have central and dynamic female roles. Narenta and Otomis are as heroic as (and at times even more heroic than) their warrior husbands. The placing of all three works in historically and geographically distant locations perhaps reflects Allitsen's desire to find a believable setting for such female heroism.

The short diary kept in 1911 shows that Allitsen was deeply unhappy and unwell in this last years of her life. Part of the entry for January reads: 'As usual - health delicate, people unkind, remiss and neglectful - professional anxieties and indecisions', while in March she noted that she 'suffered hideously from depression & ill health'.[218] She died of pleurisy on 1 October 1912 at her London home and was buried in Hampstead Cemetery.[219] Without her own efforts at promotion, her large-scale works were quickly forgotten although some of her songs remained in the repertoire, with choral arrangements of 'The Lord is my Light', 'A Song of Thanksgiving' and 'There's a Land' continuing to be published in the 1940s and '50s.

Contemporary critics seem to have had differing reactions to Allitsen's music, which tended not to fit their expectations of work by a successful female composer. Her religious and patriotic songs, written in an extravagant musical language with dense, rich harmonies and expansive structures, were popular with the public and generally met with critical disdain. Yet a reviewer of her 1896 concert at St James's Hall, which included such songs, wrote: 'We need hardly say that her songs are above the ordinary sort, and her aims, as shown in her work, are distinctly artistic'.[220] In 1900, rather more grudgingly, a reviewer wrote that her songs 'are well written and avoid the commonplace'.[221] In her early student works, Allitsen had tackled music in many

[217] Including a set called 'Seven Psychological Studies', mentioned in Allitsen's obituary in *The Times* as having been brought out by Hayden Coffin in 1906. Obituary in *The Times* (3 October 1912), p. 9. This collection was not published and has not survived.
[218] BL Add. Ms 50071, f. 70.
[219] Announcement of death in *The Times* (2 October 1912), p. 1.
[220] *The Musical Standard* illustrated series 5 (9 May 1896), p.302.
[221] *The Musical Times* 41 (November 1900), p.747.

different genres, from songs to sonatas and solo pieces to orchestral works. Her music always maintained a degree of harmonic, rhythmic and structural complexity which may have been instrumental in confounding expectations and suggesting to reviewers that her work came closer to the art song than the simple ballads of composers such as Aylward or d'Hardelot.

Critics did not overtly disapprove of the masculinity they found in Allitsen's work, as can be seen in one reviewer's praise for 'Absence' (Lytton): 'The manly sentiment which breathes in the text of 'Absence' also animates the music, which rushes on with emphatic spontaneity and determined impulse'.[222] Allitsen's use of texts in a male voice and a musical language that in its scale and energy was regarded by contemporaries as 'virile' reflects a refusal to be bound by the stereotypes of 'femininity'. This can also perhaps be seen in the unusual strength of the female characters in her dramatic works, and this particular element may have deterred her contemporaries from mounting performances of these works and hindered the critical reception of those that were heard.

The difficulties that Allitsen faced in getting her music in genres other than song performed and published did not stop her from continuing to work on large-scale dramatic works in the early 20th century, despite a depressing lack of critical encouragement. She did not play a part in the aristocratic amateur circles that were so helpful to White and Lehmann; nor did she move in the professional worlds of unions and other organisations that supported a composer such as Prescott. Much about the way in which she negotiated her career remains frustratingly unknown. What, for example, were the circumstances that led her to write incidental music for Maeterlinck's 'L'interieur'?[223] Allitsen's friendships with women such as Marie Corelli and Louise Sutherland Morris and the strength of her popular success doubtless provided the encouragement that was not forthcoming from her family or the critics, and helped sustain her own belief in her work, a belief that the surviving material shows was not misplaced.

[222] *The Musical Times* 39 (October 1898), p.674.
[223] Performed at the small Queen's Hall on 5 March 1895. *The Musical Times* 36 (April 1895), p.258.

Chapter 6: Rosalind Ellicott, Dora Bright and Adela Maddison

Rosalind Ellicott, Dora Bright and Adela Maddison came from very different backgrounds, led very different lives and negotiated their careers as composers in very different ways. Yet, like Lehmann and Allitsen, all maintained a firm belief in their own musical abilities and demonstrated the considerable resolve and tenacity shown by so many women during this period of change and achievement.

Rosalind Ellicott

In his autobiography, Robert Hichens wrote that Rosalind Ellicott 'was very ambitious and showed it'.[1] For a woman of Ellicott's background, ambition and determination were essential if she was ever to escape the 'amateur' label and find acceptance as a member of the music profession. In many ways Ellicott succeeded. Her music, ranging from songs through chamber music to large-scale orchestral and choral works was often heard at mainstream London concerts and in the provincial centres of Bristol and Gloucester. Reviewers generally approved of her work, describing her style as 'clever' and modern. Some of her music was published although much, especially the large-scale orchestral works, was not, and does not appear to have survived.

Rosalind Frances Ellicott was born in Cambridge on 14 November 1857. Her father, Rev. Charles John Ellicott, was a Professor of Divinity at King's College, London and at Cambridge, before becoming Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol in 1863, a post that he held until his death in 1905.[2] Ellicott's mother Constantia Annie, daughter of Admiral Alexander Bridport Becher, was, unlike her husband, an enthusiastic and talented amateur musician. Rev. H. R. Haweis, who was a student at Cambridge in the late 1850s, wrote that she was 'the vocal star at Cambridge in my time, and her services were usually in request whenever the concert could by any stretch of imagination be called of a private or a collegiate character'.[3] As well as performing and occasionally

---

[1] Robert Hichens, *Yesterday: The Autobiography of Robert Hichens* (London: Cassell, 1947), p.26.
[2] Victor G. Plarr, *Men and Women of the Time* fifteenth edition (London: Routledge, 1899), p.333 and ed. Sidney Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography: Supplement 1901-1911* (London: Spottiswoode, 1912), pp.618-619.
[3] Haweis, Rev. H. R. *My Musical Life* second edition (London: W. H. Allen, 1888), p.100. The title role in Frederick Ouseley's oratorio *Hagar* (1873) was written especially for Constantia Ellicott. J. Brown and Stephen Stratton, *British Music Biography* (Stratton: Birmingham, 1897), p.137.

writing music, Constantia Ellicott was an energetic organiser of musical events.[4] She was the founder of the Gloucestershire Philharmonic Society, a patron of the Cheltenham Musical Festival and her musical activities in London in the 1880s included establishing the Handel Society choir, hosting the Popular Ballad Concert Committee and giving prizes at the Royal Academy of Music.[5] Although the family's main residence was at the Palace in Gloucester, they also, like all well-born families, had property in London. Constantia Ellicott was doubtless her daughter's first teacher, and her encouragement and support, as well as her numerous musical contacts, were crucial in her daughter's career.

At the age of 10, Rosalind Ellicott was sent to school for five years and when she was 16, at the beginning of 1874, on the recommendation of William Sterndale Bennett, entered the Royal Academy of Music.[6] The Royal Academy records of this time are sketchy but it seems that Ellicott studied there for about two years and that her first study was the piano with Frederick Westlake. She then disappears from public records for nearly 10 years, perhaps time spent consolidating her musical skills or persuading her parents to allow her to devote her energies to working as a professional musician.

Ellicott's first works to appear in print were two Heine settings published with both English and German words in 1881. These are simple lied-like songs with slightly awkward vocal lines but interesting formal structures. Two years later Ellicott had her first public success when Hilda Wilson was encored in her song 'To the Immortals', at the Gloucester Festival.[7] This setting of a poem by D. F. Blomfield was published by Enoch & Sons in the same year. A dramatic middle verse, using persistent *agitato* triplets in the piano against duple quavers in the voice, is framed by a sombre, hymn-like treatment for the first and final verses. Ellicott uses somewhat unexpected dissonances and creates a characteristic sense of almost relentless onward movement,

[4] The only record of Constantia Ellicott's composition appears to be the performance by her daughter of the song 'Sleep beloved, sleep' at the Gloucester Guildhall in October 1902. *The Musical Times* 43 (December 1902), p.22.

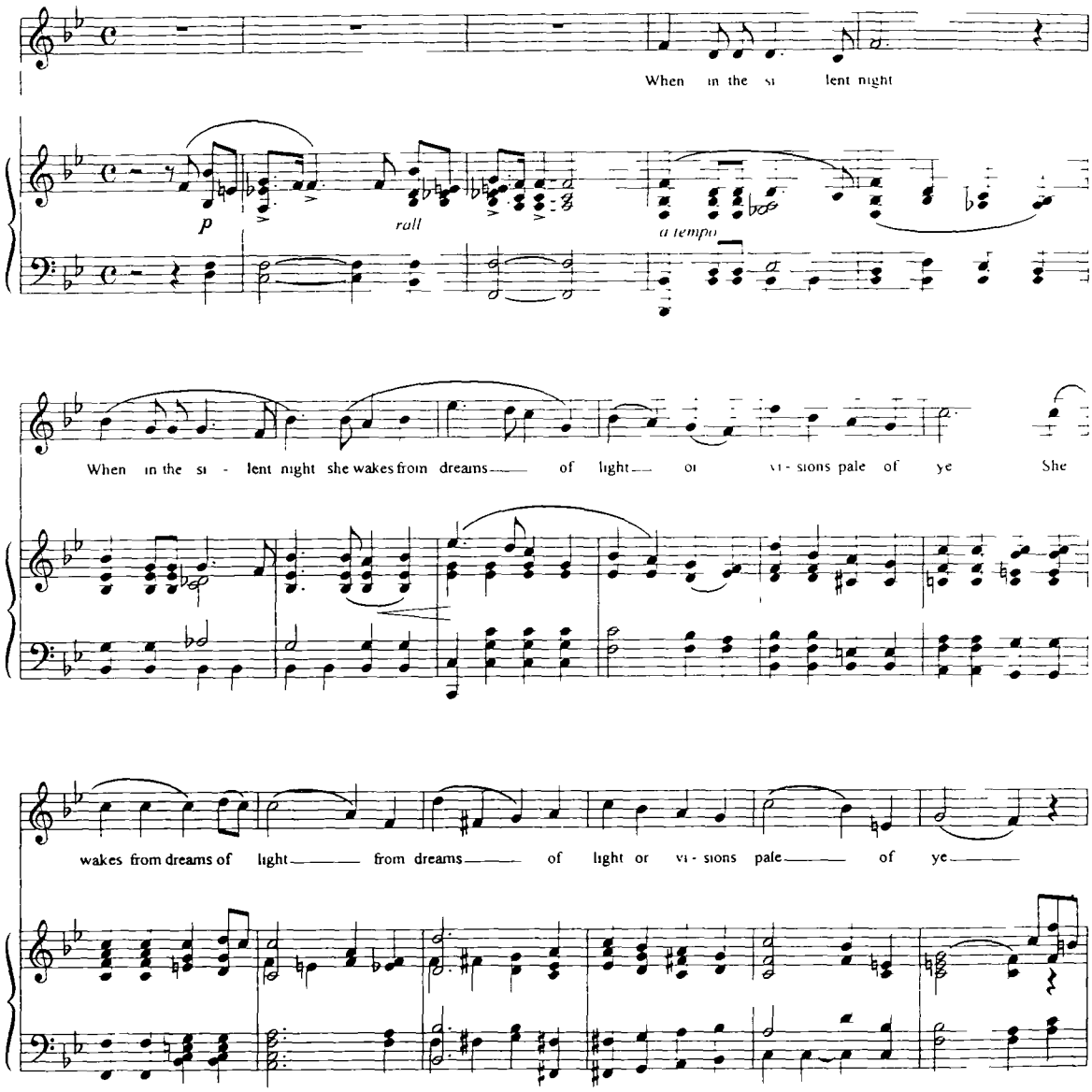
[5] Anthony Boden, *Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester. Three Choirs: A History of the Festival* (Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1992), p.70; Programme for Cheltenham Musical Festival 1893; *The Musical Review* (21 April 1883), p.62; *Monthly Musical Record* (September 1883), p.212.

[6] Ellicott's school has not been identified (there is no record of her attending Cheltenham Ladies' College). A. T. C. Pratt ed. *People of the Period* (London: Neville Beeman, 1897), p.362; RAM Archives: 'Entrance: 1874-1894'.

[7] *The Musical Times* 24 (October 1883), p.543.

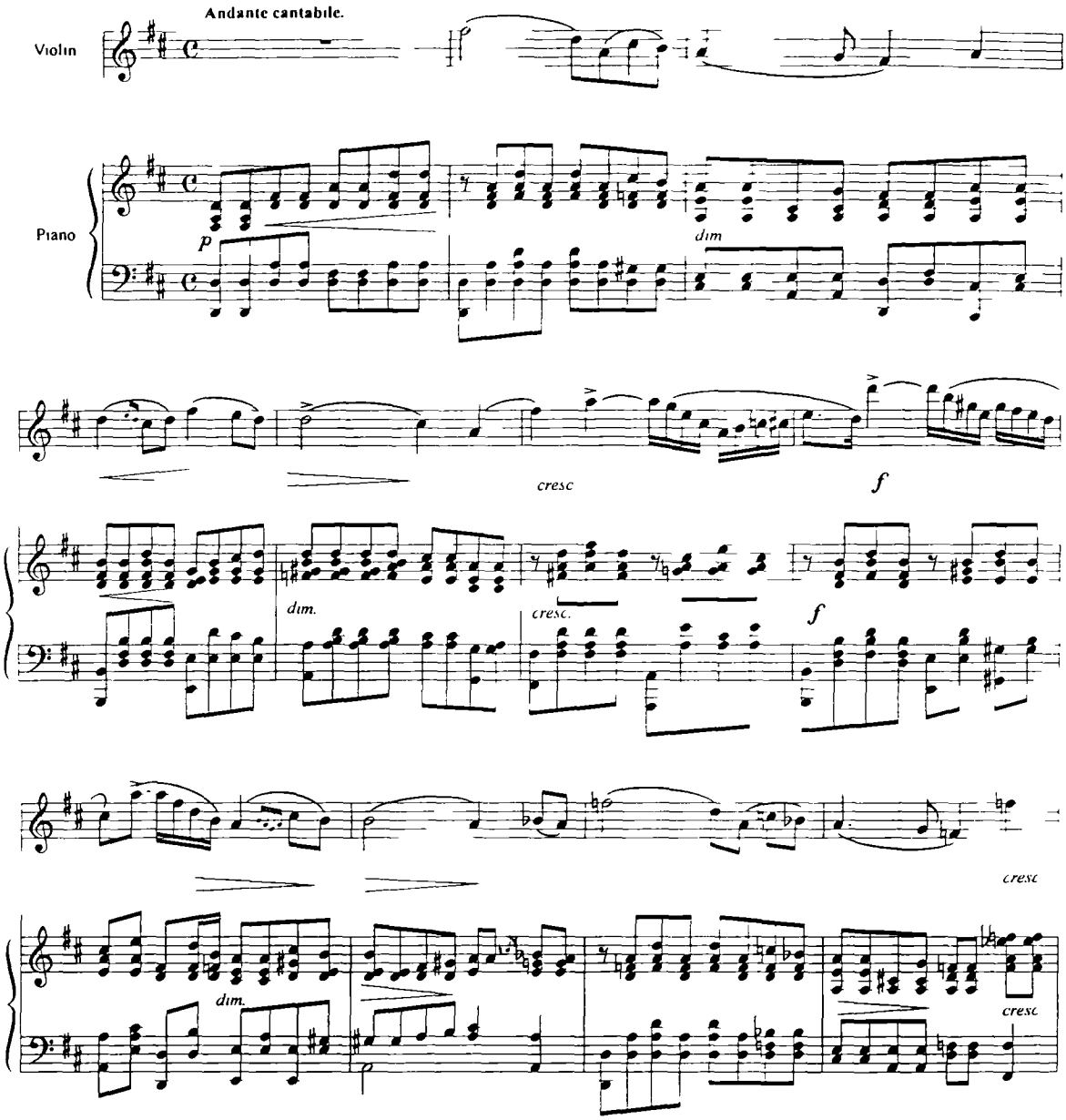
avoiding the punctuation points of straightforward cadences and repeating the text to fit her elongated melody.

Example 35. Ellicott, 'To the Immortals', bars 1-17.



Ellicott's early work included chamber music as well as songs. Her first surviving instrumental work is *A Sketch* for violin and piano, published in 1883. This is a perfectly judged miniature built round an expansive and lyrical theme treated to typically impassioned development. [See Example 36].

Example 36. Ellicott, *A Sketch* for violin and piano, bars 1-11.



In December of the following year a string quartet in Bb major, described in the *Englishwoman's Review* as 'vigorous and attractive', was played at Steinway Hall.[8] Shortly after this performance Ellicott began studying 'orchestration and the higher branches of composition' with the organist and composer Thomas Wingham.[9] She also

[8] *Englishwoman's Review* (15 December 1884), p.582. The reviewer proudly (if misguidedly) claimed: 'We do not call to mind another string quartet by a woman'. Like most of Ellicottt's chamber music the score of this work does not appear to have survived.

[9] *The Strand Musical Magazine* 4 (1896), p.264. Ellicott continued to study with Wingham for seven years. Ed. César Saerchinger, *International Who's Who in Music and Musical Gazetteer* (New York: Current Literature Publishing Co., 1918), p.171 and A. E. Keeton, 'Some English Composers: Miss Rosalind F. Ellicott' *The London Musical Courier* V (30 June 1898), p.427.

took singing lessons from Hilda Wilson and over the next few years frequently appeared as a soprano soloist at various amateur and private concerts in London, Bristol and Gloucester, including the first public concert given by her mother's Handel Society in 1885.[10]

Doubtless encouraged and inspired by her lessons with Wingham, Ellicott had several important performances during the course of 1886. On 22 February her first orchestral work, an overture 'to Spring', was played at St James's Hall by the Strolling Players' Orchestral Society, having been heard previously in Bristol.[11] In June her string quartet in Bb major was played again at a concert given by the Musical Artists' Society at Willis's rooms.[12] But her most prestigious performance that year was the premiere of her 'Dramatic' Overture at the Gloucester Festival.[13] The Three Choirs Festival, held in rotation at Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester, was regarded as one of the most important of the provincial English festivals in the late 19th century. Ellicott was not the first woman to have a large-scale work played at the Three Choirs Festivals but no other woman achieved as many performances. It undoubtedly helped Ellicott that her father was such an important local figure although he was notoriously uninterested in music, causing local outrage when he chose to be in Germany rather than Gloucester for the first festival held there after his appointment as Bishop.[14] Most contemporary reviews of Ellicott's works at the Gloucester Festival mention her father, but none suggest that she obtained these performance opportunities through his influence.[15]

The 'Dramatic' Overture was written especially for the Festival and was so called because 'one of its leading features are recits for celli'.[16] The work does not appear to have survived, but achieved a remarkable number of performances in the 1880s and

---

[10] *The Monthly Musical Record* (March 1885), p.65.
[11] *The Musical World* LXIV (27 February 1886), p.142; Pratt, *People of the Period*, p.139. Most of Ellicott's orchestral music, including this work, does not appear to have survived.
[12] *The Musical World* LXIV (5 June 1886), p.366. This is presumable the same work as that performed at Steinway Hall in 1884.
[13] *The Musical Times* 27 (October 1886), p.591.
[14] See Boden, *Three Choirs: A History of the Festival*, p.69.
[15] This contrasts with the review in *The Musical Times* of the Royal Choral Society's premiere of Smyth's Mass in 1893, which suggests that the work was only played due to the influence and support of the Queen and the Empress Eugènie. *The Musical Times* 34 (February 1893), p.86. If any member of Ellicott's family exerted influence over programme committees, it was more likely to have been her mother than her father.
[16] Constantia Ellicott to A. M. Broadley, 3 September, 1886. Quoted in Boden, *Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester. Three Choirs: A History of the Festival*, p.70.

1890s. In 1886, the year of its Gloucester premiere, it was repeated at a Monday Pop in Colston Hall in Bristol.[17] Before this performance, Ellicott had sent the work to the notoriously conservative Philharmonic Society for consideration at one of their concerts but it was turned down and the Society never performed the Overture, despite two more attempts in 1891 by the persistent Ellicott.[18] On 14 February 1891, Manns gave a performance at a Crystal Palace Saturday Concert and it was also heard in the grand concert celebrating the opening of the Woman's Building at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in the United States in 1893, providing a clear indication of Ellicott's high profile as a composer.[19] Later that year the Overture was heard as the opening item of the final Grand Miscellaneous Concert of the Cheltenham Festival.[20]

Reviewers of the Overture were generally complimentary. The *Musical Times* reviewer of the 1886 premiere was impressed:

> Essentially modern in construction, and fully - indeed, in parts, even heavily - scored, the work is clear in form, the themes well defined, and the term "dramatic" fairly justified. At the conclusion Miss Ellicott was led forward and deservedly applauded.[21]

Shaw, rarely complimentary about the work of women, heard the Overture at Crystal Palace and dismissed it as 'a pretty piece of writing which left no impression',[22] contrasting with the opinion of the reviewer for *The Musical Times* who claimed that

> The gift of melody which Miss Ellicott possesses is turned to valuable account by her in the construction of her themes, and the scholarlike treatment of the harmony and orchestral effects made due impression upon the minds of an audience who may be said to be well experienced in judgement.[23]

---

[17] Rosalind Ellicott, letter to the Secretary of the Philharmonic Society (23 November 1886). Philharmonic Society Papers (BL - Loan 48.13/11), f.161.

[18] Rosalind Ellicott to the Secretary of the Philharmonic Society, 10 March 1891and 25 October 1891. Philharmonic Society Papers (BL - Loan 48.13/11), ff.162 and 164. Ellicott drew attention to the support of her friends Frederic Cowen and Charles Stephens, as well as mentioning in passing in her March letter that the score was being looked at by George Grove.

[19] The other works in the concert were Ingeborg von Bronsart's *Grand March* and Amy Beach's *Festival Jubilate*. See Ann E. Feldman, 'Being Heard: Women Composers and Patrons at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition' *Notes* 47:1 (September 1990), pp.7-20.

[20] Programme for Cheltenham Musical Festival 1893.

[21] *The Musical Times* 27 (October 1886), p.591. See also review of the premiere in the *Athenaeum*: 'It is a work of considerable promise. The themes, if not strikingly original, are distinctly pleasing; the form is correct and clear, and the instrumentation well balanced'. *Athenaeum* 3072 (11 September 1886), p.346

[22] *The World* (25 February 1891) quoted in George Bernard Shaw, *Music In London 1890-94* revised edition (London: Constable, 1932) I, p.136.

[23] *The Musical Times* 32 (March 1891), p.151.

By the early 1890s Ellicott had many successful performances and publications behind her. Her music was being played in Europe as well as Britain and the United States, and it has been suggested that she spent some time living and working in Dresden.[24] Her songs, including two settings of lyrics by Hichens,[25] were heard at various public and private concerts in London. Ellicott was not always judicious in her choice of text, especially for her solo songs. Her fervent setting of Hichens's 'I Love Thee' is simply not appropriate for the banality of the poem:

> I love thee, I must tell it
> Or else my heart would break
> My heart is thine. Wilt thou not stoop
> The humble gift to take?

Hichens himself describes his early song lyrics as 'terrible rubbish'.[26] Ellicott's lively setting of 'Sing to me', one of his better lyrics, as a duet for soprano and tenor was premiered at the Cheltenham Festival of 1887 and uses inventive dialogue and canons between the two voices.[27] Another work premiered at the 1887 Cheltenham Festival was the cantata *Radiant Sister of the Day* (Shelley) for chorus and orchestra, published by Novello as a part-song.[28] Three further part-songs, all to words by Thomas Moore and dating from 1889, were performed at various concerts in Bristol. *Peace be Around Thee* was published by Novello, *Bring the Bright Garlands* appeared in *The Lute* while *Shine Out, Stars* remained unpublished.[29]

Ellicott also continued to write chamber music. Her cello and piano piece *A Reverie* and a collection of *Six Pieces* for violin and piano were published by Novello in 1888 and 1891. The *Musical Times* reviewer described *A Reverie* as

> a very expressive piece and is written in the modern style, that is to say with considerable freedom of rhythm. Miss Ellicott does not disdain a perfect

---

[24] Ed. Pratt, *People of the Period*, p.362.
[25] 'I love thee' (1887) and 'A Dream of the Sea' (1889), both published by Boosey.
[26] Robert Hichens, *Yesterday: The Autobiography of Robert Hichens* (London: Cassell, 1947), p.35. Hichens's lyrics were set by, among others, Ethel Harraden and Mary Carmichael. It is noteworthy that the only poem set by Hichens' great friend White ('A Song of the Sahara') was not one of these early lyrics but taken from one of his later novels.
[27] Programme for Cheltenham Musical Festival 1897. Reviewed in *The Musical Times* 29 (January 1888), p.47.
[28] A full score survives at the Royal College of Music Library: Add. Ms 5071d. The orchestra plays an integral part in the work although Ellicott does use the chorus alone at times for special effect. It is not clear from the Cheltenham Festival programme which form of the work was performed. The *Musical Times* reviewer described the work as a part-song (*The Musical Times* 28 (December 1887), p.739 but Pratt describes it as a work for chorus and orchestra (Pratt, *People of the Period*, p.362).
[29] *The Lute* 76 (April 1889), pp.56-61.

> cadence, but she frequently avoids it. ... Evidently the composer has endeavoured to avoid being commonplace and she has fairly succeeded.[30]

A Reverie is a somewhat simpler piece than the earlier *Sketch* for violin and piano but equally striking. Its 'considerable freedom of rhythm' is perhaps most evident in the long arching cello line which dominates the work. The *Six Pieces* were described in *The Musical Times* as having 'an easy flow of graceful and expressive melody, refined taste, an excellent knowledge of effect and ample command of the resource which make it possible'.[31]

These works were obviously seen to be marketable pieces that would appeal to skilful amateur performers, unlike Ellicott's more extended chamber music, including two Trios, which remained in manuscript. The Trio in G major was first heard at a Matinée Musicale in Bristol on 14 December 1889[32] and performed again a few months later at a concert given by the Musical Artists' Society in London. The reviewer for *The Musical World* thought it 'a graceful and refined work, cleverly put together, although capable of improvement in several details'.[33] The Trio in D minor was premiered at a concert given by the pianist Ernest Kiver at Prince's Hall in London on 5 May 1891, and repeated the following year by the Musical Artists' Society. *The Monthly Musical Record* thought it was 'a composition of more than average merit' while *The Musical News* described it as 'interesting'.[34]

The greatest media attention of Ellicott's early career was reserved for the performance of her cantata *Elysium* (Felicia Hemans) for soprano solo, chorus and orchestra at the first evening concert of the Gloucester Festival of 1889.[35] The work provoked interest even before the performance. The *Women's Penny Paper* asked: 'If a woman can write music worthy of a famous festival performance what becomes of the pretext that a woman is not fitted to sing what men have written in the ordinary service of the church?'.[36] A preview in *The Musical Times* described the score as 'a satisfactory piece of music, expressive of the sentiments of the poetry, technically good, and aesthetically

---

[30] *The Musical Times* 29 (August 1888), p.489.
[31] *The Musical Times* 33 (September 1892), p.551.
[32] *The Musical Times* 31 (January 1890), p.27.
[33] *The Musical World* LXX (22 February 1890), p.156.
[34] *The Monthly Musical Record* (June 1891), p.140; *Musical News* (27 May 1892), p.509.
[35] The work was finished on 11 April 1889. RCM Add. Mss 5071b.
[36] *The Women's Penny Paper* (31 August, 1889), p.2.

attractive'.[37] After the performance several critics felt that the scoring was too heavy, a charge frequently held against Ellicott's orchestral writing, but the general opinion of the work was favourable, and it was heard again in the next few months at the Cheltenham Festival and at a performance given by the Gloucester Philharmonic Society.[38] *Elysium* is a short work, reflecting the idyllic nature of the text in fluently lyrical writing with imaginative use of percussion. Novello published a vocal score in 1889 and two copies of the manuscript full score have survived.[39] Ellicott obviously agreed with the critics that her scoring was heavy since in several places she thinned down the texture of her original score.[40]

On 7 September 1892 a second cantata by Ellicott, *The Birth of Song* (Lewis Morris) for soprano and tenor soloists, chorus and orchestra, was premiered at the Gloucester Festival. In a preview of that year's novelties, which included Parry's *Job*, *The Musical Times* compared Ellicott's work to Parry's later choral writing and paid her a further compliment by describing her style as 'vigorous and - if the fair composer will pardon us - masculine'.[41] At the performance Ellicott was called twice to the platform. The reviewer for *The Monthly Musical Record* felt that the work 'shows an advance upon Miss Ellicott's previous essay in a similar form. There is a firmer grip of the subject, and a more decided mastery of the materials, while some of the choral writing exhibits breadth and vigour'.[42] *The Birth of Song* is a complex through-composed work with rich harmonies and some effective word painting, especially in the opening section. The scoring is more sensitive than that of *Elysium*, and the wind parts are considerably more independent.[43]

---

[37] *The Musical Times* 30 (September 1889), p.534.
[38] *The Musical Times* 30 (October 1889), pp.596 and 614.
[39] It was a requirement for composers of new works performed at the Gloucester Festival that they supply (at their own expense) a printed edition for the librarians of the Festival. Boden, *Three Choirs: A History of the Festival*, p.132. The full scores are at the Royal College of Music Library: Add. Mss 5071b and 5071c. 5071c is a later copy, incorporating changes made to 5071b.
[40] See, for example, the changes to the durations of the cello and bass notes on page 8 or the removal of the wind instruments on page 23. Despite Ellicott's acceptance of the criticism, the contemporary listener may wonder if it was only because it was the work of a woman that the score was felt to be too heavy. It is scored for double woodwind, four horns, two trumpets and three trombones, percussion, timpani and strings.
[41] *The Musical Times* 33 (September 1892), p.537.
[42] *The Monthly Musical Record* (October 1892), p.220.
[43] See full score, RCM Add. Ms 5071a. The doubling of vocal lines is often imaginative as, for example, the doubling of the solo soprano by the piccolo or the oboe doubling a tenth above the solo tenor line. The score was finished on 25 June 1892.

The last choral work that Ellicott is known to have composed was a setting of Thomas Macaulay's ballad *Henry of Navarre* for male voices and orchestra. Written for Queen's College, Oxford, it was first performed there on 25 May 1894 and repeated at the Gloucester Festival in 1898.[44] It was not published and does not appear to have survived. Although the *Musical Times* reviewer of the premiere felt that the work was 'decidedly successful',[45] his colleague at the 1898 performance in Gloucester had serious reservations:

> The Bishop of Gloucester's daughter has produced many better things than 'Henry of Navarre', which misses the heroic mark at which it aims. Obviously the fire of Macaulay's verses is not shared by the music and, after all, who can wonder at it? Such a theme needs to be handled by a strong man, not by a woman, whose imagination can hardly conceive the scene at Ivry - the exultation and despair, the delirium of the fight and the triumph.[46]

This seems a strange conclusion to have arrived at when reviewing the work of a composer who had been seen by her contemporaries as producing 'virile' and 'heavy' orchestral scores and whose surviving works shows her all too capable of producing dramatic music portraying exultation and despair. But for most late Victorians such emotions, especially when linked to battle rather than lost love or religious ecstasy, were an exclusively male preserve.[47]

Meanwhile, Ellicott's instrumental music had been continuing to receive important performances. In 1895 a new Sonata in D major for pianoforte and violin was performed at a Musical Artists' Society concert and her Trio in D minor was played at one of Ernest Fowles' prestigious British Chamber Music Concerts in the small Queen's Hall.[48] The Gloucester Festival that year saw the premiere of her Fantasia in A minor for piano and orchestra, played by Sybil Palliser.[49] Like so many of Ellicott's works and unlike so many of her contemporaries' 'novelties', the Fantasia received several further performances, including one at the Crystal Palace on 21 March 1896 and another given

---

[44] The stewards of the Festival had invited her (along with Parry, Stainer, Charles Harford Lloyd, Charles Lee Williams and Herbert Brewer) to write a new work, but Ellicott offered *Henry of Navarre* instead and the invitation was passed on to Elgar, who refused it, and then to Coleridge-Taylor who produced his Orchestral Ballade in A minor. *Henry of Navarre* and Coleridge-Taylor's Ballade shared a programme with the Overture to Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* and Sullivan's *Golden Legend*. Boden, *Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester. Three Choirs: A History of the Festival* 132-3.

[45] *The Musical Times* 35 (July 1894), p.480.

[46] *The Musical Times* 39 (October 1898), p.667.

[47] Women painters of heroic subjects faced similar criticism. The review of Ellicott's work can also be seen as part of the apparent backlash against women composers.

[48] *The Musical Times* 36 (June 1895), p.403 and 37 (January 1896), p.25.

[49] *Musical News* (21 September 1895), p.232.

by the Westminster Orchestral Society on 2 June 1897.[50] The work, which remained in manuscript, received mixed reviews. A *Monthly Musical Record* critic described it as 'long ... although Miss Sybil Palliser... did her best to make the time go quickly' while it was dismissed in *The Musical Times* with the brief comment that it was 'rather in the Grieg manner'.[51]

On 12 January 1896, Ellicott put on a concert consisting entirely of her own works in the small Queen's Hall. Apart from herself, the performers were pianist Sybil Palliser, violinist Richard Gompertz, cellist Alfredo Piatti and the singer David Bispham. The programme contained no new works but included both her Trios, the Sonata for pianoforte and violin, two of the *Six Pieces* for violin and several songs. The *Musical Times* reviewer complimented her music for its 'loftiness of aim and artistic workmanship combined with considerable melodic charm'.[52]

Details of Ellicott's life besides records of musical performances are scarce. An article in *Lady's Realm* in 1897 on 'The Wives of the Bishops' praised her for not allowing her musical studies 'to interfere in any way with her home duties', pointing out that she was her father's private secretary and 'has always assisted her mother in all the latter's many and varied activities'.[53] But this would be the expected attitude of a writer in a magazine which listed the following as suitable ways for 'unmarried women of gentle birth and breeding' to earn incomes: acting as bicyclist chaperone, cookery, indexing and making lamp shades.[54] A different emphasis was given in an article in *The Strand Musical Magazine* of 1896 which stressed her many achievements and her 'great love for her art'.[55] Despite what appears to have been a lack of sympathy for women's fight to break down political and social barriers,[56] Ellicott was not prepared for her music to remain within the private sphere and showed a dogged determination throughout the 1880s and 1890s to keep her works before the public and play an active part in the music

---

[50] *The Musical Times* 37 (April 1896), p.238 and 38 (July 1897), p.463.
[51] *The Monthly Musical Record* (October 1895), p.218 and *The Musical Times* 38 (July 1897), p.463. The contemporary composers Gade and Simonetti, whose works were also heard at the concert, were not compared to better known composers in the *Musical Times* review.
[52] *The Musical Times* 37 (March 1896), p.191.
[53] Anon, 'The Wives of the Bishops' *Lady's Realm* 1 (1897), p.292.
[54] Wilhelmina Wimble, 'Incomes for Ladies' *Lady's Realm* 1 (1897), p.104-6. This was the article which described the 'New Woman' as a 'feminine Frankenstein'.
[55] Anon., 'Miss Rosalind Ellicott' *The Strand Musical Magazine* 4 (1896), p.264.
[56] ' "Pioneer" women have no attractions for Miss Ellicott.' Keeton, 'Some English Composers: Miss Rosalind F. Ellicott', p.427.

profession. In 1890 she was elected a member of the International Society of Musicians, six years later was made an Associate of the Royal Academy of Music and at some time in the 1890s joined the National Society of Professional Musicians.[57]

Her mother was a constant presence in Ellicott's life and although her support was invaluable, both to Ellicott herself and to the musical world in general, her enthusiasms could sometimes be overbearing. Hubert Parry's father's home, Highnam Court, was near to Gloucester and the Ellicotts and Parrys were acquainted. While he was still at Eton, Parry's diary recalls being bored at the Bishop's Palace by the music of Mrs Ellicott's latest find, the German composer Schachner, but he was also taught to skate by Dr Ellicott.[58] In 1891 Parry's daughter Dorothea recorded a visit made by Mrs Ellicott and her daughter in her diary,[59] deciding: 'I don't think I have ever met more objectionable people'.[60]

An *International Who's Who in Music*, published in 1918, states that Ellicott 'retired from active musical work, 1900', and after the performance of *Henry of Navarre* at Gloucester in 1898 recorded performances of her music are rare.[61] On 1 May 1900 a new Pianoforte Quartet in B minor was premiered by Sybil Palliser, Edie Reynolds, Lionel Tertis and Charles Ould at a concert in Steinway Hall.[62] A few years later Ellicott, together with a Miss Hirschfeld, established a chamber concert series at the Guildhall in Gloucester. She included several of her old works in the programmes but does not appear to have produced any new music for the series.[63] It is not clear what led to Ellicott's withdrawal from composition and performance while she was still only in her 40s. She was possibly disillusioned by the difficulties of maintaining a presence in

---

[57] *Ibid.*; H. Saxe Wyndham and Geoffrey L'Epine, eds. *Who's Who in Music* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons 1913 second edition, revised and enlarged, 1915), p.75; ed. Pratt, *People of the Period*, p.362.

[58] Charles Graves, *Hubert Parry: His Life and Works* (London: Macmillan, 1926), pp.59 and 73.

[59] Given the musical context, this was probably Rosalind Ellicott, although the Ellicotts did have another daughter as well as a son.

[60] Dorothea Parry's diary, from entry for Thursday 10th June, 1891 (original at Shulbrede Priory, copy kindly supplied by Anthony Boden). She continues: 'They both set to work at the same time to sing father's praises. "What are Mackenzie, Sullivan, Stanford? No, no, he is the only man. But don't you hear it on all sides?" Turning to mother and I, Mrs Ellicott called him "a fresh bouquet, a new smell". They tried to get him to come to dinner, so mother pretended father never knew when he could dine out, as a board meeting generally turned up just as he was starting. They then called him "a delightfully vague creecher, living from hand to mouth"'.

[61] Ed. César Saerchinger, *International Who's Who in Music and Musical Gazetteer* (New York: Current Literature Publishing Co., 1918), p.172.

[62] *The Musical Times* 41 (June 1900), p.399.

[63] See, for example, *The Musical Times* 43 (March 1902), p.190; 43 (December 1902), p.822; 44 (December 1903), p.813.

the musical world (perhaps especially after the criticisms levelled at *Henry of Navarre*) or there may have been some undisclosed event in her private life that led to her retirement. She never married and so had no commitment to husband or children, but may have had to look after her parents as they grew older. By the time she made her will in 1922, Ellicott was living for at least part of the year in the seaside village of Birchington in Kent and it was here that she was buried, having died, in London, on 5 April 1924.

Ellicott's achievements were considerable, even though she 'retired' at such a young age. It was undoubtedly of great help to her career that her parents held such influential positions in society and that her mother had important musical connections. But Ellicott would not have received the numerous performances and complimentary reviews that she did without talent and skill. With few accessible instrumental scores it is hard to gain a picture of her output overall, but from contemporary reviews and the music that does survive, it is clear that Ellicott had a gift for writing compelling melodies (perhaps best suited to instrumental or choral music) as well as the skill to place them within impressive formal structures, using 'modern' rhythms and harmonies. For works such as the 'Dramatic' Overture or the Fantasia for piano and orchestra to have received so many performances in the 1880s and 1890s clearly demonstrated to the musical world that women composers were no 'novelty' but more than capable of sustaining composing careers which included writing large-scale works and of playing an important part in the Renaissance of British music.[64]

Dora Bright

Like Ellicott, Dora Bright achieved considerable success with large-scale works, but unlike Ellicott she also played an important role in public concert life and continued to follow a musical career throughout her life. In 1888, at the age of 24, Bright became the first woman to win the Royal Academy of Music's prestigious Charles Lucas Prize for

[64] One writer felt that her music reflected particularly English qualities: 'Her music is melodious, flowing, refined. She deals in no harsh progressions, no *bizarre* effects; but she has a happy knack of contrasting her themes, and her choice of keys is always judicious. In a way too, this music may be termed thoroughly English; it breathes an atmosphere of pleasantness and peace, and suggests a heart and mind well in sympathy with the quiet restfulness and culture of that old cathedral city where Miss Ellicott spends so much of her life'. Keeton, 'Some English Composers: Miss Rosalind F. Ellicott', p.427.

composition with her *Air and Variations* for string quartet,[65] and began to establish herself as a pianist and composer in London's musical world. The most significant event of that year was the first performance of her Piano Concerto in A minor at a Royal Academy concert in St James's Hall on 24 July. Bright performed the solo piano part herself and the reviewers were enthusiastic. A critic writing for both *The Musical World* and *The Monthly Musical Record* felt that it was

> a work full of bright and original fancy and melodious inspiration of a high order, coupled with excellent workmanship. The delightful second subject of the first movement, Allegro Moderato, and the succeeding Intermezzo - a veritable gem - in particular, any living composer might be proud to own. ... The orchestral colouring is exquisite throughout, and the fine work received a first-rate rendering by the gifted composer.[66]

Born in Broomhill, Sheffield on 16 August 1863, Dora Estella Bright had entered the Royal Academy in the Lent term of 1881 at the age of 17 on the recommendation of the publisher Stanley Lucas.[67] Little is known about her family background or musical education before she came to the Royal Academy, although she apparently came from 'a musical family, her father being an excellent amateur performer on the violin'.[68] Bright's principal study was the piano which she studied with Walter Macfarren and she also took composition with Ebenezer Prout, quickly establishing a high profile at the Royal Academy as both pianist and composer.[69] She was awarded most of the Royal Academy's important prizes, including the Potter Exhibition (1885); the Lady Goldsmid scholarship (1886) and the Sterndale Bennett prize (1887) as well as the Lucas medal.

Bright's own music was heard in public as early as February 1882 when her Longfellow setting 'Whither?', a straightforward song in ternary form, was performed at a student concert and published the same year by Shepherd and Kilner.[70] Several more songs, to lyrics by Herrick, Hood, Moore, Shakespeare and anonymous authors (possibly Bright herself), were played at Royal Academy concerts in the 1880s, although few appeared in

---

[65] RAM Archives: 'Prize Lists 1876-1892'. The prize, named after him Royal Academy principal Charles Lucas (1808-1869) was established in 1869. In 1889 Bright's achievement was proudly mentioned in the *Women's Penny Paper* where the prize was described as 'the Blue Ribbon of the Academy'. *Women's Penny Paper* (24 August 1889), p.2.

[66] *The Musical World* LXVI (28 July 1888) 208; identical review in *The Monthly Musical Record* (September 1888), p.208.

[67] RAM Archives: 'Entrance: 1874-1894'.

[68] Anon, 'Lady Instrumentalists: Miss Dora Bright' *The Strand Musical Magazine* 3 (1896), p.157.

[69] H. Saxe Wyndham and Geoffrey L'Epine, eds. *Who's Who in Music* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons 1913 second edition, revised and enlarged, 1915), p.29.

[70] RAM Archives: 'Concert Books Feb 1880 - Nov 1882'.

print. Her earliest work for piano was heard at a student concert on 26 October 1884 when she herself performed her *Two Sketches* in F# minor and A major.[71] Bright had apparently made her London debut as a pianist at the Covent Garden Promenade Concerts in 1882.[72] She frequently performed at Royal Academy student concerts, including one on 3 July 1885 in St James's Hall at which she played her own *Concertstück* in C# minor for piano and orchestra.[73] The reviewer for *The Musical Times* was impressed, describing the work as one that 'reflects the utmost credit upon the youthful artist'.[74]

At the Royal Academy, Bright formed supportive friendships with a close-knit group of students - Ethel Boyce, J. Moir Clarke, Edward German and John (A. J.) Greenaway - who described themselves as 'The Party'. German later remembered that

> It was our custom to attend every orchestral concert and operatic performance worth hearing, and often we would stand for hours waiting for seats in the pit or gallery. Each of us was engaged in composition, we were interested in each others' work, were all perfectly loyal and did our best to encourage one another.[75]

A typical gesture of support from 'The Party' was seen for the premiere of German's Symphony in 1887. They all attended the rehearsal in the morning, complete with a basket of fruit brought by Boyce from her home in Chertsey, spent the afternoon watching Gilbert and Sullivan's *Ruddigore* at the Savoy and then returned for the evening performance of the symphony at St James's Hall.[76]

The two women of 'The Party' were particularly close. Boyce, born at Chertsey on 5 October 1863, was less than two months younger than Bright and had entered the Royal Academy a few months later, in September 1881.[77] During her time there (Michaelmas Term 1881 to Lent Term 1890) she studied the piano with Walter Macfarren and

---

[71] RAM Archives: 'Concert Books Feb 1883 - Dec 1885'. The *Two Sketches* were dedicated to Walter Macfarren and published by Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co. the following year.
[72] Eds. Wyndham and L'Epine, *Who's Who in Music* (1913 rev. 1915), p.30. No other reference to this performance appears to have survived.
[73] Her first two appearances were at concerts on 27 June 1883 when she played two movements from Chopin's Piano Concerto in E minor, op. 11 at St James's Hall and on 24 April 1885 with two movements from Moscheles' Piano Concerto in G minor. RAM Archives: 'Concert Books Feb 1883 - Dec 1885'.
[74] *The Musical Times* 26 (August 1885), p.479.
[75] William Herbert Scott, *Edward German: An Intimate Biography* (London: Cecil Palmer, 1932), pp.27-28.
[76] Brian Rees, *A Musical Peacemaker: The Life and Work of Sir Edward German* (Bourne End: Kensal Press, 1986), p.41 and Scott, p.28.
[77] *Who's Who in Music* (1913 rev. 1915) 25; RAM Archives: 'Entrance: 1874-1894'.

harmony with Frank Davenport, winning much the same collection of prizes and awards as Bright, including the Lucas Medal in 1889 for her *Introduction and Rondo* for piano, violin and cello.[78] In the 1880s Boyce was briefly engaged to Edward German but the relationship did not last and she never married, remaining all her life at the family home in Chertsey. In the 1880s and early 1890s her music was regarded as showing considerable promise. A review of her *Four Little Songs* (Heine) described them as 'too good for an ordinary concert room'[79] while an orchestral March was seen to demonstrate 'boldness and independence of thought in the elaboration and orchestral treatment'.[80] Her cantata *The Lay of the Brown Rosary* (Elizabeth Barrett Browning), premiered at a Royal Academy concert in St James's Hall on 28 March, 1890,

> proved to be a composition of more than ordinary promise... Her music is, for the most part, fresh and unconventional, leaning perhaps more to the French than to the modern German school, and the orchestration is masterly and picturesque. As the effort of a lady student 'The Lay of the Brown Rosary' is remarkable, and great things may be expected of Miss Boyce.'[81]

Despite this early promise, Boyce never established a professional career as either performer or composer, although she continued to write music into the 1920s. Unmarried daughters were expected to put the needs of their family before any idea of career, and on Boyce's death in 1936 her obituarist wrote that 'domestic trouble, and her characteristic and completely self-sacrificing devotion to personal duty, prevented her from fulfilling her remarkable promise. Some charming and very individual compositions remain to show what she might have done'.[82] Boyce and Bright remained close long after they had left the Royal Academy, collaborating during the First World War on *The Orchard Rhymes*, a collection of songs for school children published by Novello in 1917. Boyce's surviving letters are full of references to Bright, who frequently and loyally performed her friend's music, along with other compositions by members of 'The Party'.

---

[78] RAM Archives: 'Pupils Lent Term 1887'; RAM Archives: 'Prize Lists 1876-1892'.
[79] *The Monthly Musical Record* (April 1888), p.92.
[80] *The Monthly Musical Record* (January 1889), p.17.
[81] *The Musical Times* 31 (May 1890), p.281.
[82] Lascelles Abercrombie, 'Ethel Boyce' (obituary) *The Times* (11 February, 1936), p.16. See chapter 3 for more on Boyce. The manuscript full scores of her cantatas *The Lay of the Brown Rosemary* and *The Young Lochinvar*, both published in vocal score by Novello, are at the Royal College of Music Library: Add. Mss 5042a and 5042b.

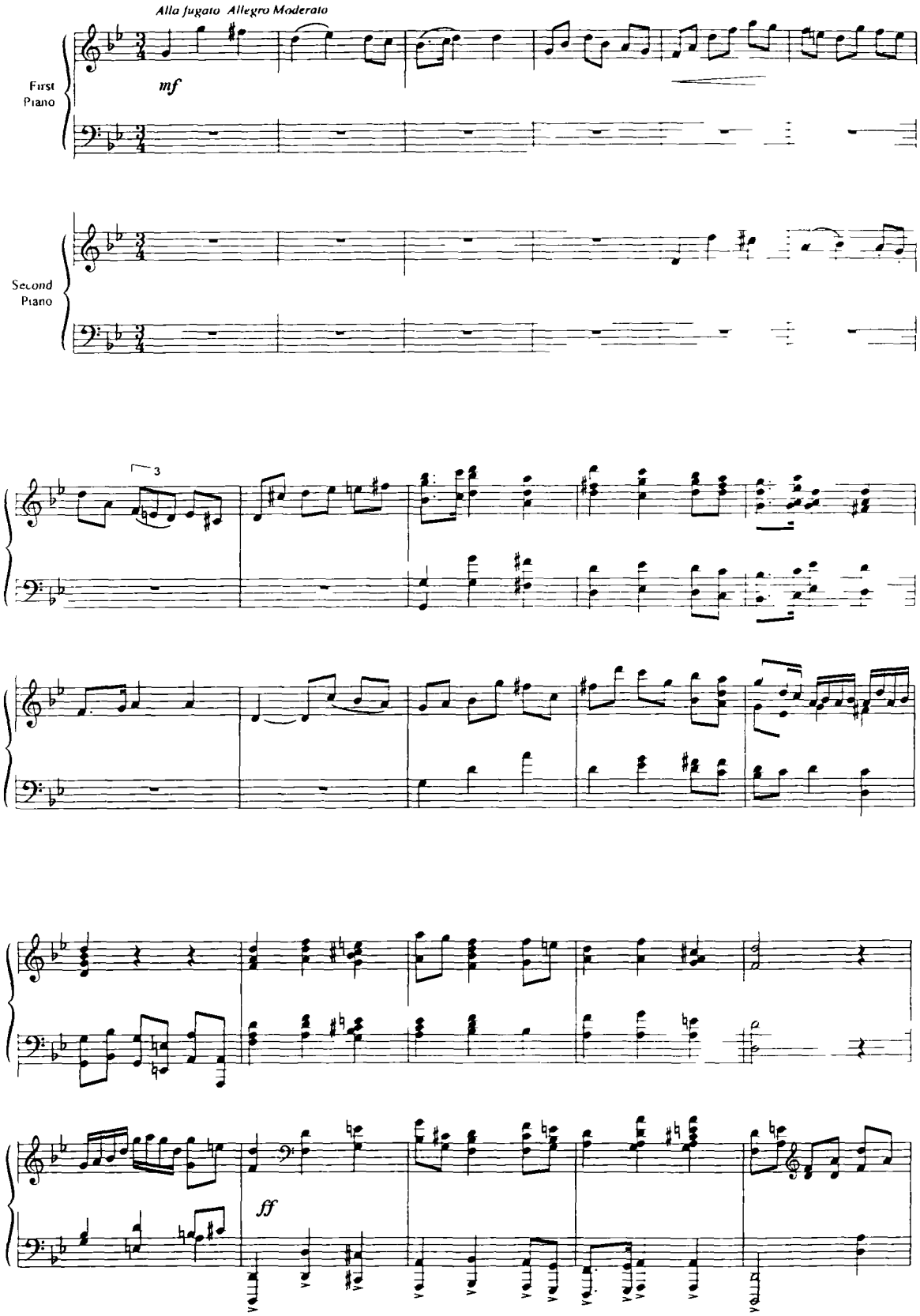
There appear to have been no family demands or disapproval to hinder Bright's musical career. From 1886 onwards she began to be frequently heard playing music by herself and other composers at a variety of London concerts outside the Royal Academy. In the summer of that year her *Theme and Variations* in F# minor for two pianos was played at a Musical Artists' Society concert[83] while in the autumn she played at a concert of music by Walter Macfarren and at a concert given by the Westminster Orchestral Society, an organisation with which she established strong ties.[84]

Sets of variations figure extensively in Bright's work, and her friendship with Boyce inspired several sets for two pianofortes which were performed by the two women. The earliest of these works was the *Theme and Variations* in F# minor of 1886, and in June of the following year the two friends played Bright's *Variations on a Theme of Purcell's for Two Pianofortes* at a Royal Academy concert.[85] But the most frequently performed of Bright's two piano variation sets and the only one to appear in print was her *Variations on an original Theme of Sir G. A. Macfarren*, first performed by Bright and Boyce at a student concert in St James's Hall on 17 February 1888.[86] It was written as a memorial and tribute to George Macfarren who had died the previous year and used a theme claimed by his brother Walter to be 'the last he ever wrote'.[87] One reviewer felt that the work should 'quickly supersede Saint-Saens' familiar piece among the very few available original compositions of this class'.[88] Bright treated Macfarren's simple and rather lugubrious G minor theme to six variations, including a lushly harmonised variation in G major, a sparkling 'alla polacca' variation and a grand fugal finale. [See Example 37].

---

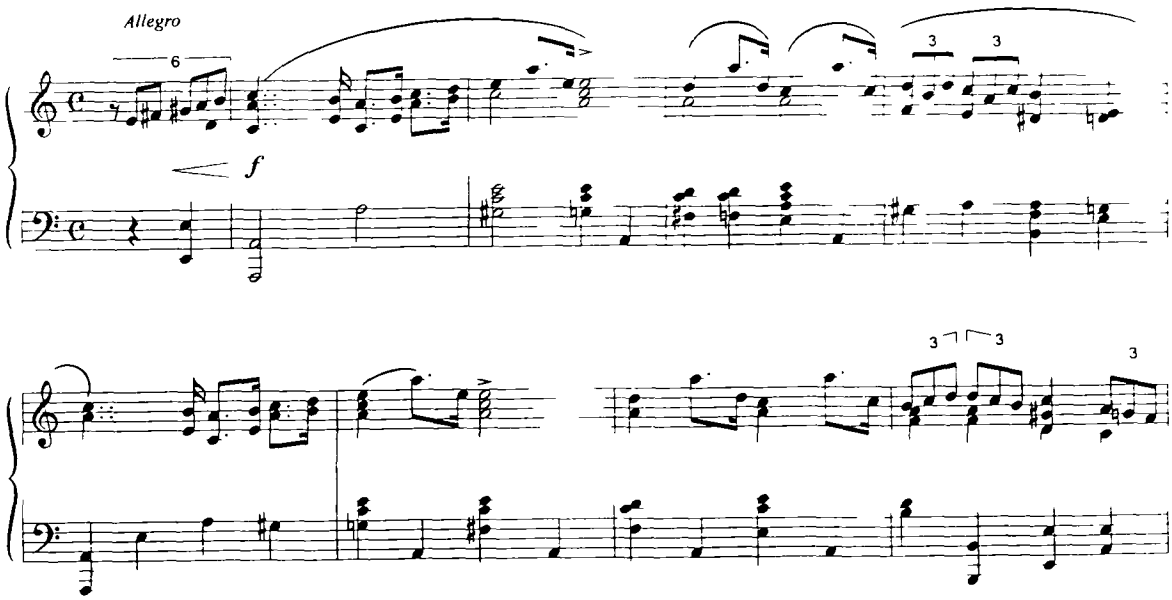
[83] *The Musical Times* 27 (August 1886), p.480. The work was also heard at a Royal Academy concert, played by Bright and Boyce, in the same year. RAM Archives: 'Concert Books Feb 1886 - Dec 1888'.
[84] *The Musical World* LXIV (December 4 1886), p.780; *The Musical World* LXIV (December 11 1886), p.795.
[85] RAM Archives: 'Concert Books Feb 1886 - Dec 1888'.
[86] *The Musical Times* 29 (March 1888), p.151. This work was heard at piano recitals given by Bright at Prince's Hall in 1889; at concerts given by the Musical Artists' Society in 1890 and 1895; at a reception given by Broadwood to inaugurate an apartment called 'The Macfarren Room' and a concert given by the Musical Guild in 1897 see *The Musical Times* 30 (April 1889), p. 218; *The Musical Times* 30 (May 1889), p.283; *The Musical World* 31 (5 April 1890), p.275; *The Musical Times* 36 (June 1895), p.403; Walter Macfarren, *Memories: An Autobiography* (London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co. Ltd., 1905), p.231; *The Musical Times* (January 1897), p.23. The work, dedicated to Walter Macfarren, was published by Ashdown in 1894.
[87] Macfarren, *Memories*, p.231.
[88] *The Monthly Musical Record* (April 1889), p.91.

Example 37. Bright, *Variations on an original Theme of Sir G. A. Macfarren*, Finale: bars 1-16.

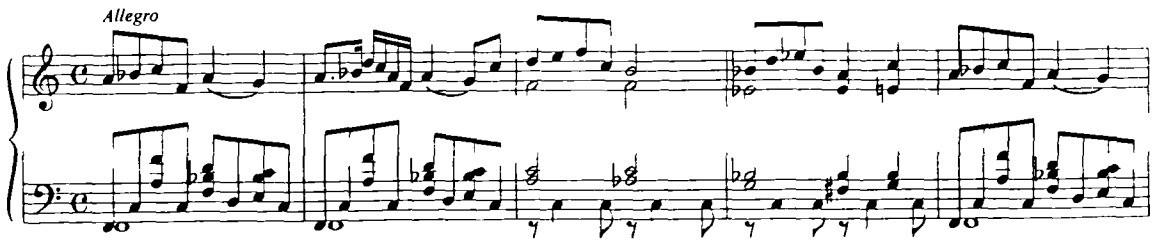


1888 was also the year in which Bright's first Piano Concerto was premiered. Bright revised the work for her debut performance (as performer and composer) at the Crystal Palace Concerts in April 1891 and it is probably this revised version which is one of the only two orchestral works by Bright that appear to have survived.[89] The work is in three movements: Allegro, Intermezzo and Allegro alla Tarantella. Shaw was impressed by Bright's compositional technique, describing the work as 'remarkable - apart from its undeniable prettiness - for its terse, business-like construction and its sustained animation'.[90] Much of the 'prettiness' is due to the harmonisation of the simple, attractive melodies which makes much use of chromatic inflexion, chromatic bass lines and chromatic lines in inner parts. The first movement is in straightforward sonata form with immediately appealing themes, the first of which is subjected to canonic development.

Example 38a. Bright, Piano Concerto, 'first theme' of first movement (piano part).



Example 38b. Bright, Piano Concerto, 'second theme' of first movement (piano part).



[89] The score of this work (marked for performance with blue pencil and labelled 'First Concerto') together with two scores and a set of parts for Bright's Variations for piano and orchestra is in the uncatalogued manuscript collections of the Royal Academy of Music.

[90] George Bernard Shaw, *Music In London 1890-94* (London: Constable, rev. ed. 1932) I, p.160.

The E major Intermezzo is based around a single gently rocking theme, while the final movement opens with a brief introductory dialogue between timpani and piano which leads into the main rondo 'tarantella' theme in the piano accompanied by the orchestra. Towards the end of the movement, the first theme of the first movement makes an unexpected and rather abrupt appearance before the main rondo theme returns for a triumphant ending. Bright's orchestration is generally unimaginative. She uses double woodwind, trumpets, horns, timpani and strings but the wind and brass seldom have independent lines, more usually doubling string parts. The work was probably originally conceived for two pianos and was indeed heard in this form on at least one occasion.[91] However, the basic dialogue between piano and orchestra is well conceived and the piano writing is striking in its fluency.

After the success of this work at the Royal Academy concert in the summer of 1888, Bright travelled to Germany with Boyce and Greenaway. A rare glimpse of Bright's personality can be seen in a letter sent home from Dresden by Boyce:

> Altogether I am having a good time, but of course nothing is perfection and Dora is very trying. I believe she would like to do nothing better than to get up late - dawdle about all day - and go to the opera at night.[92]

Back in London, Bright gave a second performance of her Pianoforte Concerto at the Covent Garden Promenade Concerts in September of that year. The reviewer for *The Musical World* felt that the work was not sufficiently appreciated and was provoked to sarcasm, reflecting on contemporary attitudes towards both British and women composers:

> The gifted young lady, an admirable pianist, was her own interpreter, but the recall with which she was honoured was less enthusiastic than one could have wished. We must not, however, expect an English audience to encourage English Art. Besides, ladies have no business to compose! or indeed to do anything intellectual! Miss Bright was probably recalled for her excellent performance rather than on account of her remarkable talent as a composer.[93]

Bright was to make a point of promoting 'English Art' in her work as a pianist. In early 1889, after leaving the Royal Academy, she gave the first of what was to become an

---

[91] Anon, 'Lady Instrumentalists: Miss Dora Bright' *The Strand Musical Magazine* 3 (1896), p.157.
[92] Letter from Ethel Boyce to Harland Chaldecott, postmarked 7 September 1888. Chertsey Museum. Harland Chaldecott Papers [D 2463/30].
[93] *The Musical World* LXVI (29 September 1888), p. 773.

annual series of piano recitals (or sometimes chamber concerts) at Prince's Hall. The three recitals included works by the Academy figures George and Walter Macfarren and Alexander Mackenzie; three members of 'The Party': Ethel Boyce, Moir Clark and Edward German; G. J. Bennett and Francesco Berger, as well as music by Bach, Beethoven, Schumann and herself.[94] *The Musical Times* approvingly noted that the series devoted 'large space to pieces by English composers'.[95] One of the recitals in Bright's 1892 series had an all-British programme which was singled out for praise by Joseph Bennett.[96]

Following her series of piano recitals, Bright gave another performance of her piano concerto, the third in less than a year, at a concert in May 1889 given by the Westminster Orchestral Society as part of a series devoted to works by living English composers.[97] By November she was away on her first tour of Germany.[98] 1889 also saw the publication of her *Twelve Songs*, a collection which included several settings of Herrick and Shakespeare along with writers such as Kingsley and Longfellow. The *Musical Times* reviewer felt that the settings showed 'a commendable amount of constructive talent and thoughtfulness' and the choice of poets alone shows that Bright was not aiming at the popular ballad market.[99] Most of these lied-like songs are through-composed and many are of considerable difficulty, perhaps especially the *vivace* setting of Shakespeare's 'Hark! Hark! the Lark'. In the same year Ashdown published her *Romanza and Scherzetto* for the pianoforte, dedicated to Boyce and described by a *Monthly Musical Record* reviewer as 'sweet and dreamy ... distinguished by piquancy and excellent musicianship'.[100]

For the next couple of years Bright's career continued to follow this busy pattern of performance, composition and publication. On 23 April 1890 she gave a chamber concert at Prince's Hall which included two of her own songs and a Suite for violin and pianoforte.[101] *The Musical World* found the Suite 'clever and original' while *The*

---

[94] See *The Musical Times* 30 (March 1889), p.154; *The Musical Times* 30 (April 1889), p.218; *The Musical Times* 30 (May 1889), p.283.
[95] *The Musical Times* 30 (March 1889), p.154.
[96] Joseph Bennett, 'Facts, Rumours and Remarks' *The Musical Times* 33 (March 1892), p.151.
[97] *The Musical World* LXVII (1 June 1889), p.353 and *The Musical Times* 30 (July 1889), p.425.
[98] *The Musical Times* 30 (November 1889), p.656.
[99] *The Musical Times* 30 (June 1889), p.362.
[100] *The Monthly Musical Record* (April 1889), p.91.
[101] *The Musical Times* (May 1890), p.297. The Suite was published by Ashdown in 1891.

Monthly Musical Record felt it denoted 'the hand of the accomplished musician and a melodic vein with some striking harmonic effects'.[102] In May her *Air with Variations* for Orchestra was premiered by the Westminster Orchestral Society conducted by Charles Macpherson,[103] and in the autumn she returned to Germany where, amongst other works, she performed her Piano Concerto.[104]

It may have been the success of the revised version of the Piano Concerto at the Crystal Palace Concerts in the spring of 1891 that led to an invitation to produce a work for the notoriously conservative Philharmonic Society. It is a measure of Bright's profile, reputation and self-confidence that she dictated her own terms and told the Society that she would prefer to write a new work rather than letting them perform a recently completed Suite, feeling that despite a final sonata-form movement, 'the Spanish Dance makes it a little light for a Philharmonic audience'.[105] There are no other surviving references to this five-movement orchestral Suite (Prelude, Liebeslied, Sequidilla, Romance and Finale) which, according to Bright, was to be performed in Cologne in October 1891.[106] That year, however, Bright published a *Romance and Sequidilla* for flute and piano, demonstrating a shrewd ability to gain maximum exposure for her material.

Another reason Bright gave for preferring to write a new piece was that she herself wanted to take part in her first Philharmonic appearance. The work she produced, a Fantasia for piano and orchestra, was written 'with a critical audience well in mind'[107] and premiered on 11 May 1892, described by her proud teacher Walter Macfarren as 'a red-letter day'.[108] The reviewer for *The Musical Times* felt that the work sustained Bright's reputation as 'one of the most promising among women composers'.[109]

---

[102] *The Musical World* LXX (26 April 1890), p.335; *The Monthly Musical Record* (June 1890), p.138.
[103] *The Musical World* LXX (24 May 1890), p.416.
[104] *The Musical World* LXX (1 November 1890), p.877.
[105] Letter from Bright to Francesco Berger, 8 August 1891. Philharmonic Society Papers (BL Loan 48. 13/5).
[106] *Ibid.*
[107] *Ibid.* Another sign of Bright's confidence (as well as the speed at which she composed) can be seen in her assurance to Berger that although she was starting the work at the beginning of August, it would be completed by the 'end of November or beginning of December'.
[108] Walter Macfarren, *Memories*, p.227. In some sources the work is referred to as her second Fantasia. The first may have been the Concertstück in C# minor performed at an Academy concert in 1885. The Philharmonic Fantasia is probably the work referred to in Bright's entry in *Who's Who* (1913/15) and *International Who's Who* (1918) as her Piano Concerto no. 2, performed in Cologne, 1892. None of these works were ever published and no manuscripts appear to have survived.
[109] *The Musical Times* 33 (June 1892), p.343.

In the same year, at the age of 28, Bright married the landowner and Crimean veteran Colonel Wyndham Knatchbull of Babington near Frome in Somerset, a match described as 'most unexpected but wholly successful'.[110] After her marriage Bright no longer appeared as a soloist at large orchestral concerts but she did not entirely give up her public performing career, and continued to run her own concerts. In April 1893, for example, she gave a series of chamber music concerts at Prince's Hall.[111] One of these concerts was reviewed by Shaw, who provided a typically caustic insight into Bright's qualities as musician and pianist:

> I had been for a long time wishing to hear a little music; so I went off to Prince's Hall and found Miss Dora Bright wasting a very good programme on a very bad audience, with the help of Messrs Willy Hess, Kreuz, and Whitehouse. ... Her own playing is satisfactory in Prince's Hall, where the absence of athletic qualities which distinguish the pianist proper, as trained by Rubinstein or Leschetitzky, from the musician who plays the piano is not felt as a defect. Even if it were, the musicianly qualities of Miss Bright's playing would go far to make amends, her faults being those of an excess of musical facility. If her powers had cost her a harder wrestle she would probably have used them to enter more deeply into the poetic basis of modern music.[112]

Shaw's review of Bright's piano concerto two years previously had described her as

> a pianist who writes her own concertos better than she plays them. She is dexterous and accurate, and a thorough musician to boot; but her talent has not the pianist's peculiar specialization. I do not know that she plays any better than I do, except in respect of her fingering scales properly, and hitting the right notes instead of the wrong ones.[113]

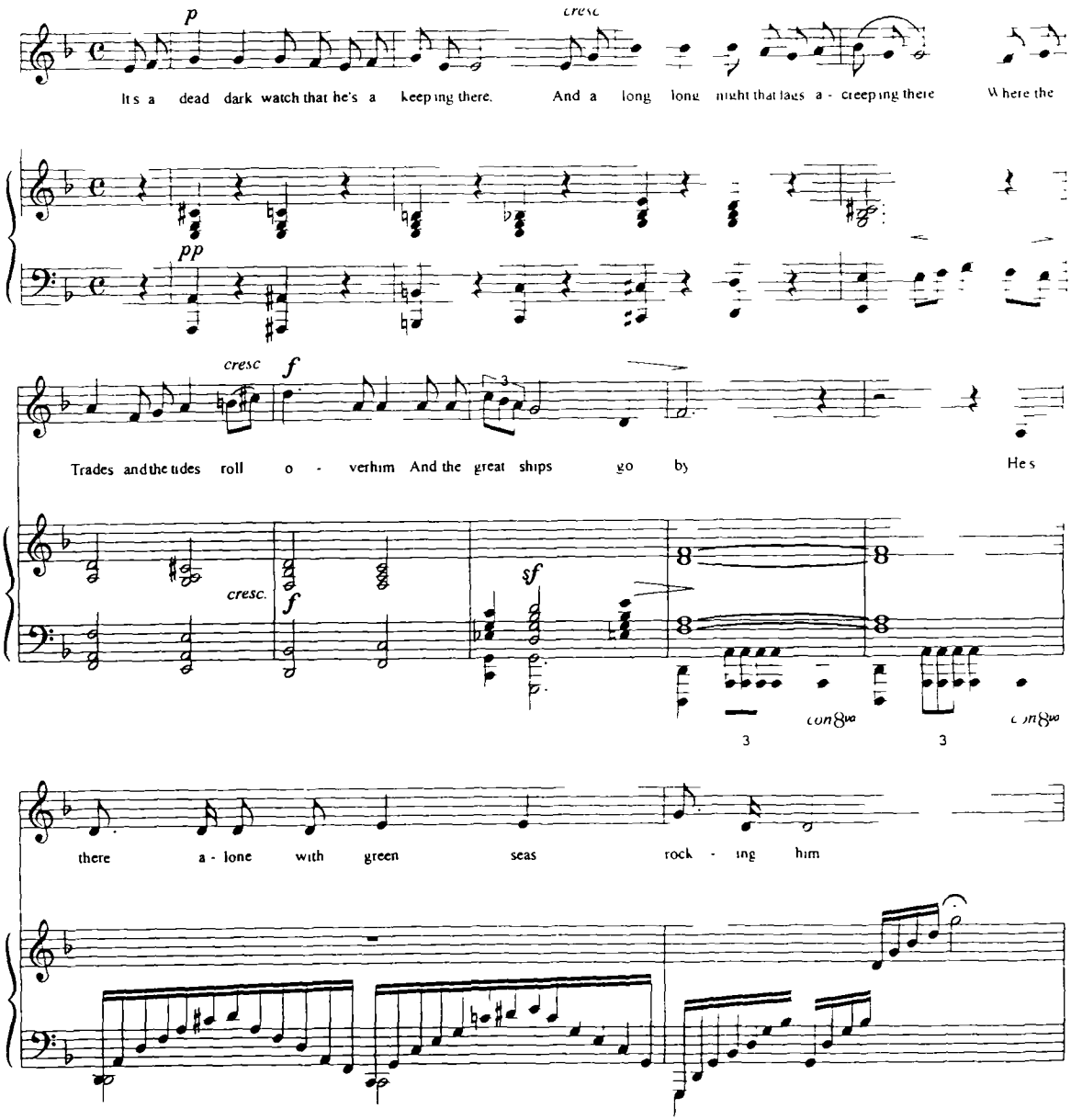
In 1895 Bright gave a piano recital series in the small Queen's Hall entitled 'National Pianoforte Recitals' with three programmes focused in turn on music from 'Early' Germany, 'Modern' Germany and France.[114] In the same year Ashdown published her *Three Pieces for the Pianoforte*: Berceuse, Liebeslied and Tarantella. These are difficult works, obviously not aimed at the amateur market, and which, in the opinion of one reviewer, sustained the reputation 'of one of the foremost lady composers'.[115] After

---

[110] Richard Paget 'Mrs Wyndham Knatchbull: Musical and Dramatic Activity' (obituary) *The Times* (4 December, 1951), p.8.
[111] The series included, on 26 April, an all-British concert which featured a performance of her own piano quartet and a suite for flute and piano by Edward German.
[112] Shaw, *Music In London 1890-94* II, pp.286-288.
[113] Shaw, *Music In London 1890-94* I, p.160.
[114] *The Musical Times* 36 (December 1895), p.815.
[115] *The Musical Times* 36 (March 1895), p.170.

1897 there are no more records of Bright performing in public, but she continued to compose. On 6 March that year her *Liebeslied* for orchestra was premiered at the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts and dismissively described in *The Musical Times* as 'a graceful and melodious piece scored in a picturesque and refined manner'.[116] The collection *Six Songs from the Jungle Book* (Rudyard Kipling), published in 1903, form a short, effective cycle, and proved to be popular.[117] Further songs followed, including 'Messmates' of 1907, an atmospheric setting of a sombre poem by Henry Newbolt with chillingly effective word painting.[118]

Example 39. Bright, 'Messmates', bars 10-21.



[116] *The Musical Times* 38 (April 1897), p.241.

[117] The *Jungle Book* songs were produced, as the title page proclaimed, 'with immense success by Mr Denis O'Sullivan'.

[118] 'Messmates' was published in two versions - one for baritone and piano and the other for solo baritone, male voices and piano.

After her marriage, Bright had flung herself into life as a society hostess in Somerset. In 1897 Boyce described one of her balls as 'quite the prettiest and nicest party I've ever seen. ... Dora, as Carmen looked awfully handsome, but I thought the dress, a bright cherry colour, and short skirts, rather too daring'.[119] Bright also put her musical and organisational talents to use. Richard Paget remembered that

> When, as a young bride, Dora descended on the county, she swept us all off our feet and startled its inhabitants into musical and dramatic activity. Thus, in 1893, 'The Babington Strollers' came to life, and, for several years at Christmas time produced Gilbert and Sullivan operas at a high level of amateur performance, to a surprised and delighted neighbourhood.[120]

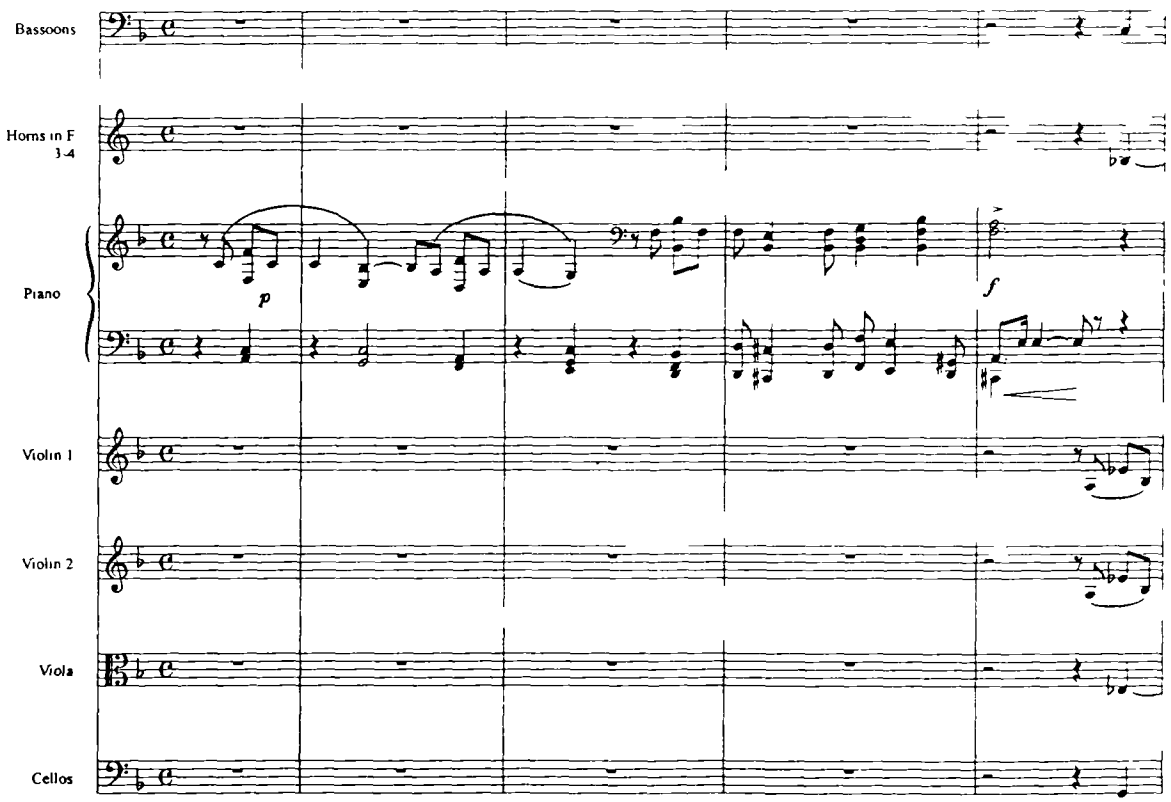
'The Babington Strollers' provided an ideal forum for performances of Bright's own work. Her involvement with the theatre went back to 1893 when she provided the incidental music for the play *Uncle Silas*, after Sheridan LeFanu, when it was put on at the Shaftesbury Theatre in London.[121] In the early years of the 20th century Bright began writing 'mime dramas' or 'dance plays' as well as music for ballets. These works were doubtless first produced by 'The Babington Strollers', but most were also given as public performances in London. The most successful of the 'dance plays' was *The Portrait*, to Bright's own words, which ran for 75 performances at the Prince of Wales's Theatre in 1910 and 1911.[122] One of her earliest ballets was a short and simple 'pastoral fantasy' *The Dryad* which, having been first performed at Babington, was given as a charity performance at the Playhouse Theatre in 1907, conducted by Thomas Beecham.[123] The title role was danced by Adeline Genée, the dancer credited by one commentator with almost single-handedly reviving British interest in ballet.[124] This performance of *The Dryad* proved to be the start of a fruitful friendship and artistic collaboration between the two women. By the following year Genée had added the work to her repertory at The Empire in Leicester Square.[125]

---

[119] Letter from Ethel Boyce to Harland Chaldecott, postmarked 19 January 1897. Chertsey Museum: Harland Chaldecott Papers [D 2463/87].
[120] Richard Paget 'Mrs Wyndham Knatchbull', p.8.
[121] J. P. Wearing, *The London Stage 1890-1899: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1976) I, p.287.
[122] J. P. Wearing, *The London Stage 1910-1919: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1982) I, p.87. None of the Bright's music for plays and ballets appears to have survived.
[123] J. P. Wearing, *The London Stage 1900-1909: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1981) I, p.542.
[124] Arnold L. Haskell, *Balletomania: The Story of an Obsession* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1934), p.188.
[125] Ivor Guest, *Adeline Genée. A Lifetime of Ballet under Six Reigns. Based on the Personal Reminiscences of Dame Adeline Genée-Isitt DBE* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), pp.88-89 and 100.

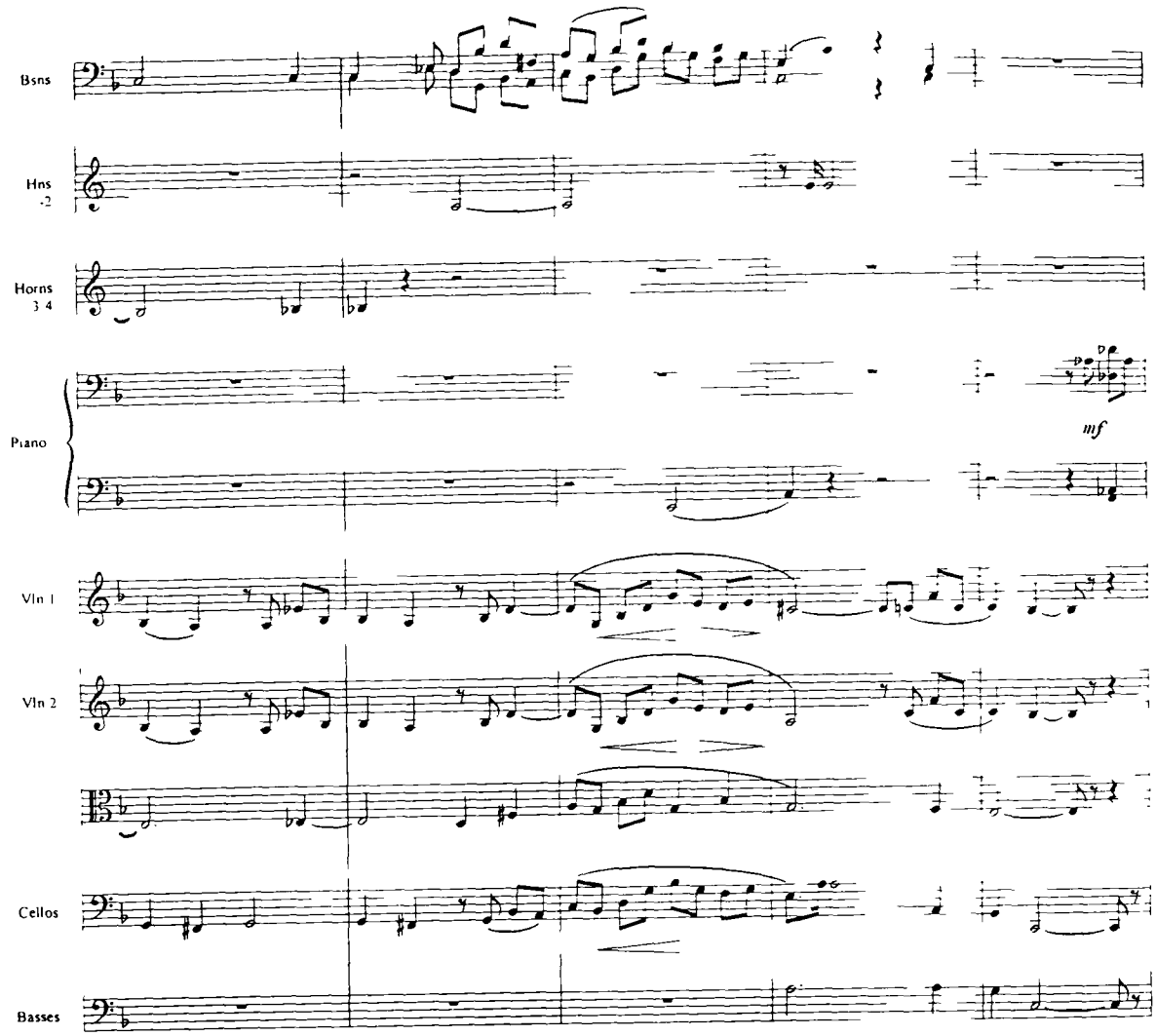
According to Genée's biographer, Ivor Guest, it was this 'association' with Genée that prompted Bright to study with Maurice Moszkowski in Paris. Herbert Walenn suggests that after her husband's death,[126] Bright 'turned more to composition ... and this brought her in touch with Hamilton Harty, Henry Wood and with Moszkowski, with whom she studied orchestration'.[127] Bright was certainly in Paris in 1910 since one of her two surviving manuscripts, a set of Variations for piano and orchestra, is inscribed 'Paris, 1910'. The work was presumably performed in Paris since a further score is marked in French and has been preserved with a complete set of parts.[128] The Variations show a much more fluent orchestration than Bright's first Piano Concerto, although there is still a tendency for the woodwind simply to double the strings. The theme is a quietly noble tune, almost Elgarian in character, which is stated in a characteristic dialogue between piano and orchestra. The seven variations move through various moods and keys, ending with an almost acerbic scherzo.

Example 40. Bright, Variations for piano and orchestra, bars 1-10.



[126] Date as yet unknown.
[127] Herbert Walenn, (obituary) *Royal Academy of Music Magazine* 151 (January 1952), p.16.
[128] RAM: Uncatalogued Manuscripts Box 24.

Example 40 cont.



Bright's association with Genée produced several ballets including *La Camargo*, premiered at the Coliseum on 20 May 1912; *La Danse*, a collection of arrangements first performed at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York on 17 December 1912; a ballet-pantomime *The Princess and the Pea*, given a single charity performance at the Haymarket Theatre on 2 July 1915; and *A Dancer's Adventure*, premiered at the Coliseum on 11 October 1915.[129] Bright's music was resolutely unaffected by early 20th-century avant-garde developments, and it is tempting to speculate on Diaghilev's opinion of the performance of *La Camargo* which he is known to have attended.[130] *La Danse* consists of tableaux illustrating the history of ballet from the early 18th to the mid-19th century and demonstrates an almost neo-classic interest in music of the past.

[129] Guest, *Adeline Genée*, pp.125, 130, 151 and 152.
[130] *Ibid.*, p.89.

Bright researched her material in the British Museum and provided arrangements of music by Lully, Rameau, Gretry, Mozart, Boccherini, Strauss, Chopin and Delibes.[131]

In 1915 several performances of orchestral music by Bright were planned. The performance in Nottingham of a *Concertstück* for six drums and orchestra was announced in *The Musical Times*, but it was not reviewed and may never in fact have taken place. An unidentified work, possibly the same *Concertstück*, was to be played at the Promenade Concerts, but all performances of new music were cancelled because of the war.[132] In December a Suite for orchestra arranged from one of Bright's ballets was played in Bradford by the Permanent Orchestra, conducted by Hamilton Harty, and repeated in Bournemouth by Dan Godfrey.[133] Two years later her *Suite Bretonne* for flute and orchestra was performed at the Promenade Concerts.[134] After the war Bright more or less disappeared from view as both composer and performer, although a handful of works were published in the 1930s, including a setting of G. K. Chesterton's striking poem 'The Donkey' (1936).[135] This is an effective song which shows how little her musical style had changed over the previous 30 years.[136]

Although no longer visible as a practical musician, Bright had by no means withdrawn from the musical world and in the 1940s worked as the radio critic for *Musical Opinion*, producing reviews which are characterised by a biting scorn for almost all contemporary music. In an article of 1941 entitled 'What has Happened to Music?' she deplores the music of Debussy, Strauss, Schoenberg and Stravinsky, and in a typical column of 1942 reviewing, among others, Britten and Lambert, she talks of their

> perverted sense of key, melody, harmony and form comparable to an aural distortion or disorder... I often wonder that at least the old stagers in the good orchestras do not rise in revolt at the things they are made to play.[137]

---

[131] *Ibid.*, p.130.

[132] *The Musical Times* 56 (May 1915), p.305 and (August 1915), p.492. This was the same Promenade season at which White's suite from *The Enchanted Heart* was due to be performed.

[133] *The Musical Times* 57 (January 1916), p.48 and Dan Godfrey, *Memories and Music: Thirty-five Years of Conducting* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1924), p.298.

[134] *The Musical Times* 58 (November 1917), p.512.

[135] Coincidentally, this poem was set a few years later by Rebecca Clarke, and holds a similar place as an isolated late work in the younger composer's output.

[136] Bright may well have written other works which have not survived or were not given performances that attracted the attention of reviewers.

[137] Dora Bright, 'What has Happened to Music?' *Musical Opinion*, p.65 (November 1941), pp.37-38 and 'Radio in Retrospect' *Musical Opinion* 65 (March 42), pp.198-199. The first article is apparently a chapter from Bright's reminiscences 'Myself when Young - and Later' but these have not been traced. I am very grateful to Jenny Doctor for pointing me to this last development in Bright's long career.

This was written by the same woman who had championed contemporary British music in the late 19th century and included in her programmes works such as Erskine Allon's Suite for Pianoforte, found by a reviewer in 1893 to be 'almost too obtrusively modern'.[138]

Bright died at the age of 88 on November 16, 1951. Like all her generation she had lived through enormous changes in many aspects of her life. As a young woman in the 1880s her successful professional career as a pianist undoubtedly helped her achieve performances of her own music, much of which was written for the piano. She was one of the first British women to receive so many well-received and high-profile performances of her works at prestigious London venues, mirroring the success of Ellicott in Gloucester and Bristol. In the few works that have survived, Bright's musical language can be heard to be undoubtedly individual - combining careful construction with appealing melodies and lush, although never heavy, chromatic harmonies. Like so many women she seems to have retreated somewhat from public life after her marriage although she never abandoned the musical world. The frustratingly few insights into her character shown by Boyce's letters, obituaries, and her own writings towards the end of her life, reveal a sometimes difficult but ebullient and energetic woman with all the self-confidence and self-centredness needed to succeed as a composer in late 19th-century Britain.

Adela Maddison

On November 21, 1910 *The Times* published the following review from Leipzig:

> There was a remarkable first performance here last night of a new opera by an English composer. ... Mrs Adela Maddison, who after studying in Paris has worked in Berlin for four years, is not quite the first English composer to obtain acceptance of an opera by an important German theatre, but she is, I believe, the first who can claim a real success. *Der Talisman* was a success - qualified in some respects, but real - and the first impressions of German critics, who are held in peculiar awe, indicate that the composer has contributed to win esteem for English music, which is at present by no means high.[139]

[138] *The Musical Times* 34 (July 1893), p.423.
[139] 'New Opera at Leipzig' *The Times* (21 November, 1910), p.12.

Previous first performances of British opera in Germany had included Stanford's *The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan* at Hanover in 1881 and *Savonarola* at Hamburg in 1884. Smyth's first three operas (*Fantasio, Der Wald* and *The Wreckers*) were premiered at Weimar, Berlin and Leipzig in 1898, 1902 and 1906, while Delius's *Koanga* was first heard at Elberfeld in 1904, and his *A Village Romeo and Juliet* at Berlin in 1907.[140] Stanford, Smyth and Delius are all composers whose music has achieved some degree of lasting success. But Adela Maddison, the composer of the opera regarded by at least one critic as the first real English success in Germany, remains virtually unknown.

The most detailed references to Maddison are to be found in two biographies of Gabriel Fauré. While Robert Orledge describes her as 'a talented composer',[141] Jean-Michel Nectoux dismisses her as 'a sensuous and amusing brunette who played the piano quite well and devoted her leisure hours to composition', adding that 'the beautiful and (in Fauré's opinion) "highly gifted" Adela had a penchant for song-writing'.[142] Both writers agree that she probably had a brief sexual relationship with Fauré at the end of the century. Nectoux's characterisation of Maddison adopts every stereotype of a turn-of-the-century woman composer, a figure not to be taken seriously as an artist but seen instead as a privileged dabbler passing the day producing pretty pieces for the drawing-room. But it is clear from surviving source material that Maddison, contrary to Nectoux's scathing picture, was a composer passionately committed to her work who defied the expectations of her gender and class to live a life devoted to her art, rather than to her home, husband or children. Her music was never widely known, especially in Britain, but it was highly thought of by those who did know it, and the works that survive show that this confidence was not misplaced.

Adela Maddison was probably born on 15 December 1866, possibly in Ireland.[143] Her father, Louis Symonds Tindal, was a Vice Admiral who died while Maddison was still a child.[144] Nothing is known about her childhood, but she doubtless received, probably

---

[140] See Robert Anderson, 'Frederick Delius'; Stephen Banfield and Michael Hurd, 'Ethel Smyth' and Stephen Banfield, 'Charles Villiers Stanford' in ed. Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan, 1992) 1, p.112; 4, p.428 and 4, p.524.

[141] Robert Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré* (London: Eulenburg Books, 1979), p.16.

[142] Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life* translated Roger Nichols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 281-282.

[143] No birth certificate has been traced but she was referred to as Irish in *The Sketch* (16 November 1910), p.160. The birth date is given in several sources.

[144] One of Maddison's ancestors, probably her great-grandfather, was Sir Nicholas Conyngham Tindal (1776-1846), Lord Chief Justice of England.

from governesses or possibly at a girls' school, the musical education common for a girl of her class. There are no records of her attending any of the London music schools but she may well have taken private music lessons. Her first surviving works, an unremarkable song and a polka for the piano, were issued in 1882 when she was 15 by the London publishing company Metzler. The following year she married Frederick Brunning Maddison, a lawyer and one of the directors of Metzler. Their first child, a daughter, Diana, was born in 1886, followed a few years later by a son, Noel.[145] The children of the wealthy upper classes were looked after by numerous nurses, nannies and other servants. Maddison still found plenty of time to compose, publishing, as Mrs Frederick Brunning Maddison, a waltz for piano and three settings of poems by Swinburne in the late 1880s. These early works are fairly unimaginative, the songs consisting of little more than attractive tunes with somewhat clichéd piano accompaniments.[146]

One of Maddison's closest friends was the singer Mabel Batten, whose diaries and letters have proved to be a vital source of information about Maddison. It is not clear when the two women first met, but the first references to Maddison appear in 1893 when Batten's daughter, Cara, away at school in Frankfurt, was the recipient of long, chatty letters from her mother that paint a vivid picture of late 19th-century society life.[147] Fred and Madela (as Maddison was known to the Batten family) were living at Hyde Park Corner in London although they made frequent trips abroad to Paris, St Moritz, Bayreuth and other fashionable places on the continent. Batten and Maddison attended social events such as Ascot or receptions at Buckingham Palace together and Batten reported on one such occasion that

> "the darlings" as Madela calls herself and me - looked extremely nice. Her gown was a pinky shot satin trimmed with fascinating bows - in the centre of each [a] paste ornament, & she had the family diamonds of her mother and all her relations massed on wherever she could pin them. We came home from the Palace dead tired - did not get away until quarter to seven.[148]

---

[145] Records of Diana's birth survive at St Catherine's House but there is no trace of Noel's birth (suggesting that he may have been born on the continent). He was born by 31 May, 1893, when he was mentioned in a letter from Batten to her daughter. Mabel Batten Archive.

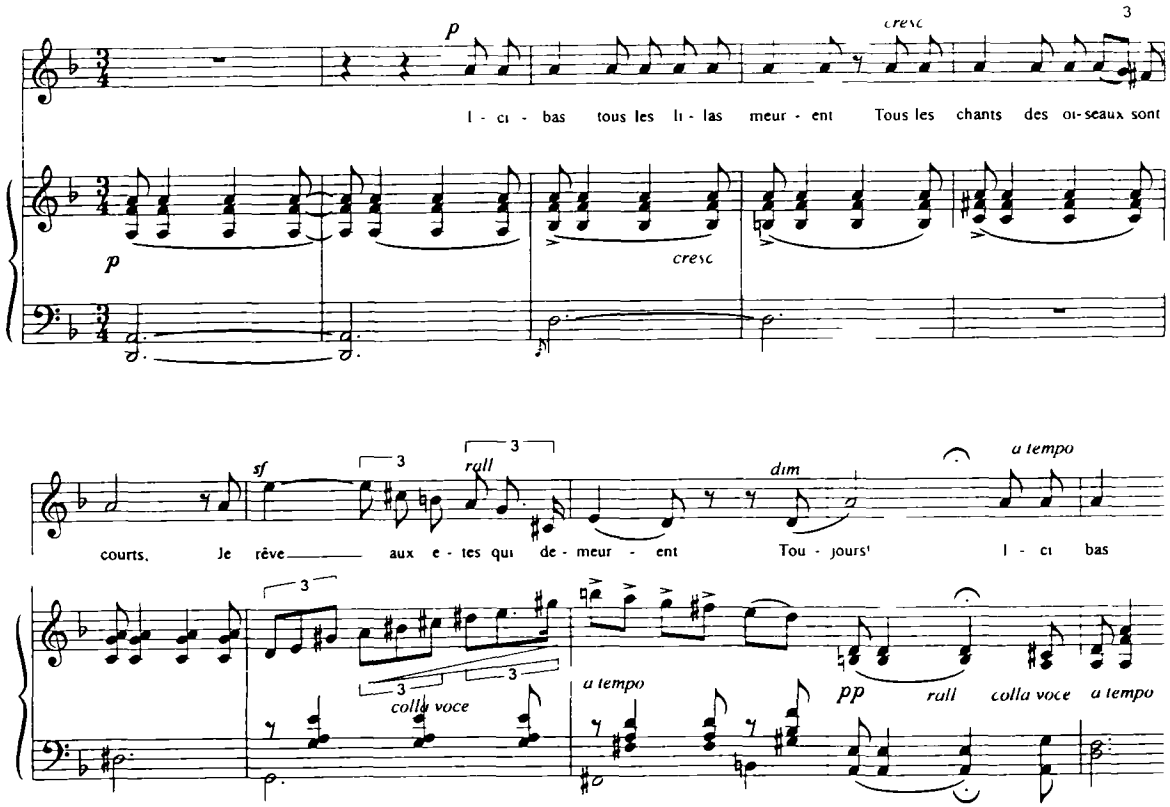
[146] Maddison thought highly enough of her Swinburne setting 'Rococo' to include it in a later collection.

[147] Both women appear to have come from Irish backgrounds and there may have been a family connection.

[148] Mabel Batten to Cara Batten, 10 May 1893. MBA.

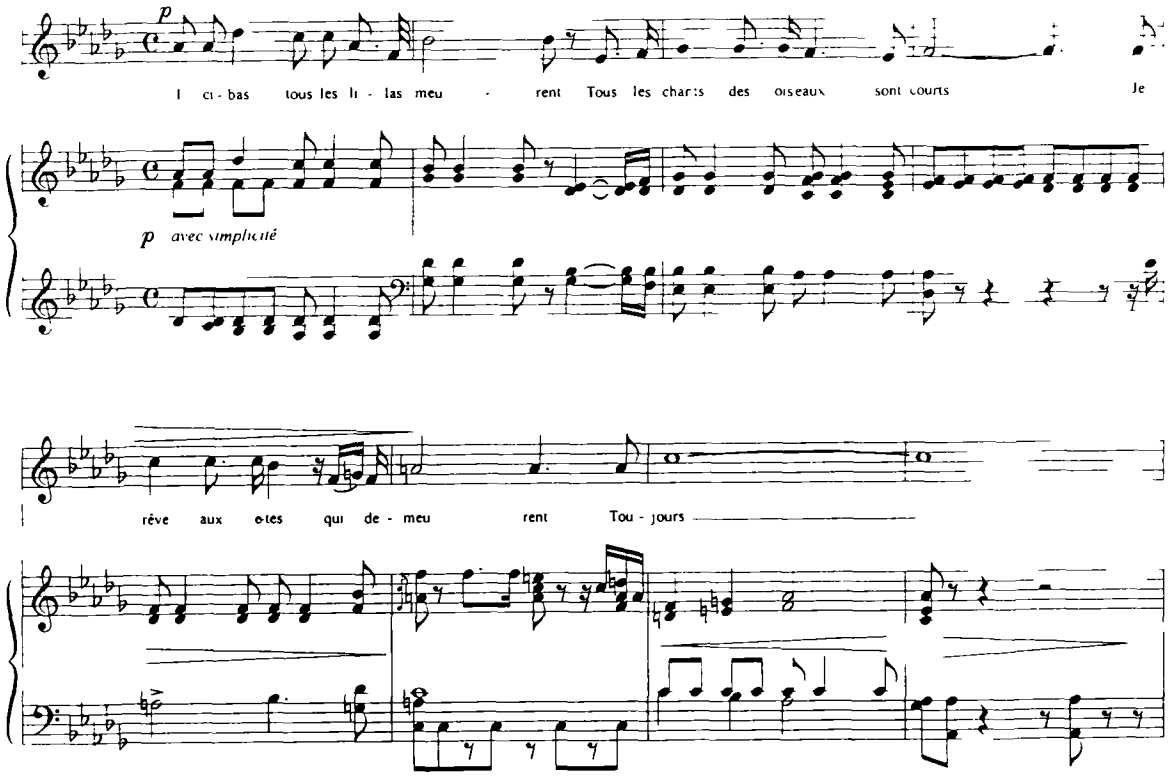
Despite this busy social whirl, Maddison was continuing to produce music and beginning to find a more striking and individual voice. In 1893 Metzler published her *Deux Mélodies*, dedicated to Batten and with the composer reverting to her own first name, appearing on the title page as Adela Maddison rather than Mrs Frederick Brunning Maddison. The first of these songs, 'Ici-bas', is a modified strophic setting of a poem by Armand Sully-Prudhomme which creates a sensuous atmosphere of regret for the passing of time. Maddison uses a courageously simple vocal line which for the first two lines of each of the three verses is a repeated-note dominant pedal. In the first verse this line combines with a slowly rising chromatic inner line in the piano accompaniment to create a feeling of ominous foreboding for the opening lines. For the final two lines of the verse the vocal line bursts into life, producing brief but biting semitone clashes with the right-hand line of the piano accompaniment which moves almost independently of the voice, so much so that the final cadence of the piano accompaniment overlaps with the opening of the second verse in the voice.

Example 41. Maddison, 'Ici-bas', bars 1-10.



It is interesting to compare Maddison's setting with that of the same poem by Maude Valérie White, published a few years earlier.[149] White, too, created an atmosphere of simplicity but gives her singer a hauntingly regretful melody, which, unusually, starts without any piano introduction. Both composers set each verse over seven bars with accents falling in much the same place, although White uses a slower pace, with a common time time signature in contrast to Maddison's 3/4. White also highlights the third line of each verse but in a more subtle and less dramatic fashion by incorporating a bass counter melody that then, characteristically, joins the vocal melody at pitch, or an octave below depending on voice type.

Example 42. White, 'Ici-bas', bars 1-8.



The major difference between the two settings comes in the interpretations of Sully Prudhomme's final verse:

> Ici-bas tous les hommes pleurent
> Leurs amitiés et leurs amours.
> Je rêve aux couples qui demeurent
> Toujours.[150]

[149] In her memoirs, White suggests that she wrote 'Ici-bas' in about 1884. It was published by Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co. sometime in or before 1888. White, *Friends and Memories*, p.291.

[150] 'Here below everyone is lamenting their friendships and their loves. I dream of couples who are waiting forever.'

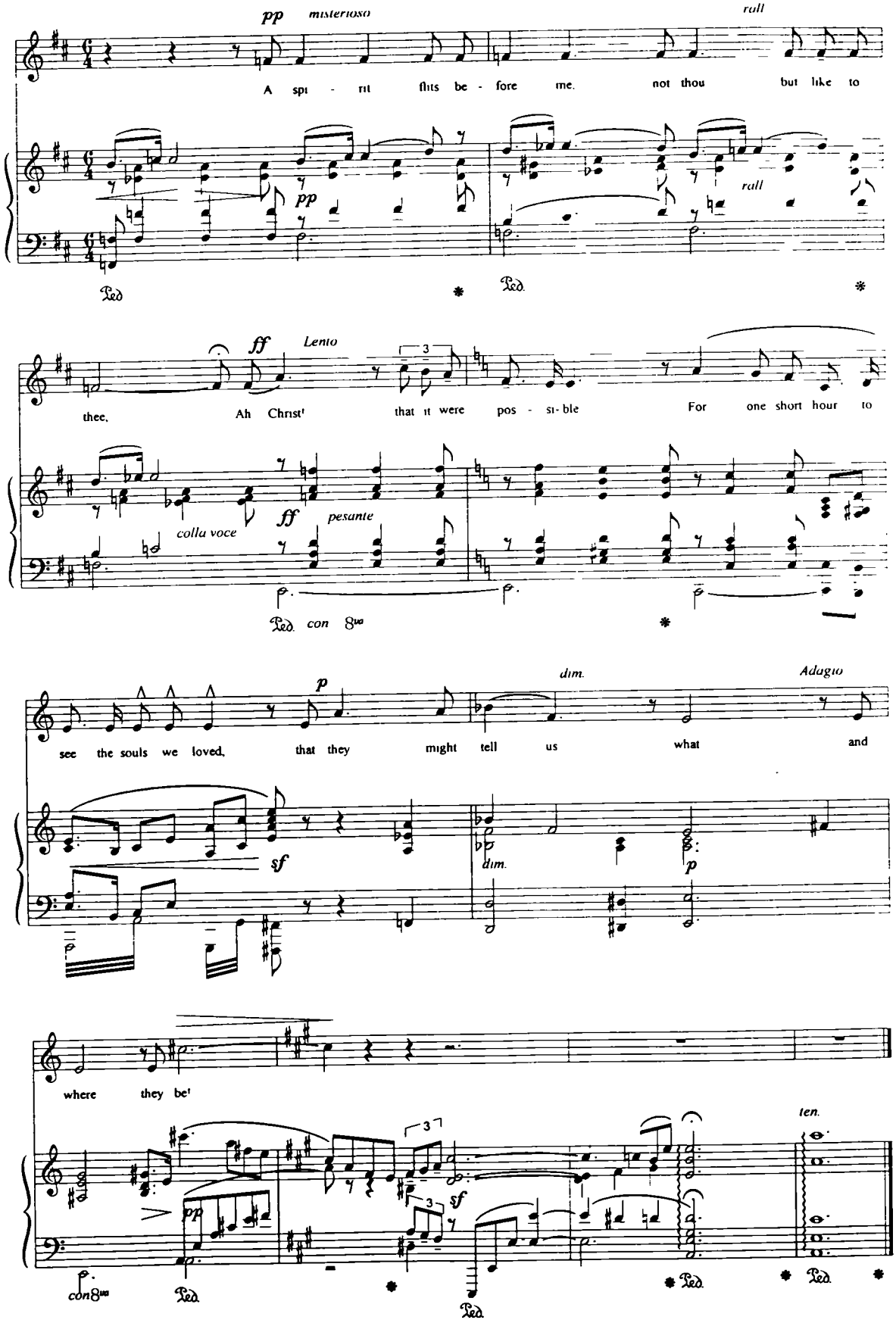
Where Maddison builds the drama, using a descending chromatic bass line and repeating the penultimate line of text to end with a fortissimo climax, White chooses to fade away rather than triumph at the image of couples waiting forever, maintaining the calmer atmosphere of haunting sadness that she has read into the poem. The accompanying harmonies are thicker and richer for the last verse, but marked: '*Plus lentement. Avec tristesse*'. On the word 'demeurent' the vocal line is drawn out and for the final 'Toujours' the voice is given a decorative figure, previously heard only in the piano accompaniment, before dying away on the sixth degree of the scale. Although there is no surviving evidence that Maddison and White knew each other, they moved in some of the same circles and it is likely that they heard or knew of each other's setting.[151] It is possible that both knew Fauré's earlier setting, op. 8 no. 3, written in the mid-1870s and published in 1877, although neither echoes his less regretful and altogether less atmospheric interpretation of the poem with its rippling semi-quaver accompaniment.

A more ambitious publication by Maddison appeared in 1895, a collection of *Twelve Songs* designated opp. 9 and 10. It is not only the use of opus numbers but also the songs themselves that show Maddison moving away from the lighter style of her earlier works. Most of the collection are love songs, but the texts that Maddison chose, including five by Swinburne, dwell on the passing of time, lingering pain and the approach of death, creating a suitably fin-de-siècle interpretation of love which is often successfully matched by music that seems to be trying to break away from predictable textures and harmonies. Apart from those by Swinburne, the 10 songs of op. 9 include texts by Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Tennyson and Shelley, while op. 10 consists of *Zwei Lieder*, two short through-composed settings of Heine and an 'altes Volkslied'. Only one of the op. 9 songs, the setting of Tennyson's 'O that 'twere possible' from *Maud*, is through composed. This short, 32-bar song is full of inventive touches such as the dramatic opening of the piano introduction which covers a range of over six octaves in the first three bars; the surprising arrival of the delayed perfect cadence chord at the word 'pain' (although, of course, the complete phrase is 'after long years of pain'); insistent chromatic lines; an unexpectedly jaunty dotted-rhythm motif which appears three times at the memory of loved ones (the dotted rhythm is then

[151] White's setting became well-known, sung by its dedicatee, the baritone Jules Diaz de Soria. It was reissued at least twice, by H. B. Stevens in 1892 and by Chappell in 1901.

developed in a piano interlude) or the voice's two-bar monotone passage before the final climax.

Example 43. Maddison, 'O that 'twere possible', bars 19-32.



Such devices echo in other songs of the collection, some of which, particularly the Swinburne settings 'The Triumph of Time' and 'Stage Love', include conspicuous unprepared and unresolved dissonances. Each song is a careful illustration of its text, but usually avoids obvious word painting. In her strophic settings Maddison carefully varied the rhythms and sometimes pitches of the vocal line to produce fluent word settings for each verse. The melodies of these vocal lines are often somewhat unconventional and rarely dominate the song.

It was probably at about the time of this collection's publication, in the mid-1890s, that Maddison met Gabriel Fauré, who in 1894 made his first visit to London since the early 1880s for a concert at St James's Hall.[152] Although the painter John Singer Sargent is often credited with introducing Fauré to London society, it is indisputable that both the Maddisons, but Adela in particular, played a significant part in promoting the composer and his music in Britain.[153] By 1896 the acquaintance was well established. At the beginning of this year Fauré signed a contract with Metzler, doubtless arranged through Fred Maddison. Maddison herself was to provide English translations for several of Metzler's editions of Fauré's songs.[154] On 1 May that year the baritone David Bispham gave a concert at St James's Hall which included Fauré's vocal duet 'Pleurs d'or' and his C minor piano quartet as well as two of Maddison's songs, 'Ob ich dich liebe' and 'Im Traum'.[155] Both Fauré and Maddison played the piano for their own works. The press were generally impressed with the programme and the critic for the *Athenaeum* described Maddison's songs, written specially for the concert, as 'somewhat Wagnerian in character'.[156]

The following day there was a concert at the same venue organised by the new magazine *Melody*. Four vocal works by Fauré, who was one of the conductors of the 50-strong orchestra, were heard and Bispham sang Maddison's songs 'Liebe' (Heine) and 'O that 'twere possible' (Tennyson) from her *Twelve Songs*.[157] In September 1896 Fauré stayed with the Maddisons at their villa in Brittany and afterwards described the couple as

---

[152] Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, p.16.
[153] For Sargent's promotion of Fauré, see for example Stanley Olson, *John Singer Sargent: His Portrait* (London: Macmillan, 1986), p.215.
[154] Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, p.16.
[155] *The Musical Times* 37 (June 1896), p.387. Bispham also sang songs by Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann, Blumenthal and Parry.
[156] *Athenauem* 3576 (9 May 1896), p. 627. The songs do not appear to have survived.
[157] Concert programme. BL d487.

'bons, charmants, nullement fatigants, et enthousiastes de ma musique jusqu'à presque la stupidité'.[158] In December Fauré's British enthusiasts organised a Fauré festival at St James's Hall.[159] During 1898 Fauré made several more visits to London and his music was played at a variety of public and private concerts. His choral work *La Naissance de Vénus* was performed twice at the Maddisons' house before being given at the Leeds Festival in an English translation by Maddison. Music by Fauré was also frequently heard at Frank Schuster's soirees, including one occasion when Fauré noticed his host, Sargent and Maddison 'weeping with emotion' at his music.[160]

Fauré had a high opinion of Maddison and her work. In August 1898, he stayed at Llandough Castle in South Wales, the home of the singer Elsie Swinton's parents, where he composed his seventh piano nocturne and dedicated it to Maddison.[161] Earlier that year he had written to Swinton about Maddison:

> Vous a-t'elle jamais fait entendre les cinq ou six dernières mélodies de Paris et de Londres? Elles sont si remarquables! mais difficiles à déchiffrer, à absorber à la première lecture. Elle est extraordinairement douée et je voudrais qu'elle fut encouragée autant qu'elle le mérite.[162]

One of the ways in which Fauré encouraged Maddison seems to have been to give her composition lessons. In October 1898 *Le Figaro* published 'Rien qu'un moment', a translation of her Dante Gabriel Rossetti setting 'A Little While' from *Twelve Songs*, which had been included in a collection of six songs published by Choudens in Paris the previous year. The newspaper identified her as Fauré's pupil:

> Les femmes-compositeurs qui révèlent une connaissance approfondie du 'métier' sont-elles rares. On en cite cependant quelques-unes et de ce nombre est Mme Maddison, une remarquable élève de Fauré. Dans son recueil de mélodies... elle fait preuve non seulement de goût, puisqu'elle

---

[158] 'kind, charming, never tiresome and enthusiasts of my music almost to stupidity'. Ed. Philippe Fauré Fremiet, *Gabriel Fauré: Lettres Intimes* (Paris: La Colombe, 1951), p.23. In November Batten wrote to her daughter: 'Clement [the composer Clement Harris] & Adela got on very well on Saturday at dinner. It made me smile to see him gravely listening to extravagant praise of Faure's greenest works by Adela. We did music till past midnight'. Mabel Batten to Cara Batten, 2 November 1896. MBA.

[159] Ed. Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: His Life through his Letters* translated J. A. Underwood (London and New York: Marion Boyars, 1984), p.202.

[160] Ed. and transl. J. Barrie Jones, *Gabriel Fauré: A Life in Letters* (London: Batsford, 1989), p. 89-90; Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré*, p. 28; Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, p.17.

[161] David Greer, *A Numerous and Fashionable Audience: The Story of Elsie Swinton* (London: Thames Publishing, 1997), p.92.

[162] 'Has she never let you hear the five or six most recent songs from Paris and London? They are quite remarkable! but difficult to figure out and take in at first acquaintance. She is extraordinarily gifted and I would like her to be encouraged as much as she deserves.' Fauré to Swinton, received 11 July 1898. Quoted in Greer, *A Numerous and Fashionable Audience*, pp.144-5.

> s'inspire beaucoup de son maître, mais aussi d'une culture harmonique très solide et très complète.[163]

1898 also saw the publication of two pieces for violin and piano, *Berceuse* and *Romance*, by the Parisian publishers J. Hamelle. It seems likely that these French publications of her music were arranged by Fauré. Fred Maddison had left his directorship of Metzler in 1896 and Maddison may well have asked Fauré to help her find an outlet for her work.[164] By the late 1890s music was already playing the central role in Maddison's life. In 1896 she had written from Paris to congratulate Cara Batten on her engagement:

> May you ever be a happy and contented child & good & pretty always & fond of him & he of you as he is now. This is like a cantata! but the music is lacking. I have too much music & have really nothing else.[165]

Towards the end of 1898 Maddison set up house in Paris, where she was to be based for the next six or seven years. It is this move, which appears to have been more permanent than the extended visits of previous years, that prompts Orledge, Nectoux and others to claim that she became Fauré's lover, leaving both husband and children behind in London.[166] But the only evidence provided to show that the relationship between Fauré and Maddison became anything more than a close musical friendship is a somewhat inconclusive passage quoted by Nectoux from the 1899 diary of Fauré's friend Marguerite de Saint-Marceaux: 'The triumph of love. She's abandoned everything to follow the man she adores'.[167]

Apart from this romantically dramatic diary entry no other evidence suggests that by moving to live and work in Paris, Maddison had abandoned Fred and the children. Upper-class fin-de-siècle couples often led almost entirely separate lives, partly a

---

[163] 'Women composers who display a profound knowledge of their profession are rare. There are however a few and one of them is Madame Maddison, a remarkable pupil of Fauré. In her collection of songs... she shows not only taste, as she has been greatly inspired by her teacher, but also a substantial and thorough harmonic education.' 'Notre Page Musicale', *Le Figaro* (1 October 1898), p.2.

[164] In a letter of 1920 to Hamelle, Fauré points out that after 1896 'M. Maddison' left Metzler and his payments from the company ceased. Ed. Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: His Life through his Letters*, p.308.

[165] Maddison to Cara Batten, nd (but Cara Batten married in October 1896). MBA.

[166] Orledge writes: 'Adela Maddison was almost certainly one of the great loves of Fauré's life, and I have it on good authority that she left her wealthy solicitor husband late in 1898 to live in Paris and be nearer to Fauré'. Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré*, pp.16-17. Nectoux writes: 'Following the dictates of her muse and her heart, Adela Maddison left her husband and two children and came to live in Paris.' Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré*, p.282.

[167] Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré*, p.282.

reflection of the very different spheres in which men and women moved. A few years later, the composer Poldowski, recently married to Sir Aubrey Dean Paul, was to leave London and her husband and spend several extended periods studying composition in Paris.[168] Even if Maddison had been having an affair with Fauré there would have been no need for her to 'abandon everything'. The English upper classes tended to conduct their affairs from within their marriages - many of which were remarkably open relationships. Other evidence, neglected by Nectoux, shows that the Maddison marriage was not over. In an undated letter to Delius written from Berlin, probably in early 1909, Maddison refers to looking after her sick husband and in a later letter she mentions her 'dear husband's death'.[169]

One crucial aspect of Maddison's move to Paris is a striking change in her financial circumstances, clear from the fact that she took lodgers at her house in Rue de la Pouche, a significant move for a wealthy upper-class woman. In May 1899 she wrote to Delius:

> I have been so terribly occupée with all this move, and getting settled! I have four pensionnaires, & the large household & responsibility at present are terrible.[170]

Batten wrote to her daughter that the house was 'beautifully furnished & as clean as a new pin' and suggested that she should stay there as it was 'cheap without being nasty'.[171] For the rest of Maddison's life, finances were to be a frequent source of anxiety. Gone were the days of diamonds at Buckingham Palace. Fred Maddison may have left his directorship of Metzler in 1896 because his later illness was already manifesting itself, and it is possible that this affected the family income. Another possible cause of impoverishment was the Boer War.

It is probably impossible to discover exactly why Maddison moved to Paris in 1898. But central to her decision was surely the desire to live in the centre of a thriving musical world that she already knew well, and develop her talents as a composer, perhaps

---

[168] Anon, *Miniature Essay: Poldowski* (London: Chester, 1924), p.3.
[169] Undated letters from Maddison to Delius held by the Delius Trust. Both letters refer to *Der Talisman* as unfinished and so date from before November, 1910. The later letter is dated 11 February and refers to a mutal friend passing through Berlin 'for Elektra', probably the premiere of Strauss's opera which was held in Dresden on 25 January, 1909.
[170] Maddison to Delius, 29 May [1899]. Quoted in Lionel Carley, *Delius: A Life in Letters I 1862-1908* (London: Scolar Press, 1983), p.155. At the end of this letter Carley misreads Batten's name as Bolten.
[171] Mabel Batten to Cara Batten, 8 and 14 August 1899. MBA.

continuing her studies with Fauré. As early as 1896, Maddison had had work published in Paris[172] and was described as 'a young musician who is now studying in Paris'.[173] That this reason for the move did not occur as a possibility to either Nectoux or Saint-Marceaux is not really surprising. For them, as a woman, Maddison's own artistic career was non-existent, and her motivation could only be connected in some way with her dependence on a man. Whether Maddison was having a sexual relationship with Fauré or not is ultimately less important than the fact of their musical relationship. Fauré's support of Maddison came at a crucial time in her own career, just as she was starting to develop an individual voice. His belief in her work takes on an added significance when his attitudes towards women composers are taken into account. In a letter of 1900 to Albert Samain, asking his permission for Maddison to publish two of her settings of his poetry, he described the songs, 'Hiver' and 'Silence', as 'de tout premier ordre bien que l'auteur soit une femme'.[174]

Fauré was by no means the only important musical figure in Maddison's Parisian life. Her other close friends included Fauré's patron Winnaretta Singer, the Princesse de Polignac, whom Maddison had probably known since at least 1896 when she came with Fauré to London for a concert of his music organised by Schuster.[175] Maddison also knew Maurice Ravel well enough to give him a signed copy of her song 'Matutina' (Armand Silvestre) from the 1897 Choudens collection.[176] Another Parisian acquaintance was Frederick Delius. On a quest for British performances of his music, Delius had arrived on a visit to London with a letter of introduction to Maddison in 1898 just after she had moved to Paris.[177] The two composers did later meet, and in March 1899 Delius' opera *Koanga* was played at Maddison's Parisian house to an audience which included Fauré and the Princesse de Polignac.[178] Maddison's own music continued to be published and performed in Paris. Hamelle issued her two Albert Samain settings in 1900, and in the following year Quinzard published a collection of

---

[172] 'Soleils couchants' for choir or soprano and mezzo duet, published by J. Hamelle, c.1896. The following year her *Six Mélodies* were published there by Choudens.
[173] *Athenaeum* 3576 (9 May 1896), p.627.
[174] Quoted in Philippe Fauré Frémiet and René Dumesnil, *Le Centenaire de Gabriel Fauré* (Paris: Editions de la Revue Musicale, 1945), p.57.
[175] Michael de Cossart, *The Food of Love: Princesse Edmond de Polignac (1865-1943) and her Salon* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978), p.62.
[176] Copy held at the Bibliothèque Nationale: Département de Musique, A.C. 10,637.
[177] Carley, *Delius: A Life in Letters*, p.135.
[178] *Ibid.*, p.149.

three Goethe settings in French translation.[179] Parisian concerts of Maddison's music included one she gave in 1904 together with the violinist George Enesco and pianist Ricardo Viñes.[180]

In about 1906 Maddison moved to Berlin but kept in close contact with her Parisian friends, eager to discuss her work with people she felt were sympathetic to her musical ideals. Three surviving letters to Delius and to his wife Jelka, probably dating from 1909, provide a fascinating insight into her own self-image, confidence and commitment as a composer.[181] It is in the first of these letters that she talks of looking after her sick husband and her daughter, adding that she hopes to send them off to her mother in England and devote herself to work on an unnamed opera, doubtless *Der Talisman*, giving a clear indication of where her priorities lay. She then writes:

> I quite agree with what you say about the French music but just now all music seems to me barren! I am conscious of having become childishly melodic in this work. Even Italian in places!!! & then feel the Debussy note that was born in us all at the same moment (& is no imitation - only he has had more opportunity of expressing it - in Pelléas surtout) & then again Wagner surges up in one! After all one can only express in languages one has heard and absorbed & assimilated the most: - hence I never admit - or rarely - that people are guilty of plagiarism because they give out what they've already taken in & digested - in another form. Just now I'm suffering from attacks of people who say my music is Wagner, Debussy and Fauré and Puccini (!!!) served in a gravy of my own. I think it ought to make a quite nice dish anyhow![182]

Maddison's lucid discussion of influence and plagiarism presents the opinions of a composer who is sure of her own voice, whatever others may think of it. Her striking confidence in her own music and its place in the musical world of the time contrasts sharply with the stereotype of the shy, retiring woman composer, or the diffidence presented by a composer such as White. Maddison's music had been associated with that of Wagner since the 1890s and was to continue to be so into the 1920s. She had visited Bayreuth several times in the late 19th century and could hardly have escaped his music in the Wagner-obsessed world of London society. Nevertheless, associating a composer with Wagner was a journalistic shorthand used to describe any chromatically

---

[179] *Deux Mélodies*: 'Hiver' and 'Silence'; *Trois Mélodies*: 'Pourquoi je t'aime', 'Rève', Fête de mai'.
[180] Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré*, p. 282.
[181] For dating of the first two, see above footnote 31. The third letter, to Jelka Delius, is dated 14 April, 1909. All three letters are held by the Delius Trust.
[182] Maddison to Frederick Delius, nd. Delius Trust.

based music in a 'modern idiom'. The influence of Fauré and Debussy, whom Maddison also knew, seems much more marked in her music.

Maddison mentions her *Irish Ballad* for orchestra in two of the 1909 Delius letters. Delius appears to have asked for a copy of the score with the intention of trying to get it performed in England. Ethel Smyth, passing through Berlin, 'was so kind & sympathetic & wanted to take it to Delius herself'.[183] But Maddison wanted to alter the opening six bars and seems to have been somewhat ambivalent about whether the work was performed or not. She wrote to Jelka Delius, using a characteristic mixture of languages: 'It is mir ganz egal if it is played or not! but if Mr Beecham or the League have an occasion to produce it - tant mieux!'[184] The *Irish Ballad* was not heard at either of the Musical League's festivals,[185] but Maddison's music was occasionally heard in England at this time. In May 1909, for example, Elsie Swinton included some of her songs in an all-German recital at Bechstein Hall.[186]

It is not clear why Maddison had chosen to move to Berlin in 1906, especially since she hated what she called its 'cold, wet, dümpf atmosphere'.[187] She also found herself surrounded by people who demonstrated 'contempt for anything done by a woman in the composition line', in sharp contrast to the supportive atmosphere in Paris.[188] But despite Maddison's dislike of Germany her years spent there were musically very productive, although none of her work from this period appears to have survived, including *Der Talisman*, which occupied much of her time and proved to be her greatest triumph. This four-act opera was accepted by Hans Loewenfeld, director of the Leipzig Opera House, after Maddison played him excerpts from the unorchestrated piano score, and publishers

---

[183] Maddison to Jelka Delius, 14 April 1909. Delius Trust.
[184] *Ibid.*
[185] Delius had been the driving force behind the formation of the Musical League, a British society launched in 1908 which aimed to promote new music by holding an annual festival. See Musical League Papers, BL Add. Mss 49600-49603. Delius himself did not attend the first festival in Liverpool in 1909, excusing himself with 'a bilious attack... brought to a crisis by a fortnight's stay in England - and associating with the better class of people. The English bourgeois has always this effect on me'. Derek Hudson, *Norman O'Neill: A Life of Music* (London: Quality Press, 1945), p.43.
[186] Greer, *A Numerous and Fashionable Audience*, p. 100.
[187] Maddison to Jelka Delius, 14 April 1909. Delius Trust. Maddison's friend the Princesse de Polignac was also bewildered as to why Maddison chose to live in Berlin, writing to a friend in about 1909 that Maddison was 'fixée à Berlin depuis 3 ans (personne ne sait pourquoi)'. Princesse de Polignac to Augustine Bulteau, Bibliothèque Nationale: Department of Mss, Fonds Bulteau, N. a. fr. 17554, f.153. I am very grateful to Sylvia Kahan for sending me a copy of this letter (in which Polignac is attempting to engage support for a plan to obtain a French academic award for Maddison).
[188] Maddison to Frederick Delius, 11 February, no year. Delius Trust.,

were offering to take it on before it was finished.[189] It was premiered on 19 November 1910 in a lavish production with costumes designed by Professor Steiner-Prag from the Leipzig Royal Academy of Art, and then given a further seven performances in the following weeks, conducted by Egon Pollak, although Maddison had supervised the rehearsals.[190] The libretto, set in the 13th century, was based on a play by Ludwig Fulda which tells the story of a conceited King, flattered by sycophantic courtiers, who walks through the town, believing that the non-existent cloak that he is wearing is magic and visible only to those who are neither wicked nor foolish.[191] The work was never produced in England despite its success in Germany[192] and the positive review from *The Times*.[193] The extent of Maddison's reputation in Britain at this time can be gauged from a review of *Der Talisman* in *The Musical Times* which stated that 'the composer, an American lady, has studied with Debussy'.[194]

One possible reason for Maddison's extended stay in Germany was her relationship with Marta Gertrud Mundt, whose family lived in Berlin. After Fred Maddison's death Mundt became Maddison's constant companion and eventually the beneficiary and co-executor of her will. She is first mentioned in the second Delius letter of 1909 in which Maddison asked the Deliuses to find her somewhere in their neighbourhood where she could spend the summer: 'My friend Martha Mundt wd come with me & we wd keep house together - but it must be very cheap!!!'.[195] She later told Jelka Delius that it was only because of the Mundts that she stayed in Berlin. Mundt and Maddison were almost certainly lovers and, whether it was sexual or not, this long relationship was probably the most supportive and important of Maddison's life.[196]

---

[189] *The Sketch* (16 November 1910), p.160 and Maddison to Frederick Delius, nd. Delius Trust. No published edition has been traced.

[190] *The Sketch* (16 November 1910), p.160.

[191] 'New Opera at Leipzig' *The Times* (21 November, 1910), p.12. Fulda's play, published in 1893, was obviously based on Hans Christian Anderson's story 'The Emperor's New Clothes'. The *Times* reviewer saw the text as a 'a charming and poetical representation of the humiliation of Royal pride - the conversion of lordly contempt into true kingship and love'.

[192] The Princesse de Polignac attended a performance of the work and described it as having 'un très grand et très merité succes'. Princesse de Polignac to Augustine Bulteau, Bibliothèque Nationale: Department of Mss, Fonds Bulteau, N. a. fr. 17554, f.154-155. My thanks again to Sylvia Kahan.

[193] 'It will be generally admitted that Mrs Maddison has put into this long four-act opera much thoroughly sound and interesting work. Perhaps the main criticism will be that she has taken her Fulda too seriously, and that her music is hardly strong enough for so ambitious a treatment of the theme of the magic cloak which culminates in the third act. A large and critical audience, however, showed increasing interest and marked approval, and after the third act the composer was called again and again. The fourth act, which contains a beautiful love duet, was even more successful.' *Ibid.*

[194] *The Musical Times* 51 (October 1910), p.664.

[195] Maddison to Frederick Delius, 11 February, no year. Delius Trust.

[196] As will be seen below, the two women were closely connected to other lesbian and bisexual women

In the years immediately before the war Maddison and Mundt appear to have moved back to Paris, where Mundt worked as secretary to the Princesse de Polignac. They made frequent visits to England where Maddison's music was sometimes performed. In October 1911, for example, Batten heard Theodore Byard sing Maddison's song 'Hall'ich geld' at Bechstein Hall.[197] Maddison and Mundt saw a great deal of Batten and her lover Radclyffe Hall, especially during a summer spent in England in 1913. As well as dining and making music together in London, the two women stayed at Batten and Hall's cottage in Malvern, where Batten sang them Spanish songs under a walnut tree, Mundt and Hall went for walks together and they all visited Tewkesbury Abbey to watch the sunset.[198]

At the outbreak of war the next year, Mundt, as a German, was dismissed in a fit of patriotism by the Princesse de Polignac. The two women managed to escape to England in August 1914, where they found themselves homeless and almost penniless.[199] Swinton let them stay in a flat where she usually housed destitute girls who were taught useful skills such as weaving. In a desperate letter to Batten explaining the situation, Maddison asked for help in finding somewhere for them both to live:

> We hoped to manage to get Mme de P. to at any rate recognise her obligation of "a month's warning" but she has simply left M. without a penny beyond her last month's money, excusing herself by saying "M. must herself as a patriot feel that it was now impossible for a German to work with a French or English employer"....
> The best thing to help us (& we need help indeed) is to try & find a small flat which could be lent to me for as long as possible - & Marta would do the work for us both if she did not get any work "outside", which is of course likely to be the case. It is impossible to give employment to foreigners when Englishmen and women are needing it so. ...
> For M. to go into a home for German governesses or something of that sort would break my heart & I need her with me for my heart is very bad & who could look after me?
> I know you are yourself worried, poor dear Mabel. I feel a brute writing all this - I don't want money & hate anyone thinking I am begging at this terrible moment - but if the roof can be provided somehow I can for a time manage our food etc. on £2 a week. ...

---

including the Princesse de Polignac, Mabel Batten and Radclyffe Hall.

[197] Mabel Batten's diary, 27 October, 1911. MBA.

[198] Mabel Batten's diary, 9 May, 11 May, 1 June, 8 June 1911; 11 July, 13 July, 5-12 August, 1913. MBA.

[199] It is perhaps curious that Maddison did not turn to her children, both by this time in their late 20s, for support in this crisis. It is possible that they disapproved of their mother's relationship with Mundt, although if there had been a breach it appears to have been healed by the time Maddison made her will in 1920.

> I am doing the cooking & all here - & am so sick of life in general & so tired of "ideals" that only lead to the utmost abimes of sordid realities.
> But one can't be untrue to one's nature!!![200]

Batten was unmoved by this heartfelt plea, writing to Cara a few days later:

> Marta ought never to have come. I can't understand why there is no Home or Hospital where they could go & offer their services in exchange for board and lodging.[201]

Maddison did eventually find somewhere to live, described by Batten as 'her "cobbler's" rooms'.[202] But it seems from an undated letter written during the war to Edward Dent, who had met the couple in Berlin, that Mundt had to return to Germany:

> The war has separated us, & broken up our dear little home - alas! I am being taken care of by friends for the present. Poor Marta is in Berlin - very "pro-ally" & heartbroken.[203]

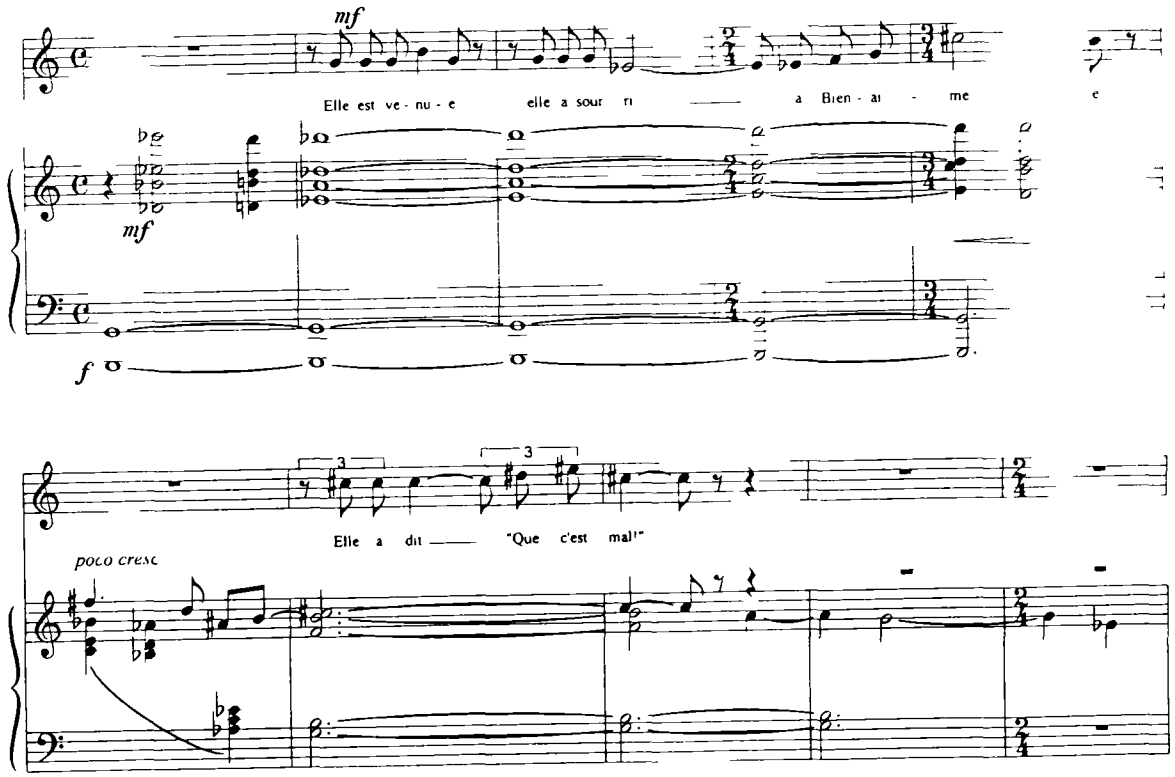
One of the greatest frustrations for Maddison at this time was the interruption to her work and performance opportunities. She wrote to Batten that just before the war her friend Henry Russell had taken one of her works to the United States for a performance in Boston, adding that 'all my hopes were centred on that being at last a chance'.[204] But by 1915 she was beginning to re-establish herself as a composer in London. On 30 April that year she gave a concert at the Aeolian Hall with a programme that gives a clear picture of her musical preferences - piano music by Ravel and violin sonatas by Franck and Delius as well as 12 of her own songs. The critic for *The Musical Times* felt these 'showed her to be a composer with ideas and some facility in handling modern harmonic resources'.[205] In the same year, Augener published seven of her songs.[206] These are the first of Maddison's works since the songs published in Paris in the early years of the century to have survived, and show a marked change in musical style.

---

[200] Maddison to Batten, nd but c. 15 August, 1914. MBA. The 'ideals' that have led Maddison to the depths of sordid reality are not clear but may possibly refer to her relationship with Mundt.
[201] Mabel Batten to Cara Batten, 18 August, 1914. MBA. Batten, as Maddison suggests in her letter, was not well at this time. She died of a stroke on 25 May, 1916. Baker, *Our Three Selves*, p.78.
[202] Mabel Batten's diary, 10 February, 1915. MBA.
[203] Maddison to Edward Dent, 12 November, no year. Cambridge University Library: Add 7973 M/21.
[204] Maddison to Batten, nd but c. 15 August, 1914. MBA.
[205] *The Musical Times* 56 (June 1915), p. 364. It seems likely that Delius was present at this concert since he had attended the premiere of his violin sonata, given by the same performers, at The Music Club the previous day. *Ibid.*
[206] 1915 is the year in which copies were received by the British Library. It is quite likely that some or all were written during her time in Berlin or Paris.

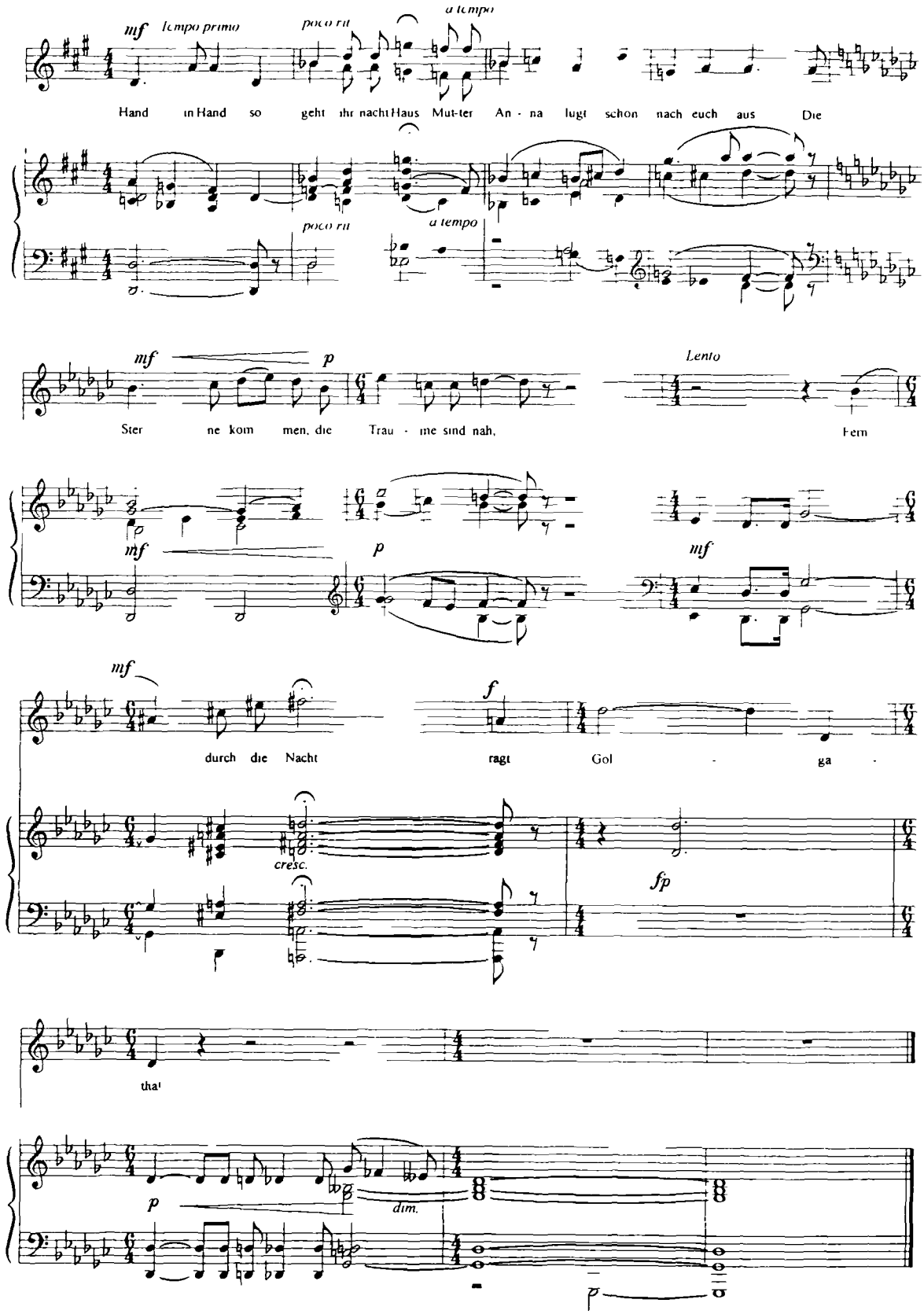
The set of *Trois Mélodies* to lyrics by Edmond Haraucourt clearly displays 'the Debussy note' to which Maddison had referred to several years earlier. Her earlier songs had already shown a Debussyian disregard for melody as the driving force behind a song. In these three through-composed songs, 'La Bien-aimée', 'Soir en Mer' and 'Mon amour était mort', the vocal line often takes second place to the colours and rhythms of the piano part. The vocal line of the first song is especially declamatory with piano and voice answering each other in the harmonically ambiguous opening and closing sections.

Example 44. Maddison, 'La Bien-aimée...', bars 1-10.



Three of the 1915 songs have opus numbers ('The Ballad of Fair Agneta' op. 40, 'Mary at play' op. 42 and 'Little Fishes Silver' op. 43), giving a tantalising idea of the number of works that appear to have been lost. All three songs, given in both their original German and in English translations by Maddison, are much more melodic than the Haraucourt settings. 'Mary at play', dedicated to Lili Lehmann, is a deceptively simple strophic song in a folk-like style telling of Mary and Joseph as children. The gently rocking Gb major setting moves to F# minor for the opening of an uneasy and almost faltering final verse, ending with a final, climactic warning of Golgotha. [See Example 45].

Example 45. Maddison, 'Kleine Maria', bars 38-49.



Maddison's final song published that year was 'Sail On, O Ship of State', a somewhat bombastic Longfellow setting with a strikingly illustrative piano accompaniment. It was dedicated to the King, perhaps in an attempt to find favour in high circles. A *Musical Times* review of the Aeolian Hall concert singled this song out for praise, and it was perhaps more to contemporary English tastes than Maddison's more impressionistic music. Nevertheless it was much too complex to have appealed to the hugely profitable popular song market, although writing and publishing such songs would have been an obvious way out of Maddison's financial predicament.[207]

The only instrumental music to survive from Maddison's later years is a piano quintet, written in 1916 and eventually published nearly 10 years later, in 1925. The frequently modulating first movement opens with an introduction, alternating dramatic *Largamente* passages with bursts of *Allegro vivo*, before settling into a 9/8 *Andante moderato*. The second ternary movement uses *vivace* 6/8 sections to frame a central slower section in 4/4. The *Tranquillamente* slow movement opens with an expansive opening theme using parallel fifths. A reviewer found it to have

> that quality of melodic inspiration which gives charm to Mrs Maddison's songs. It struck us as being rather too long, a common fault with improvisations, but too long for the right reason; the reason for which Schubert was often too long - that the composer was in love with her melodic idea and could not willingly leave it.[208]

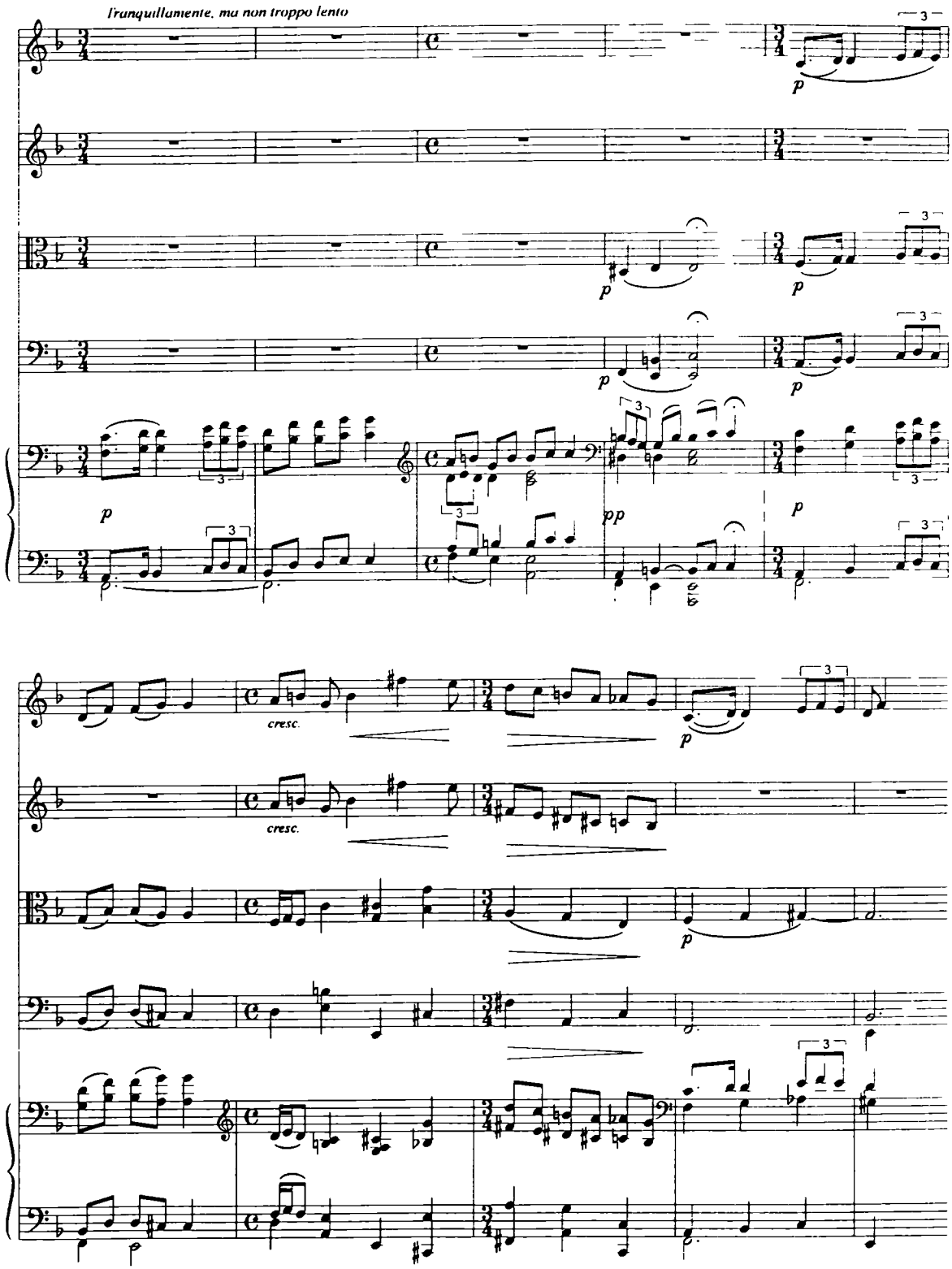
[See Example 46].

The final *Allegro vivo* movement in Eb major brings back suggestions of themes from the opening movement. Despite the undoubted fluency and effectiveness of Maddison's writing, one reviewer of the printed edition simply ignored any discussion of the music itself and concentrated instead on criticising Maddison for writing music that was too ambitious.[209]

---

[207] It is, of course, possible that she did publish such work, using a pseudonym.
[208] *The Times* (22 June, 1920), p.146.
[209] B.V. 'Chamber Music' *The Musical Times* 66 (October 1925), p.909.

Example 46. Maddison, 'Piano Quintet', third movement, bars 1-10.



Sometime before 1920 and probably as early as 1917, Maddison moved to Glastonbury in Somerset where she became involved with Rutland Boughton's Festival movement which had been based there since 1914.[210] There is no surviving correspondence between Boughton and Maddison but they may have first met in 1911 when Boughton and his lover Christina Walshe spent two months in Berlin. This extra-marital relationship had caused such scandal and outrage in Birmingham that Boughton had resigned his post at the Midland Institute and the couple fled briefly abroad.[211] Adultery was a rather different matter for the lower-middle classes to which Boughton and Walshe belonged than for the cosmopolitan upper classes. Maddison was obviously not concerned by the scandal that tended to follow Boughton, vegetarian, feminist and socialist, wherever he went. The extent of her involvement with the festival is unclear but it is possible that she taught at the Glastonbury summer schools as well as writing music for performances.

In January 1917 Miles Malleson's play *Paddly Pools* was performed at Glastonbury with incidental music by Maddison, and the production was repeated several times over the next couple of years.[212] Her most substantial work for the festival was a ballet *The Children of Lir* based on the Celtic legend of the swan children. First performed at the Old Vic in London during the early summer of 1920, it was given a further six performances at Glastonbury later that year.[213] Reviewers for *The Musical Times* and *Musical Opinion* were not particularly impressed by Maddison's music, but the critic for the *Morning Post* felt that 'a charming idea is very gracefully illustrated musically by a style that is modern, illustrative and picturesque'.[214] Christopher St. John, reviewing the Old Vic concerts for the feminist journal *Time and Tide*, disliked the lack of Englishness displayed by the Glastonbury composers, including Boughton. She wrote that Maddison and Napier Miles, whose work was heard on the same programme,

> bear traces of training in the German school. Their music is sound, careful, workmanlike, but terribly transcendent-a-l. It does not show the influence of Byrd or Tallis or Tye. It does show an admiration for Wagner and Brahms.[215]

---

[210] Maddison's will, made 20 February 1920, gives her address as Tor Down, Glastonbury.
[211] On Boughton, see Michael Hurd, *Rutland Boughton and the Glastonbury Festivals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
[212] *The Musical Times* 58 (March 1917), p.138.
[213] Information provided by Michael Hurd, letter to present author, 24 November 1991.
[214] Quoted in *ibid.* The work has not survived.
[215] Christopher St John, 'Music' *Time and Tide* 1 (18 June 1920), p.132. I am very grateful to Elizabeth Kertesz for providing me with this review.

Maddison's choice of story for the ballet demonstrates her interest in the Celtic revivalism that was current at the time and particularly prevalent at Glastonbury. This exploration of her own Irish roots, which had perhaps started with the orchestral *Irish Ballad* written in Berlin, can also be seen in her settings of two old Irish lyrics in translations by Isabella Augusta Gregory, 'The Heart of the Wood' and 'The Poet Complains', published by Curwen in 1924, although these are musically more Gallic than Irish.

The Glastonbury connection also bought Maddison into contact with K. N. Das Gupta, who had produced a play there in 1917. Her uncharacteristically simple setting of his *National Hymn for India* was published by his own organisation, the Union of East & West, in the same year. It may also have been this Indian connection that prompted her to set the poetry of the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore for her haunting song 'If you would have it so', with its characteristic duet between piano right hand and vocal line. [See Example 47]. She used a more obviously Eastern idiom of chords built from fourths for her setting of 'Tears' by the sixth-century Chinese poet Wang-Sen-Ju, in the translation by Cranmer Byng from *A Lute of Jade*.[216] [See Example 48].

'Tears' was dedicated to Maddison's friend Mabel MacLellan whom Siegfried Sassoon met in 1922 in Berchtesgaden, recording the evening in his diary:

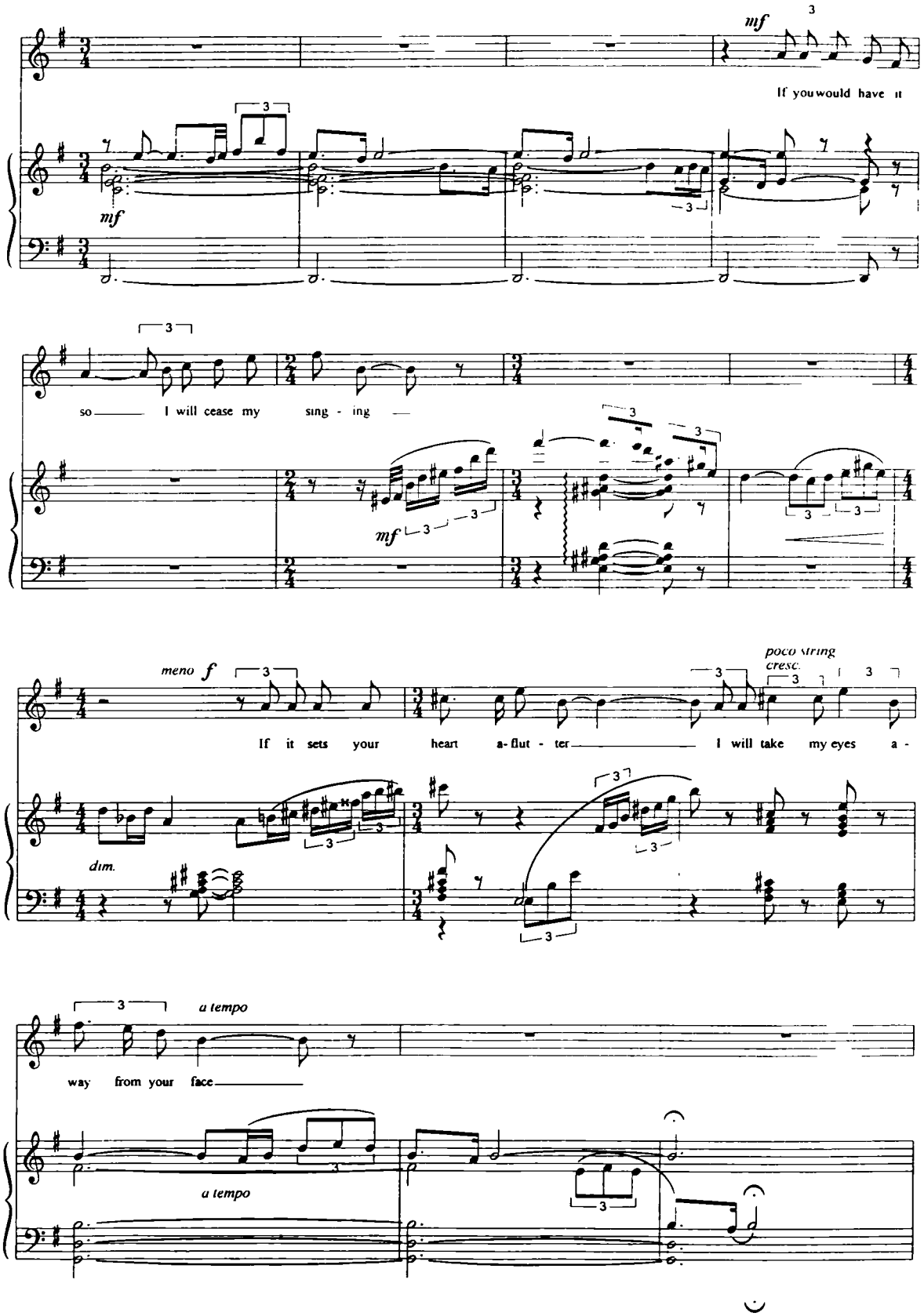
> She is, I find, quite a jolly old girl, and we were rather hilarious and happy until (downstairs in a ghastly bar with a band playing, a few odd-looking couples dancing, and the rest sitting goggle-faced watching life and automatically spending their atrocious money) she drifted into spiritualism and revealed herself as a real Oliver Lodge-ite - the usual mixture of religious-dope in ouija-board formula: escape from life and mental limitations.[217]

Spiritualism was a fashionable craze in the 1920s, and MacLellan was not alone in her fanaticism. Mabel Batten and Radclyffe Hall were deeply interested in telepathy and claivoyancy and a 'Mrs Maddison' was listed as a member of the Society for Psychic Research in their records for 1921.[218] MacLellan had been a friend of Maddison's since at least 1915, when the two women are mentioned together in Batten's diary, and was one of the executors of Maddison's will.

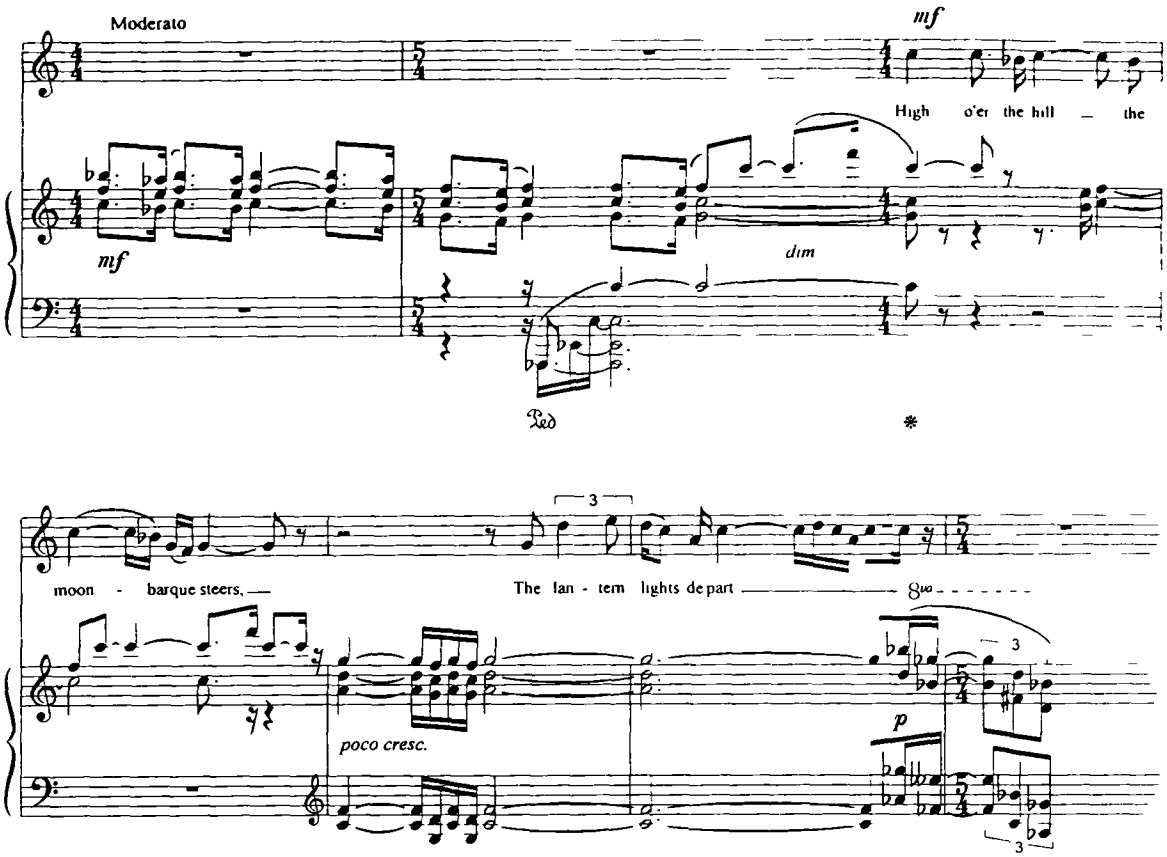
---

[216] See example 32 for Allitsen's setting of the same poem.
[217] Ed. Rupert Hart-Davis, *Siegfried Sassoon Diaries 1920-1922* (London: Faber, 1981), p.233.
[218] Baker, *Our Three Selves*, p.84.

Example 47. Maddison, 'If you would have it so' bars 1-14.



Example 48. Maddison, 'Tears' bars 1-7.



Throughout the 1920s Maddison continued to organise concerts of her own music in London, although from 1921 onwards she and Mundt were based for at least part of the year in Switzerland.[219] The first of these concerts was given at the Wigmore Hall in 1920 and included her piano quintet.[220] A concert she gave at the Hyde Park Hotel in 1924 included the premiere of Arnold Bax's oboe quintet, and it is possible that Maddison took part in the musical soirees that Bax's mother was hosting at this time.[221] An opera, *Ippolita in the Hills* to a libretto by the novelist and essayist Maurice Hewlett, was apparently performed in Chelsea in the late 1920s, but the work and records of its performance have disappeared without trace.[222]

Percy Pitt, music director of the BBC from 1924, had known Maddison since the late 1890s, and several of her songs are held by the BBC Music Library, suggesting that they

[219] A codicil to Maddison's will, made in January 1921, gives her address as Geneva, Switzerland.
[220] 'Woman Composer's Concert' *The Times* (22 June 1920), p. 14; B.V., 'New Chamber Music' *The Musical Times* 66 (October 1925), p.909.
[221] Lewis Foreman, *Bax: A Composer and his Times* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1988), p.433.
[222] Obituary, *The Times* (June 13 1929), p.21.

were probably broadcast in the early days of radio.[223] Maddison also turned to writing for the stage in the 1920s. Her 5-scene play *The Song*, which has not survived, was given a matinee performance, presumably with her own music, at the Court Theatre in May 1926. One of the seven actors was a young Laurence Olivier, and the music was conducted by Anthony Bernard, who had also conducted her opera *Ippolita in the Hills*.[224]

Maddison had been suffering from unspecified ill health since the war, and after a long illness during which she continued to compose, died in 1929 at a nursing home in Ealing.[225] In December that year an Adela Maddison Memorial Fund was established with a concert given at the MacLellan's home by the Guild of Singers and Players. The object of the fund was to provide relief for any member of the Guild 'who may be need of temporary financial help'.[226]

Maddison lived and worked outside the 'Renaissance' worlds of the London conservatories, orchestras and opera houses, the Oxbridge universities and the big provincial festivals, all worlds that were not particularly welcoming to women. An articulate and talented composer, she chose instead to move in unconventional and cosmopolitan aristocratic circles and found in them the space to be creative. Moving through the London drawing-rooms of Batten and Swinton, the Parisian salons of the Princesse de Polignac and the radical experiments of Boughton's Glastonbury, Maddison traced an alternative path to that of the British musical establishment. She was determined, energetic, single-minded and distinctive.[227] Her music mirrors many of the fashionable concerns of her times - from the aestheticism of her early Swinburne settings through the possible political symbolism of her German opera to the 'oriental' and 'Celtic' works of the 1920s. But above all, it displays her love of 'modern' French

---

[223] Letter from Percy Pitt to Frederick Delius, 12 March 1899. Carley, *Delius: A Life in Letters*, p.148. On Pitt's career see J. Daniel Chamier, *Percy Pitt of Covent Garden and the BBC* (London: Edward Arnold, 1938).

[224] J. P. Wearing, *The London Stage 1920-1929: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1976) II, p.730.

[225] Obituary, *The Times* (June 13 1929), p.21.

[226] 'Adela Maddison Memorial' *The Times* (4 December 1929), p.16.

[227] Biographers of Radclyffe Hall have regarded Batten's rhyme 'Adela Maddison, Mad as a Hattison' as a sign of Maddison's eccentricity, although it can also be seen to reflect Batten's affection and perhaps her frustration at some of Maddison's exploits. See Michael Baker, *Our Three Selves: A Life of Radclyffe Hall* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1985), p.51 and Sally Cline, *Radclyffe Hall: A Woman Called John* (London: John Murray, 1997), p.73.

colours and harmonies, an influence that sat uneasily with the establishment's growing desire for a new, identifiably British music.

Chapter 7: In Conclusion

Women's wide-ranging work as instrumentalists, singers, writers on music, patrons, organisers and composers in both the professional and amateur spheres of British musical life in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was readily acknowledged by their contemporaries, despite the absence of these women's achievements from later musical histories of the period and even from recent work reassessing women's contributions to music.[1] As musicians, the women of this period faced what can seem in retrospect to be a contradictory mixture of restriction and opportunity. Many musical worlds were not welcoming, while others provided vital encouragement and support. Participation in cathedral or university music, for example, was firmly off limits, but the classes and concerts of the Royal Academy of Music or the private drawing rooms of London society provided vibrant musical spaces in which women often outnumbered men. Women's experiences of access to education or performing and publishing opportunities, as well as the critical reception that they received as performers and composers, were by no means entirely negative or limiting.

From the 1880s onwards, for example, despite the gloomy picture of exclusion described by Smyth, large numbers of women were performing as orchestral musicians in all-women and mixed ensembles, as amateurs and professionals. While it is impossible to ignore the fact that women were excluded from the most prestigious professional orchestras (and thereby from the most financially and artistically rewarding opportunities), to suggest that no woman could gain first-hand experience of orchestral music, something seen by Smyth as crucial to a composer's development, is a simple misrepresentation. At a very early stage in her career, White recognised the importance of the orchestral training available to her at the Royal Academy. Smyth herself may never have played in an orchestra but neither did many of her best-known male contemporaries.[2]

---

[1] The absence of British women musicians and composers, with the time-honoured exception of Ethel Smyth, from feminist work in remembering women's musical history is closely connected to the domination of this field by North American scholars who have tended (albeit with some notable exceptions) to misrepresent or ignore the situation of British women. A clear example of this neglect can be seen in the relevant chapters of ed. Karin Pendle, *Women & Music: A History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

[2] The most obvious exceptions are Elgar and Mackenzie, both of whom worked as orchestral violinists.

The careers of women composers need to be understood in the context of the various British musical worlds of the time and of women's wider position in the arts and in society. The debilitating expectations and stereotypes surrounding women and their abilities must be balanced against the enormous sense of empowerment and achievement experienced by women in so many areas of life and work as they fought their way into the public world. During this period the very concept of working as a composer in Britain was undergoing significant change as the musical establishment shifted focus in attitudes towards class, social status, professionalism and nationality. Women played an important part in this ferment of change, and their increasing presence helped to highlight issues around the feminine and the masculine within music. These were issues which had been long present in the musical world but which were being explored with increasing urgency in the turmoil of the fin-de-siècle with its insistent questioning of sexuality and gender roles.

The striking change in critical reception faced by composers such as Bright, Lehmann or White, even during their lifetimes, stemmed from many different factors, including the growing dominance of a modernist aesthetics that affected (and still affects) attitudes towards much of late Victorian and Edwardian culture.[3] But the fact that these composers were women also played an important part in the increasingly negative attitude of critics and the musical establishment, if not the general public, towards their music.[4] This growing hostility towards women's presence as composers can be seen as symptomatic of a more general fear of the changes threatening society and culture as more and more women entered the public arena.

A fear of feminization was particularly relevant in the musical world. There has been a long association of music with the female and the feminine within Western culture, from the early Christian image of St Cecilia as the patron saint of music to Julia Kristeva's description of the 'space underlying the written' as feminine, enigmatic and musical.[5] As far back as the 18th century, music in Britain had been regarded as the

---

[3] The move to the more logical structures of some modernist art after the emotional excesses of romanticism has been seen itself as a rejection of the feminine in pursuit of art that was more reassuringly masculine. See, for example, Catherine Parsons Smith, ' "A Distinguishing Virility": Feminism and Modernism in American Art Music' in eds. Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou, *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), pp.90-106.

[4] Scholars examining the position of women writers and painters at this time have noticed a similar backlash. See chapter 1.

[5] Quoted in Sally Kilmister, 'Aesthetics and Music: The Appropriation of the Other' *Women: A Cultural*

domain of those standing outside the mainstream of intellectual and artistic thought. The professional musician was usually expected to be a lower-class foreigner, while amateur music was increasingly characterised as an upper-class female accomplishment.

Throughout the 19th and far into the 20th century, male musicians faced the stigma of being perceived as effeminate or womanly. Elgar, for example, not only avoided carrying his violin case in public but also cultivated a particular image of military manhood.[6] A. T. Fitzroy's novel *Despised and Rejected*, first published in 1918, powerfully conveys a male composer's experience of 'Otherness':

> When I was at school, I was terrified of my musical gift; I hated it, and did my utmost to suppress it, because I thought that it was that which made me different from the other boys. I loathed being 'different'; it made me feel so alone, so I played hard games with the others, and tried to make friends with the others, and tried to forget that there was something inside my brain that turned everything I felt and experienced into music, which clamoured to be released, and which I refused to release, because I knew that if I did so, it would widen still more the gulf between me and the others.[7]

This novel, which explores pacifism and homosexuality during the First World War, was written, under a pseudonym, by Rose Allatini, a lesbian writer who was married for several years to the composer Cyril Scott. Her hero's fear of his musicality also stands as a coded reference to his fear of his homosexuality, an association widely accepted in the early years of the 20th century. As Philip Brett has explained:

> Art music, like poetry, had become in this century the repository of transcendent or universal values, which is almost tantamount to saying masculine and heterosexual values. This came about for a number of reasons, but one very strong cause in my estimation was the threat to its status by a widespread notion encapsulated by Havelock Ellis around the turn of the century in a single sentence in his book on what he referred to as Sexual Inversion: 'it has been extravagantly said that all musicians are inverts'. In the aftermath of the trials of Oscar Wilde English musicians, like other artists, cultivated images that were as distant as possible from the connection of effeminacy, aestheticism and vice that had been discerned in those traumatic events.[8]

Review 3:1 (Spring 1992), p.36.

[6] See Byron Adams, 'The Dark Saying of the Enigma: Homoeroticism and the Elgarian Paradox' paper read at various UK seminars in the autumn of 1997, publication forthcoming. Undoubtedly issues around class were additional factors in Elgar's behaviour.

[7] A. T. Fitzroy, *Despised and Rejected* (London: The Gay Men's Press, 1988), p.79.

[8] Philip Brett, 'The Britten Era' The Proms Lecture, broadcast 17 August, 1997. See also Philip Brett, 'Musicality, Essentialism, and the Closet' in eds. Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood and Gary C. Thomas, *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994), pp.9-26.

The increasing presence of women themselves as composers and musicians can also be seen as a reason for this concentration on 'masculine values' in music. An important result of male musicians' desire to distance both themselves and British music from the taint of effeminacy was a rejection of actual women and their work as well as a rejection of any aspect of behaviour, musical style or genre that might suggest femininity.

Alan Sinfield has cogently argued that in the late 19th century effeminacy was not linked to homosexual behaviour[9] but it was, of course, always linked, implicitly and explicitly, to women. In 1889 a writer in *The Musical Times* desperately tried to dissociate male musicians from the female, feminine and effeminate, arguing that 'effeminacy and capriciousness, so far from being essential characteristics of all musicians, are only the accidental qualities of some', and that 'the manlier an artist has proved himself to be, the better musician, *ex ipso facto*, has he generally been'. Drawing clear parallels between the effeminate, the foreign and the drawing-room, he describes 'dusky warblers of erotic inanities' and 'violinists who profane a beautiful instrument by imbecile buffoonery', adding that:

> about these pests of the drawing-room congregates a swarm of pallid *dilettanti*, cosmopolitan in sentiment, destitute of any manly vigour or grit, who have never played cricket or been outside a house in their lives. It is from contact with these nerveless and effeminate natures that the healthy average well-born Briton recoils in disgust and contempt.[10]

Such remarks clearly convey the scorn with which both women and those who were not British (or who harboured 'cosmopolitan' sympathies) were regarded by some sections of the musical establishment. For many Victorian men, women were themselves foreigners, as can be seen in an *Athenaeum* review from 1865: 'We must go to lady writers to learn the inner life of their sex, just as we seek a foreigner's assistance when we would learn the language of his country'.[11]

In the discussion following Stratton's challenging 1883 paper on women in music, the violinist and composer Ferdinand Praeger retorted:

---

[9] See Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment* (London: Cassell, 1994).
[10] Anon, 'Manliness in Music' *The Musical Times* 30 (August 1889), pp.460-461.
[11] Ellen Miller Casey, 'Edging Women Out? Reviews of Women Novelists in the Athenaeum, 1860-1900' *Victorian Studies* 39:2 (Winter 1996), p.158.

> I firmly believe woman is incapable of great composition. They compose songs, small things which are very admirable in art, but not a great work. They are very much like the French; they are greatest in small things.[12]

Praeger's remark raises the issue of women's association with songwriting, which will be discussed below, as well as directly connecting women's work to that of foreigners, specifically the French.[13] The aesthetic and decadent movements had been closely related to French art, and the reaction to Wilde's downfall included, from certain sections of the establishment, a distrust of much French culture.[14] As the increased nationalistic fervour of the British Musical Renaissance sought a manly and British music, so French music was increasingly denigrated, often in highly gendered terms. In 1899, for example, Richard Terry made a striking comparison of Thomas Tallis with Charles Gounod: 'In Gounod we have feminine abandonment to the luxury of weeping; Tallis has tears in plenty, but they are the tears of a strong man who will not let them fall'.[15]

This dismissal of French and French-influenced music as well as its association with the feminine can be seen in the changing reception of Arthur Goring Thomas (1850-1892). The music of Goring Thomas, who had studied in France and was probably best known for his songs to French texts, was initially well received. But in 1892 Shaw, always a critic attuned to nuances of contemporary thought, described him as 'a little too much of a voluptuary in music' and 'more completely Frenchified than an islander of grit ought to have been'.[16] Nevertheless at the turn of the century Goring Thomas was still generally regarded as an important composer. Both Fuller Maitland and Walker placed him in the small group of men they regarded as leaders of the British Musical Renaissance, although Walker, writing in 1907, referred in strikingly gendered terms to his 'polished delicacy and slightly sentimental charm', 'refined technique' and 'dainty turns of phrase' as well as 'his permanent deficiency to write music possessing real

---

[12] Published in Stephen S. Stratton, 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art' *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 3 (1882-3), p.136.

[13] Praeger himself had been born in Leipzig although he had settled in London in 1834, at the age of 19.

[14] German music and culture never carried the same implications. After the Franco-Prussian war (1870) and the Boer War (1899-1902), the Germans began to be seen less as the natural political allies of the British. A certain decreased reverence for German music can be seen from some commentators, but the music of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms and Wagner formed the core of the musical canon and repertory and it was not until the First World War that there was any wide-spread reaction against German musical culture.

[15] Richard Terry, *A Forgotten Psalter and Other Essays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp.85-86. I am grateful to Sue Cole for introducing me to this passage.

[16] George Bernard Shaw, *Music In London 1890-94* revised edition (London: Constable, 1932) II, p.141

emotional grip'.[17] But like his friend White, Goring Thomas was quickly relegated to a marginal place in the histories of British music written after the two world wars. He is simply not mentioned in Howes's classic *The English Musical Renaissance*, and even Bush, champion of White and Lehmann, wrote that Goring Thomas's songs 'plumb no depths... they are elegant, sensuous, feminine'.[18]

As well as being frequently associated with foreigners, especially the French, simply through the fact of their gender, several of the women composers discussed in this study, notably White and Maddison, were particularly attracted to continental Europe and, in White's case, to countries even further afield. These two composers were also drawn to French texts for their songs and influenced by French musical styles, whether those of Gounod, Fauré or Debussy. There are several possible explanations for this cosmopolitanism, a trait not seen in the work of any of their male contemporaries, with the exceptions of Goring Thomas and Delius.[19] On a practical level, Maddison found particular support for her work from French musical circles and certainly the success of contemporary French composers such as Boulanger, Chaminade or Holmès demonstrates that the climate in France was not discouraging for women who wanted to work as composers. It can also be suggested that women such as White or Maddison did not avoid French poetry or musical influence because they did not fear or even consider accusations of effeminacy since, as women, they would inevitably be seen as feminine, however they composed and whatever texts they set.[20]

The history of the British Musical Renaissance and the retelling of that history throughout the 20th century is continually affected by issues of nationality and gender. The desire to portray a virile British music written by manly and male British composers can be seen in the popular images created for composers such as Parry, Elgar and Vaughan Williams. In his 1926 biography of Parry, for example, Charles Graves

---

[17] J. A. Fuller Maitland, *English Music in the XIXth Century* (London: Grant Richards, 1902), pp.185 and Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), p.295

[18] Geoffrey Bush, 'Songs' in ed. Nicholas Temperley, *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age* 1800-1914 (London: Athlone Press, 1981), p.281.

[19] Many British composers, such as Cowen and Elgar, gave their short instrumental pieces French titles implying that such works were closely associated with a salon culture that was perceived as French.

[20] Did women perhaps particularly welcome working, to whatever extent, within a foreign culture in which they chose to be seen as 'Other' through the difference of nationality, in contrast to the 'Otherness' of gender which was inescapable wherever they were? On the particular relationship of British 19th-century women writers to the 'femaleness' of Italy (the country where White always felt most at home) see Sandra M. Gilbert, 'From *Patria* to *Matria*: Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Risorgimento' in ed. Angela Leighton, *Victorian Women Poets: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp.24-52.

strengthens his picture of Parry as a truly British composer, by quoting from Vaughan Williams's tribute to his teacher:

> ...later composers have followed after strange gods; they have gathered new sounds from Germany, bizarre rhythms from Russia and subtle harmonies from France. Into these paths Parry had not followed, not because he could not, but because he would not; he remained staunchly himself, and amidst all the outpourings of modern English music the work of Parry remains supreme.

Graves also skirts over Parry's socialism and feminism to concentrate on portraying him as above all a sportsman and gentleman, 'robust, manly and intrepid'.[21]

There were many ways in which both their contemporaries and later scholars have attempted to diminish the achievements of women composers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The association of women with certain styles of writing and with certain genres built on ideas about women's temperaments and capabilities that had been commonly held for centuries. Such associations raise important issues concerning the relationship between gender and genre.[22] Above all, especially after the popular success of composers such as Claribel and Virginia Gabriel, women were associated with song, a genre which had long been regarded, perhaps especially in Britain, as lacking the prestige of the symphony or the string quartet. Could this attitude towards song have something to do with the very fact of women's dominance and successes in the genre?[23]

There were many practical reasons why 19th-century women should embrace careers as songwriters, including the comparative ease with which songs could be performed, the fact that songwriting was one of the few potentially financially profitable forms of composition, the limited access of certain women to training in counterpoint or orchestration and, for some, a lack of belief in their own abilities. Other reasons can also

---

[21] Charles L. Graves, *Hubert Parry: His Life and Works* (London: Macmillan, 1926), p.363 and 365. The 'distorted reputation' of Vaughan Williams himself has recently been challenged by Alain Frogley, 'Constructing Englishness in music: national character and the reception of Ralph Vaughan Williams' in ed. Alain Frogley, *Vaughan Williams Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). On Elgar, see Jeremy Crump, 'The Identity of English Music: The Reception of Elgar 1898-1935' in ed. Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, *Englishness, Politics and Culture 1880-1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1986).

[22] For a cogent discussion of gender and genre, albeit in an earlier period, see Jeffrey Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge, MT: Harvard University Press, 1996).

[23] Does the third sentence of the following quotation perhaps explain the second? 'What of Miss Maud [sic] Valerie White's - sweet and fascinating composer as she is - song? Would any human being, after acknowledging their charm, their melodiousness, their grace, claim for them a place of the highest greatness? There is, indeed, in these days a veritable singing-nest of women-writers of music'. V. B., 'Failures of Women in Art: In Music' *The Sketch* 21 (1898), p.468.

be suggested for women choosing to concentrate on composing song.[24] For centuries, whether on the opera stage or in the private drawing-room, the most accepted way for women to express themselves musically was as singers, something that associated them on a fundamental level with song and other texted genres. Victorian women were socialised to communicate feelings and develop their instincts and emotions in ways that many people would have regarded as entirely inappropriate for men. In song, women found a genre which was capable of a direct and crystallised expression in music of feeling, ideas and emotions. Smyth once accused men of being afraid of melody,[25] and a comparison of Parry's songs, such as the first two collections of *English Lyrics* from the early 1880s, with the songs written by White at the same time demonstrates that the centrality of a memorable and immediately attractive melody, something that aids the process of communication, was a characteristic of White's songs to an extent not found in the work of Parry. Banfield has suggested that, in his songs: 'Parry's public manner gets the better of his private feeling'.[26] On the contrary, White's best music was a direct expression of her most private feelings. Perhaps, as a woman, she simply had no public manner behind which to hide.[27]

One of the ways in which later scholars have relegated composers such as White or Lehmann to a subsidiary position within British musical history is to define all their work as falling within the sub-genre of 'drawing-room ballad' rather than the more prestigious 'art song'. This relegation began to take place within their lifetimes but contrasts sharply with the opinion of critics writing about their early works, who not only credited both women with writing 'art song' but also as playing a crucial role in raising the standards of British song writing. In 1982 Banfield called for someone to 'define anew, or perhaps abolish, the perplexing distinction between 'popular' and 'art' song'.[28] The distinction is not only perplexing but also highly flexible, and often depends on the status and reputation of the composer in other fields of music. Nicholas

---

[24] The expectation that women were not capable of writing anything other than song led several women to avoid the genre. Ethel Smyth, for example, after her early student settings of German texts, published no songs until the chamber songs of 1907 and no songs with piano accompaniment until the *Three Songs* of 1913. Is it perhaps significant that the *Three Songs*, the second and third of which are dedicated to Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst respectively, were only written after her intense immersion in a world of women during her years involved with the suffragette campaign?

[25] Ethel Smyth, *A Final Burning of Boats Etc.* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928), p.13. For Lehmann's views on the importance of melody, see chapter 5.

[26] Stephen Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.25.

[27] A 'public manner' might possibly be seen in some of the more formulaic songs that White produced in the early years of the 20th century.

[28] Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song*, p.ix.

Temperley has defined drawing-room music as technically and intellectually undemanding.[29] The technical or intellectual demands of, for example, White and Lehmann's settings of *In Memoriam* easily bear comparison to Schumann or Wolf's *lieder*, yet the categorisation of the work of these composers has been very different. Does the simple fact of widespread popularity remove a work from the category of 'art' music? In the late 19th century critics did compare White's work with that of Schumann, something almost unthinkable in the late 20th century.[30]

The British backlash after the 1890s against music that was seen to be 'feminine', and the deliberate promotion of composers whose music could be regarded as both suitably British and seriously 'masculine', safely distanced from the romantic sentimentality of Mendelssohn or Gounod and removed from the dangerously feminizing sphere of the drawing-room, inevitably included a backlash against actual women and their music and against certain genres and performances spaces. This was compounded in the case of composers like White or Maddison who were not only women but shamelessly cosmopolitan composers and who concentrated on writing songs and other texted works, many of which were to French poetry. Lehmann's concentration on light and humorous works or those connected directly to children moved her to a position outside the serious male mainstream. Simply as women, even composers such as Smyth, Ellicott or Bright felt the effects of the backlash, notwithstanding their avoidance of song or other works that would be easily categorised as feminine.

Despite this pattern of increasingly critical reception, by the turn of the century a generation of diverse women composers had developed musical voices which were being heard throughout the country and overseas. Even when hiding behind a mask of genteel femininity, these women showed an iron determination to succeed which overcame many obstacles. Women instrumentalists may have been excluded from the major professional orchestras, but, together with singers and conductors, they were increasingly audible on the concert platform and in the orchestra pit, while behind the scenes women were organising a wide range of musical events and writing about music for newspapers, journals, concert programmes and other forms of publication. The cultivation of music within private spheres continued into the 1920s, although the jazz

[29] Nicholas Temperley, 'Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music' in ed. Nicholas Temperley, *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age* 1800-1914 (London: Athlone Press, 1981), p.119.
[30] See, for example, Bush, 'Songs' in *ibid.*, p.281.

age and the development of broadcasting were to bring about enormous changes in the performance and reception of music in Britain.

The work of the women composers of this generation stands in a largely unacknowledged but unbroken and diverse female tradition in Britain that stretches from the work of performer-composers at the end of the 18th century through to women making music today.[31] Both in their negotiation of a musical career and in their music itself the women of the Renaissance period can be seen to reflect aspects of their gender and their place as women within a culture and society that was in some ways accepting and encouraging and in others restrictive and oppressive. Exploring Ellicott's defiantly heavy orchestral scores, Lehmann's children's songs, White's use of French, Italian or Scandinavian texts and many other individual features of women's music helps to deepen our understanding of what it meant to work as a woman at that particular historical moment, as well as clarifying our understanding of musical culture in general.

The lives and music of women composers during this period are worthy of study simply in their own right, but they are also important for the challenge that they offer to the way in which this period of music history has been understood. Accepting the work of women and exploring the opportunities available to them brings into question issues such as the emphasis on public performances and large-scale works, on the somewhat meaningless category of professional composer or the badly-defined category of 'art' music. Opening up a broader picture of British musical life during this pivotal period of change allows us to incorporate music influenced by continental developments that were not German, to explore the work of composers who worked largely within private worlds or composers whose music spoke clearly to large numbers of the British public, and to discover some of the unacknowledged influences on the work of better known British composers.[32] By reassessing and investigating the careers and music of composers such as Allitsen, Bright, Ellicott, Lehmann, Maddison or White, we understand much more about the different ways in which music functioned throughout

[31] Although women were doubtless writing music in Britain before the successes of women such as Maria Barthelemon or Harriet Abrams in the late 18th century, their work (with the exception of that by the 17th-century amateur musician Mary Dering) remained unpublished and unknown. On these women, see Sophie Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers, Britain and the United States, 1629-Present* (London: Pandora, 1994).

[32] As well as the acknowledged influence of White's music on that of Vaughan Wiliams and Quilter, as discussed in chapter 3, there is the intriguing fact of Britten's admiration for Lehmann's work. See Steuart Bedford, sleeve notes to *Liza Lehmann* Collins Classics (The English Song Series 4) 15082 (1997).

society and about the significant roles played by women. We also rediscover some of the music that is not just characteristic of an era but that should itself be regarded as an important and defining contribution to the British Musical Renaissance.

Appendix 1: Maude Valérie White - List of Works

White's works are listed chronologically within two categories: 'Songs and other vocal works' and 'Instrumental works'.

Unless otherwise indicated, dates given are those of publication.
A date in [square brackets] indicates year when published version was acquired by the British Library. A date in {curly brackets} indicates publication or composition date suggested by information from a different, footnoted source (only given where copies are not found in the British Library or where evidence shows that a work was published before the date it was received at the British Library).

Titles, dedications, singers and epigraphs are reproduced as in printed editions.

np - not (apparently) published; nd - not dated.

Songs and other vocal works

'Ne jamais la voir ni l'entendre' (Armand Sully Prudhomme)
np {1873}[1]

'Farewell, if ever fondest prayer' (Lord Byron)
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1874][2]

'Assis sur la verte colline' ('The Wish')
Dedié à Miss Jarrett.
Duncan Davison, [1876]

'Ave Maria'
Sung by Mr Santley.
Choudens, [1876][3]; Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1881] and [1883]

'The lassie I love best' (Robert Burns)
?Duncan Davison, {1876}[4]

'La Risposta'
?Duncan Davison, {1876}[5]

'Thine is my love'
Dedicated by permission to Madame Christine Nilsson.
Chappell, [1876]

'When Twilight Dews' (Thomas Moore)[6]
Dedicated to George Rose Innes.
Chappell, [1876][7]

---

[1] Written 1873. White, *Friends and Memories*, p.105.
[2] Written 1873. *Ibid.*
[3] Written 1875. *Ibid.*, p.126.
[4] Written 1875 and later published. *Ibid.* Advertised as available from Duncan Davison on printed edition of 'Assis sur la verte colline'. No copy appears to have survived.
[5] Advertised as available from Duncan Davison on printed edition of 'Assis sur la verte colline'. Performed in Cambridge, 10 May 1876. Concert Programme (BL c373). No copy appears to have survived.
[6] Author not given in published edition but identified in White, *Friends and Memories*, p.126.
[7] Written 1875. *Ibid.*

'Benedictus' Quartet and Chorus
{1877}[8]

'Espoir en Dieu' (Victor Hugo)
A mon amie Mary Wakefield.
Choudens, [1878]; Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1879]

'Es war ein König in Thule (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe)
Dedicated to Herr Georg Henschel.
London, [1878]

Zwei Lieder von Heine
1. 'Liebe' (Heinrich Heine)
2. 'Im wunderschönen monat Mai' (Heinrich Heine)

Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1878] and [1882]

Agnus Dei for soloists, chorus and orchestra
{1879}[9]

'Loving and True' (Maude Valérie White)
Composed and dedicated to my sister Fanny Marett.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1879]

'My ain kind dearie O' (Robert Burns)
Dedicated to Miss Ruth Wakefield. Sung by Miss Mary Davies.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1879] and [1880 - simplified edition]

Two Songs
1. 'To Blossoms' (Robert Herrick)
   Dedicated to the Hon[ble] Spencer G. Lyttleton. Sung by Mr Santley.
2. 'Montrose's Love Song' (The Marquis of Montrose)

Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., {c. 1879}[10] and 1895 - simplified edition; Cary, [1920?]

'Absent yet Present' (Edward Bulwer-Lytton)
Dedicated to my sister Annie Compton. Sung by Mr Santley.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co. [1880] and [1886 - French and German translations]

'I prithee send me back my heart' (John Suckling)
Dedicated to Mrs Santley. Sung by Mr Santley.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1880]

'Das Meer hat seine Perlen' (Heinrich Heine, translated Henry Wadsworth Longfellow)
Dedicated to Mrs Arbuthnot Feilden. Sung by Mrs Osgood.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1880]

'To Daffodils' (Robert Herrick)
Dedicated to my mother. 'Mourir, c'est remettre son âme entre les mains du Bon Pasteur'.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1880]

---

[8] Performed 17 November 1877 at RAM concert. RAM Archives: 'Concert Books May 1824 - Dec 1879'. No copy appears to have survived.

[9] Performed at Royal Academy of Music concert, 5 April 1879. RAM Archives: 'Concert Books May 1824 - Dec 1879'. No copy appears to survive.

[10] Copy signed by White in Spencer Lyttelton's bound volume of White's songs dated 25.7.1879. RCM LXXI D II.

'When Delia on the plain appears' (George Lyttelton)
Dedicated to Charles H. Wade. Later edition adds: Sung by Mr Edward Lloyd.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1880]

Zwei Lieder

1. 'Ein Jüngling liebt ein Mädchen' ('A Youth once lov'd a Maiden') (Heinrich Heine, English translation Maude Valérie White)
2. 'Aus meinen Thränen spriessen' ('The tears that night and morning') (Heinrich Heine, translated Maude Valérie White)

Dedicated to Mr Santley.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1880]

Two Part-Songs for Men's Voices

1. 'O nanny wilt thou go with me?'
2. 'The stars are with the voyager'

Dedicated to T. Ratliff Esqr.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1880] and [1903]

'Chantez, chantez jeune inspirée' (Victor Hugo)
Dedicated to Walter S. Broadwood Esq. Sung by Miss Robertson and Miss Santley.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1881]

'Credo' for soloists, chorus and orchestra.
{1881}[11]

'Heureux qui peut aimer' (Victor Hugo)
Dedicated to my friend Lizzie Rose Innes. Sung by Mr Santley.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1881] and [1883 - with organ obbligato]

'A Spanish Love Song' ('Es tanto lo que to quiero')
Dedicated to Miss Edith Santley. Sung by Madame Trebelli.
Boosey, [1881]

'There's a bower of roses' (Thomas Moore)
Dedicated to George Rose Innes Esq.
Boosey, [1881]

'To Electra' (Robert Herrick)
Dedicated to Miss Helen Arbuthnot Feilden. Sung by Miss Wakefield.
London, [1881]

'To Music to Becalm his Fever' (Robert Herrick)
Dedicated to my sister Emily. Sung by Mr Edward Lloyd.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1881]

'Ich fühle deinen Odem' ('I feel thy breath's strange magic') (Mirza Schaffy, translated F. Bodenstedt, English version translated E. D'Esterie)
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1882]

'Ophelia's Song' (William Shakespeare)
To Miss Maud Holden. Sung by Miss Edith Santley.
Boosey, 1882

[11] Performed 9 April 1881 at RAM concert. RAM Archives: 'Concert Books Feb 1880-Nov 1882'. No copy appears to have survived.

'Sweetheart, Farewell' (Ruthven Jenkins)
Dedicated to Patrick S. Young Esqre.
Boosey, [1882]

'To Althea From Prison' (Richard Lovelace)
Sung by Mr Santley.
Boosey, [1882]

'To Mary' (Percy Bysshe Shelley)
Dedicated to my sister, Annie Compton.
Boosey, [1882]

'When passions [sic] trance' (Percy Bysshe Shelley)
Dedicated by permission to HRH the Princess of Wales. Sung by Mr Santley and Miss Santley.
Ricordi, [1882] and [1885 - German and French/Italian translations]

'Ye cupids droop each little head' (Catullus, translated Byron)
Dedicated to and sung by Miss Santley.
Chappell, [1882]

'The Devout Lover' (Walter Herries Pollock)
Dedicated to Arnam Tait Esqre.
Ricordi, [1883] and [?1895]

'A Faithful Heart'
Brazilian melody by J. Gomez, piano accompaniment by Maude Valérie White
To Arturo Rose-Innes. Sung by Mr Santley.
Boosey, [1883]

'Frithjof's Gesang' (Esaias Tegner from *Die Frithiof's Sage*, translated from the Swedish by G. Berger, English translation Captain H. Spalding)
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1883]

'Mary Morison' (Robert Burns)
Dedicated to Miss Wakefield. Sung by Miss Santley.
Chappell, [1883]

'Le mie vole' (Francesco Rizzelli)
A Rafaelito Möller. Cantata da Miss Santley.
Ricordi, [1883]

'My Soul is an Enchanted Boat' (Percy Bysshe Shelley) 'Recitative and Song'
Dedicated to the Hon^{ble} Spencer G. Lyttelton.
Panthea
The Nereids tell
That, on the day when the clear hyaline
Was cloven at thy uprise, and thou did'st stand
Within a veined shell, which floated on
Over the calm floor of the Crystal sea,
Among the Egean isles and by the shores
Which bear thy name,_ Love, like the atmosphere
Of the sun's fire filling the living world,
Burst from thee, and illumined earth and heaven
And the deep ocean and the sunless caves,
And all that dwells within them, till grief cast
Eclipse upon the soul from which it came.
Such art thou now; nor is it I alone_
Thy sister, thy companion, thine own chosen one,_

But the whole world, which seeks thy sympathy.
Hear'st thou not sound i'the air which speak the love
Of all articulate beings? Feel'st thou not
The inanimate winds enamoured of Thee? List! (*music*)'
Chappell, [1883]

'Semper Fidelis' ('Until') (Marion Chappell)
Sung by Miss Santley.
Chappell, [1883]

'Serenata Española'
A Mr C. Santley. Cantata da Mr C. Santley.
Ricordi, [1883]

'The summer is past and over' (Jetty Vogel)
To Miss Jessie Hutton.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1883]

Chansonettes
'L'amour fait ici bas la vie' (Walter Herries Pollock)
'Un Fâcheux' (Walter Herries Pollock)
Dedicated to Mrs Gaskell.
Chappell, [1883]

Prayer (Santa Teresa de Jesus) four-part chorus
London, [1883]

'Ich habe gelebt und geliebt' ('I have lived and loved') (Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, from *Die Piccolomini* 3rd act 7th scene, translated Maude Valérie White)
Act 3 scene 6: 'Max tears himself out of her arms, and goes, the countess accompanies him - Thekla at first follows him with her eyes, walks restlessly through the room, and then, buried in thought, she stands still - A guitar is lying on the table, she takes it up, and after playing a short prelude full of melancholy, she begins to sing.'
Chappell, [1884]

'What I do, and what I dream' (Elizabeth Browning)
Chappell, [1884]

'Bonnie Leslie' (Robert Burns)
Boosey, [1885]

'Du bist die Ruh' ('Thou art my rest') (Friedrich Rückert, English translation Maude Valérie White)
Dedicated to Mrs Gaskell and Miss Edith Balfour.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1885]

'Er ist gekommen' ('Meeting and Parting') (Friedrich Rückert, translated B. F. Wyatt Smith)
To Manuela de Laska.
Ricordi, [c. 1885]

'Forget not yet' (Sir Thomas Wyatt) 'A Supplication'
Dedicated to Miss Mary Gladstone.
Ricordi, [1885]

'Go lovely rose!' (Edmund Waller)
Dedicated to Mrs Osgood.
Ricordi, [1885]

'Home thoughts from abroad' (Robert Browning)
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1885]

'How do I love thee?' (Elizabeth Browning)
Sung by Miss Hamlin
'Quand tout autour de l'homme chancelle, vacille, tremble et s'obscurit dans les lontaines obscurités de l'inconnu, quand le monde n'est plus que fiction ou féerie et l'univers que chimère, quand tout l'édifice des idées s'evanouit en fumée et que toutes les réalités se convertissent en doute, quel point fixe peut encore rester à l'homme? C'est la coeur fidèle d'une femme.' H. F. Amiel
Ricordi, [1885]

Also published with French text as
'Parle-moi' (Alphonse de Lamartine)
Chanté par Miss Hamlin.
'Quel poëme égalerait jamais la voix de ce qu'on aime?'
Ricordi, [1885]

'Liebe, Liebe, ach die Liebe' (Alexander Petöfi, German translation Neugebauer)
Dedicated to the Hon[ble] Alfred Lyttelton (21st May 1885).
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1885]

'There be none of Beauty's daughters' (Byron)
Dedicated to my aunt Orianna Harrington.
Ricordi, [1885]

Four Songs from Tennyson's In Memoriam
1. 'I sometimes hold it half a sin'
2. ' 'Tis better to have loved and lost'[12]
3. 'Love is and was my Lord and King'
4. 'Be near me when my light is low'

Sung by Mrs Hutchinson.
Chappell, [1885]

Maude Valérie White's Album of German Songs
1. 'Liebe' ('Love') (Heinrich Heine, English translation Maude Valérie White) [previously published]
2. 'Im wunderschönen Monat Mai' (''Twas in the lovely Month of May') (Heinrich Heine, English translation Maude Valérie White) [previously published]
3. 'Hör'ich das Liedchen klingen' ('Whenever I hear the Strain') (Heinrich Heine, English translation Maude Valérie White)
4. 'Ein Jüngling liebt ein Mädchen' ('A Youth once lov'd a Maiden') (Heinrich Heine, English translation Maude Valérie White) [previously published]
   Dedicated to Mr Santley.
5. 'Aus meinen Thränen spriessen' ('The Tears that Night and Morning') (Heinrich Heine, translated Maude Valérie White) [previously published]
   Dedicated to Mr Santley.
6. 'Die Himmelsaugen' ('The Eyes of Heaven') (Heinrich Heine, English translation Maude Valérie White)
   To my friend Baron Erwin Ferstel.
   'Una noche clara y pura
   En que contemplando el cielo
   Crece en el alma el consuelo
   Y hechiza hasta la amargura
   De esas niches cuya historia

[12] 'Written 26 June 1884' in White's hand on signed copy in Spencer Lyttelton's bound volume of White's songs. RCM: LXXI D II.

Dura en el alma escondida
Pagina de nuestra vida
Pegada a nuestra memoria' Zorilla

7. 'Es war ein König in Thule ('There was a King of Thule') (Goethe) [previously published]
   Dedicated to Herr Georg Henschel.
8. 'Ich fühle deinen Odem' ('I feel thy Breath's strange Magic) (Mirza Schaffy, translated F. Bodenstedt, English version translated E. D'Esterie) [previously published]
9. 'Tod und Leben' ('Death and Life') (Karl Sieben, English translation Maude Valérie White)
   To G. R. I. In Memoriam September 2nd 1882.
10. 'Das Meer hat seine Perlen' ('The Sea hath its Pearls') (Heinrich Heine, translated Henry Wadsworth Longfellow) [previously published]
11. 'Der Kindesengel' ('The Guardian Angel') (Julius Sturm, English translation Maude Valérie White)
    To Winny Talbot.
12. 'Stille Thränen' ('Thou wakest full of Gladness') (Justinius Kerner, English translation Maude Valérie White)
13. 'Wenn dein Auge freundlich' ('When thine Eyes are gazing') (Julius Sturm, English translation Maude Valérie White)
14. 'Frithjof's Gesang' ('Slim as the Stalk of any Flower') (Esaias Tegner from *Die Frithiof's Sage*, translated from the Swedish by G. Berger, English translation Captain H. Spalding) [previously published]
15. 'Wird er wohl noch meiner gedenken?' ('When I think on the happy days') (Volkslied) (Robert Burns)
    To my friend A. Munthe.
16. 'Anfangs wollt'ich fast verzagen' ('At first I thought I should despair') (Heinrich Heine, English translation Maude Valérie White)
    'Heine touches our hearts; his songs are all music and feeling - They are like birds that not only enchant us with their delicious notes but nestle against us with their soft breasts and make us feel the agitated beating of their hearts. He indicates a whole sad history in a single quatrain; there is not an image in it, not a thought; but it is beautiful, simple, and perfect as a "big round tear" - it is pure feeling, breathed in pure music.' George Eliot

Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., 1885
Reissued as *Sixteen German Songs* Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1892]

'Du sternlein mein'
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1886]

'A Finland Love Song'
To my friend Eirins Medstugan.
Hutchings and Romer, [1886]

'God bless thee, my beloved' (Elizabeth Browning)
Sung by Miss Lena Little.
Metzler, 1886

'O hur vidgas ej ditt bröst' ('From the Swedish')
To Puck. 'Extract from a work written on the Bay of Naples during convalescence'.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1886]

'O were my love yon lilac fair' (Robert Burns)
'Adapted to a German volkslied and arranged'
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1886]

'Prayer for Mary' (Robert Burns) 'Adapted to a Livonian Volkslied and arranged'
Sung by R. von zur Mühlen.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1886]

'To God' (Robert Herrick)
Sung by Mr Santley.
'God for our eyes tears hereafter wipes,
And give His children kisses then, not stripes'
Metzler, [1886]

Three Duets
1. 'Was fliesst auf der wiese?'
2. 'Dein blaues Auge'
3. 'Du Sternlein mein'

To my sister Emily.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1886]

'Au bord de l'eau' (Armand Sully Prudhomme)
Dédié à mon ami Jules Diaz de Soria.
Pitt and Hatzfeld, {1887}[13]

'Hidden Love' ('Dulgt Kaerlighed') (Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson)
Ricordi, {1887}[14]

'Hungarian Gypsy Song ('Die Ziegeuner') (Alexander Petöfi, tranlated L. Neugebauer and Maude Valérie White)
Ricordi, {1887}[15]

'Ici-bas' (Armand Sully Prudhomme)
Dédié a Monsieur Jules Diaz de Soria'
Pitt and Hatzfeld, {1887};[16] Chappell, 1902 (English version by Gertrude Hall)

'It is na, Jean, thy bonnie face' (Robert Burns)
Dedicated to the Hon[ble] Alfred Lyttelton 24th April, 1886.
'And influence rich to soothe and save.
Unused example from the grave,
Reach out dead hands to comfort me.'
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1887]

'Adieu Suzon' (Alfred de Musset)
Dedicated to Kate Eadie.
Pitt and Hatzfeld [1888]
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., 1896

'Come to me in my dreams' (Matthew Arnold)
Dedicated to Nelly Arnold. Sung by Miss Helen D'Alton.
Chappell, [1888]

---

[13] Copy signed by White in Spencer Lyttelton's bound volume of White's songs dated 1887. RCM: LXXI D II.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*

New Albums of Songs with German and English Words Volume 1

1. 'Sie liebten sich beide' ('They loved each other') (Heinrich Heine, translated Maude Valérie White)
   To Margot Tennant.
2. 'Mit Kosen und Lieben' ('With love and caresses') (Adelbert von Chamisso, translated Maude Valérie White)
   To my friend Mary Anderson. Italy 1888.
   'Quel homme, une heure au moins n'est heureux à son tour
   Un rayon de soleil fait bénire tout le jour' Sully Prudhomme
3. 'Wirthin und Betyar' ('Hostess and Betyar') (Alexander Petöfi, translated Kitty Hall)
   To my friend James F. Kelly.
4. 'Det første mødes sødme' ('Love's first awak'ning sweetness') (Bjorson translated Maude Valérie White)
   Benedetto sia'l giorno e'l mese el'anno
   E la stagione e'l tempo e l'ora e'l punto
   E'l bel paese e'l loco or'io fui giunto
   Da duo begli ochi che legato m'anno' Petrarca
5. 'Kind es wäre dein Verderben' ('Child it were thine utter ruin') (Heinrich Heine, translated Maude Valérie White)
   To Louise Phillips.
6. 'Die Wolken' ('Clouds') (Alexander Petöfi, translated B. F. Wyatt-Smith)
   To Matilde. Cannes 1888.
7. 'Die Arme-sünderblum' ('The Cross-Roads') (Heinrich Heine, translated Maude Valérie White)
8. 'Ich wollte meine lieder' ('I would that all these songs') (Heinrich Heine, translated Maude Valérie White)
   To my sister Emily ('Der Herz aller liebsten mein').
   'La tendresse n'est là que pour vous exprimee [sic]' Sully Prudhomme
9. 'Dass du mich lieb hast o mopschen' ('That you adore me, my doggy') (Heinrich Heine, translated Maude Valérie White)
   To my little dog Lissie.
   'S'il fallait que l'homme prit au hasard un ami, il lui vaudrait mieux le prendre dans l'espèce des chiens que dans celle des hommes. Le dernier de ses semblables lui donnerait moins de consolations et moins de paix que le dernier de ces animaux.' Obermann
10. 'Der Sturm' ('The Storm') (Heinrich Heine, translated B. F. Wyatt-Smith)
    To my godson Jack Compton.

Pitt and Hatzfeld {?1888}[17]

New Albums of Songs with German and English Words Volume 2

11. 'Warme Lufte wehn' ('Balmy Breezes Blow') (Alexander Petöfi, translated Maude Valérie White)
    To my friend Liza Lehmann.
    'C'est cette voix du coeur que seule au coeur arrive
    Que nul autre après toi ne nous tendra jamais' Alfred de Musset
12. 'Weit über das Meer' ('Over the ocean's breast') (translated B. F. Wyatt-Smith)
    To my brother Fred.
13. 'To brune ojne' ('Two Hazel Eyes') (Hans Andersen)
    To Agnes Janson.
14. 'Das treue Herz' ('The Faithful Heart') (Alex Petöfi, translated B. F. Wyatt-Smith)
    To Fanny Davies.
15. 'Wer zum eistem male liebt' ('He who loves, and loves in vain') (Heinrich Heine, translated Maude Valérie White)
    To Edith Balfour.

[17] Neither volume of the *New Albums of Songs with German and English Words* is held by the British Library. Dates on inscriptions to some of the songs show that the collection was published in or after 1888. White mentions the collection twice in *Friends and Memories*, stating that many of the songs were written in 1884/5 and published 'a few years later' (p.291), and that several of the German settings were written in Scotland in the autumn of 1888 (p.331).

16. 'Sommer im herzen' (''Tis glowing rosy summer') (Heinrich Heine, translated Kitty Hall)
    To Raymond von zur Mühlen.
17. 'Ich habe gelebt und geliebt' ('I have lived and loved') (Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, from *Die Piccolomini* 3rd act 7th scene, translated Maude Valérie White)[18]
    Dedicated to Matthew Arnold (In Memoriam).
18. 'Sorrento' (Carl Snoilsky, translated Maude Valérie White)
    To my friend Mary Wakefield.
19. 'Der Schnee ist glatt' ('The snow lies thick') (Alexander Petöfi, translated Maude Valérie White)
    To Adelina Randegger.
    'Le coeur n'est pas fragile, il est fait d'or solide
    Mais il ne s'use point, O douleur! Il se vide.' Sully Prudhomme
20. 'Goldne Brücken' ('Golden Bridges') (Emmanuel Geibel, translated Maude Valérie White)
    To my sister Emily.

Pitt and Hatzfeld, {?1988}[19]

'Prière' (Armand Sully Prudhomme)
Pitt and Hatzfeld, {1888}[20]

'So we'll go no more a'roving' (Lord Byron)
Dedicated to Beerbohm Tree. In grateful remembrance of 13 July, 1888.[21]
Chappell, [1888]

'When June is past' (Thomas Carew)
To my friend Liza Lehmann.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1888]

'A widow bird sate mourning' (Percy Bysshe Shelley)
Dedicated to Mrs Kendal Grimston.
Pitt and Hatzfeld, [1888]

'At her Spinning Wheel' (W. H. Bellamy)
W. Morley, [1889?]

'The Bonny Curl' (Amélie Rives)
Chappell, [1889]

'Du bist wie eine Blume' ('Thou'rt like unto a flower') (Heinrich Heine, English translation Maude Valérie White) Quintet
To my dear little friend Dorothy Penn.
'For what are all our contrivings
And the wisdom of our books
When compared with your caresses
And the gladness of your looks
Ye are better than all the ballads
That ever were Sung or said
For ye are living poems
And all the rest are dead' from Longfellow 'Children'
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., 1890

---

[18] Previously published. In this version the long piano prelude of the original is omitted.
[19] See footnote 17.
[20] Written 1888 at latest, since 'New Year 1889' is inscribed in White's hand on a signed copy in Spencer Lyttelton's bound volume of White's songs. RCM LXXI D II.
[21] Dedication to thank Tree for lending her the Haymarket Theatre and giving a performance of *Gringoire* as a benefit. White, *Friends and Memories*, p.328.

'Ask not' (Clifton Bingham)
W. Morley, [c. 1890]; Cassell, [c. 1905]

'A Farewell Song' (Maude Valérie White)
Ricordi, [c. 1890]

'Love me, Sweet, with all thou art' (Elizabeth Browning) adapted to a Russian melody
To my niece Norah Maude Marett.
Boosey, [1890]

'Soft Lesbian Airs' (J. F. Kelly)
'To L. L.'
Chappell, [1890] (also published as 'Soft Lydian Airs')

'The Throstle' (Alfred, Lord Tennyson)
To my friend Gertie Sullivan. Sung by Miss Liza Lehmann.
Chappell, [1890]

'John Anderson, my Jo' (Robert Burns)
Ricordi, [1891?]

'To Corinna Singing' (Thomas Campion)
To my friend Mrs Rudolph Lehmann.
Chappell, [1891]

'Amour fidèle' (Armand Sully Prudhomme)
'Love understands and therefore waits' Henry Drummond
'N.B. Reminiscences of the following songs by Maude Valérie White occur in the accompaniment' Prière; John Anderson, My Jo; The Devout Lover; Ein jungling liebt.'
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1892]

'Infinite Love' (Dante Gabriel Rossetti)
To my friend Harry Plunket Greene.
'World how it walled about
Life with disgrace
Till God's own smile came out:
That was thy face!' Robert Browning
R. Cocks, 1892

'The Meeting' (Thomas Moore)
Sung by Mr Plunket Greene.
Boosey, 1892

'My Nannie' (Robert Burns)
To my little friend Muriel White. Sung by Mr J. Robertson
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1892]

'Quand on est deux' ('Together') (Alphonse de Lamartine, English version Eugène Oudin)
Duet
To Norah and Ruth.
Ashdown, [1892]

'The Sunshine of my Heart' (Matilde Blind)
To Liza Lehmann.
Ashdown, [1892]

'Victorious Charm' ('Charme vainqueur') (Victor Hugo, translated Eugène Oudin)
Chappell, [1892]

Album of English Songs

1. 'To Electra' (Robert Herrick)
2. 'Home thoughts from abroad' (Robert Browning)
3. 'When Delia on the plain appears' (George Lyttelton)
4. 'When June is past' (Thomas Carew)
5. 'It is na, Jean, thy bonnie face' (Robert Burns)
6. 'Loving and True' (Maude Valérie White)
7. 'To Music to Becalm his Fever' (Robert Herrick)
8. 'The summer is past and over' (Jetty Vogel)
9. 'To Daffodils' (Robert Herrick)

[all previously published]
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., 1892

'Douleurs Divines' ('Sorrows Divine') (Emile Augier, English version Eugène Oudin)
Dedicated to and Sung by Mr Eugène Oudin.
'Et l'âme retombe affaiblie mais plus sage et sereine en Dieu'. Sully Prudhomme
Robert Cocks, 1893

'Music's Strain' (Thomas Moore)
To my dear friend Harry Plunket Greene.
W. Morley, 1893

'Si j'etais Dieu' (Armand Sully Prudhomme)
'Behold I dream a dream of good'. Tennyson
R. Cocks, 1893

'Since I am her's'
To E. E. White.
Chappell, 1893

'Song and Music' (Dante Gabriel Rossetti)
Chappell, 1893

'Ton nom' (Armand Sully Prudhomme, English version Eugène Oudin)
To Norah.
Vous désirez savoir de moi
D'où me vient pour vous ma tendresse;
Je vous aime, voici pourquoi:
Vous ressemble à ma jeunesse
Vos yeux noirs sont mouillés souvent
Par l'espérance et la tristesse,
Et vous allez toujours rêvant;
Vous ressemblez à ma jeunesse.' Sully Prudhomme
R. Cocks, 1893

6 Volkslieder

1. 'Lebewohl' ('Goodbye') (translated Alma Strettell)
2. 'Wanderlied' ('Wanderer's Song') (translated Alma Strettell)
3. 'Ich bin dein' ('I am thine') (translated Maude Valérie White)
4. 'In dem Garten' ('In the Garden') (translated Maude Valérie White)
5. 'Mailüfterl' ('May Breezes') (translated Alma Strettell)
6. 'Sonnenuntergang' ('Sunset') (translated Alma Strettell)

To Hermann G. Herkomer.
R. Cocks, [1893] and [1895]; J. Williams, [1902]

Twelve Songs for Children

1. 'Sleep, sleep, beauty bright' (William Blake)
2. 'Fairy Song' (T. H. Bayley)
3. 'Cradle Song' (William Blake)
4. 'The Sweet Story of Old' (Mrs Luke)
5. 'Little Lamb' (William Blake)
6. 'The Homes of England' (Felicia Hemans)
7. 'The Sheepfold' (William Lisle Bowles)
8. 'Holy Thursday' (William Blake)
9. 'The Summer Woods' (M. Howitt)
10. 'Nurse's Song (William Blake)
11. 'Sound the Flute' (William Blake)
12. 'Old England' (Gerald Massey)

Boosey, [1893] [also issued as two-part songs]

'Russian Love Song' (Mrs Wyatt Smith) Quintet 'Adapted to a Russian melody'
Boosey, 1893

'Crabbed Age and Youth' (William Shakespeare)
Dedicated to and sung by Mr Plunket Greene.
Boosey, 1894

'A Greeting' (Friedrich Rückert, English translation Maude Valérie White)
Dedicated to Herman G. Herkomer. Sung by Mr Plunket Greene.
'O, ihr Götter! Ich bitte euch nicht mir die Jugend zu lassen, aber lasst mir die Tugenden der Jugend, der uneigennützigen Groll, die uneigennützige Thräne.' Heine
Boosey, 1894

'Did one but know' (Christina Rossetti)
To KC[22]
'To be Sung after the manner of a Neopolitan Canzone'
Chappell, [1895]

'For England's Sake' (Rennell Rodd)
Dedicated to my brother Fred.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., 1895

'Mary's Ghost' (Thomas Hood)
Christmas. To my nephews and niece Jack, Edmund, Percy, Alwyn, Georgie and Anita Compton.
Subtitled 'a Pathetic Ballad'.
R. Cocks, 1895

'A Protest' (Robert Bridges)
Dedicated to Miss Marie Brema. Sung by Miss Marie Brema, Mr David Bispham and Mr Kennerley Rumford.
Boosey, 1895

'Waiting' (Tuscan Folksong, translated John Addington Symonds)
Ricordi, [1895]

'When Love Began' (Tuscan folksong, translated John Addington Symonds)
R. Cocks, 1895

[22] Dedicated to Lady Katie Cowper in gratitude for giving White the money to hire St James's Hall for a concert. White, *Friends and Memories*, p.297.

'Demain!' (Armand Silvestre)
A Anita.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., 1896

'Ihre stimme' ('Her voice') (Friedrich Rückert, translated Maude Valérie White)
Dedicated to and sung by Mr H. Plunket Greene.
Lucas, 1896

'Die Sonne kommt' (Friedrich Rückert)
Dedicated to Mr and Mrs Alwyn Maude.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., 1896

'When the old land goes down to the war' (Gerald Massey)
Boosey, 1896

'Marching Along' (Robert Browning)
Dedicated to and sung by Mr Kennerley Rumford.
'The symphonies and refrain of this song have been taken from a ballad by PURCELL called Lilliburlero, of which Burnet in the "History of his own Time" says, Lillibulero made an impression on the King's Army, that cannot be those who saw it not - the whole army, and at last the people both in city and country, were singing it perpetually.'
Chappell, 1897

'Stand to your horses!' (G. J. Whyte Melville)
Dedicated to Cecil Boyle Esq. Sung by Mr Plunket Greene.
Boosey, 1897

'The Story and the Poet' (Maude Valérie White)
Dedicated to Dr Felix Semon. Sung by Mr Plunket Greene.
Ricordi, 1897

Three Little Songs
1. 'When the swallows homeward fly' (Volkslied)
2. 'A Memory'
3. 'Let us forget' (M. Darmesteter)

Sung by Mr Kennerley Rumford.
'Das Wiedersehn ist froh
Das Scheiden schwer'
Das Wieder-Wiedersehn beglückt noch mehr, Und Jahre sind im Augenblick ersetzt.' Goethe
Chappell, 1897

'King Charles' (Robert Browning)
Dedicated to and sung by Mr Plunket Greene.
Boosey, 1898

'La Meilleure Morale'
Chappell, 1898

'When You Return' (Arthur Philip Coxford)
Dedicated to Mrs Phil May. Sung by Miss Clara Butt.
Boosey, 1898

'An Exile's Song' (M. Boyle)
J. Church, 1899
Chappell, 1929 as 'The Exile'

'Little Boy Love' (Arthur Conan Doyle)
Dedicated to Miss Louise Dale.
Boosey, 1899

'A Mother's Song'
J. Church, 1899

'The Old Grey Fox' (Arthur Conan Doyle)
Chappell, 1899

'The spring has come'
To Mary Anderson Navarro.
Chappell, 1899

'Une [sic] Sueño' ('A Dream') (from *Poesias Populares Andaluces* collected by Fernan Caballero)
To Madame Melba.
J. Church, [1899]

'Why was Cupid a boy?' (William Blake)
Metzler, 1899

Five Songs

1. 'Auf Wiederseh'n' ('We'll meet again') [Also published as a part-song]
2. 'Ein alter Traum' ('An Old Dream') (English words by Theodora Wilson)
   Dedicated to and sung by Miss Marie Brema.
3. 'An den Geliebten' ('To the Beloved') (English translation Maude Valérie White)
4. 'Wanderlied' ('A Wanderer's Song') (English words by Thedora Wilson)
   Dedicated to and sung by Harry Plunket Greene.
5. 'Glück auf!' ('God speed!') (English words by Theodora Wilson)
   Dedicated to and sung by Harry Plunket Greene. [Also published as a part-song]

Laudy and Co., 1899

'Among the Roses' (Hoffman von Fallersleben, translated Maude Valérie White)
Dedicated to Miss Marie Tempest. Sung by Miss Marie Tempest and Miss Louise Dale.
Chappell, 1900

'A Ballad of the Ranks' (Arthur Conan Doyle)
Chappell, 1900 and 1914; Boosey, 1915

'Du fragst mich was ich sehen will' ('Thou asketh why I gaze') (translated Alma Strettell)
Chappell, 1900

'A Lay of the Links' (Arthur Conan Doyle)
Chappell, 1900

Two Songs

'Last Year' (William Ernest Henley)
'The Fifes of June' (William Ernest Henley)

Chappell, 1900

'Es muss doch Frühling werden' (Emmanuel Geibel)
Benedictus es Dominus Deus in firmamento coeli.
'Die ganze Welt ist wie ein Buch
Darin uns aufgeschrieben
In bunten Zeilen manch ein Spruch
Wie Gott uns treu gelieben.'

'The Irish Colonel' (Arthur Conan Doyle)
Dedicated to Captain James Annesley. Sung by Mr Kennerley Rumford
Chappell, 1901

'The Morning of Life' (Thomas Moore)
To my friend Mary Anderson de Navarro.
Chappell, 1901

'Pourquoi' (Armand Silvestre)
Dedicated to Miss Elena Rathbone.
Chappell, 1901

'Das Taube Mütterlein' ('Mother-Love') (Halm, English translation J. Ahrem)
J. Church, 1901

'To a little child' (translated Alma Strettell)
Chappell, 1901

'Voices of the Children' (William Blake)
Boosey, 1901

'April's Lady' (Algernon Swinburne)
Dedicated to Helène Annesley'
Chappell, 1902

'God with us' (William Ernest Henley)
Chappell, 1902

'Slumber Song' ('Buon Riposo') (William Sharp)
Dedicated to Alexander Nelson Hood. Sung by Madame Kirkby Lunn.
'The following refrain is taken from an ancient Sicilian melody, which the composer heard a "ceramellaro" play on the bagpipes as used by the shepherds, at the castellodi Maniace, Bronte in Sicily, and set to words written there by Mr William Sharp.'
Chappell, 1902

'There are days that no-one can ever forget'
To my friend Dr J. Woods. In grateful and affectionate remembrance of Autumn 1901.[23]
Chappell, 1902

'Ere you come' (Mary Cholmondeley)
'Italian melody accompanied by Maude Valérie White'
Metzler, 1903

'Land of the Almond Blossom' (William Sharp)
'Melody by G. de Gregorio, accompaniment arranged by Maude Valérie White'
Dedicated by permission to HRH the princess of Wales. Sung by Mr Kennerley Rumford.
Chappell, 1903

'A Song of the Sahara' (Robert Hichens)
Ricordi, {1904}[24]

---

[23] White was very ill in the late Autumn of 1901 but the doctor she names in her memoirs is a Dr Robinson. White, *Friends and Memories*, pp.373-4.
[24] Written Siena, summer 1904. White, *My Indian Summer*, p.92.

'To His Beloved' (Thomas Bailey Aldrich)
Dedicated to my friend Antonio de Navarro.
Chappell, 1904

Two Songs of Innocence
1. 'Sleep, sleep, beauty bright' (William Blake)
2. 'Little Lamb' (William Blake)

Boosey, 1904

'Love in the Desert' (Shams al-Din Muhammad Hafiz, translated Richard Le Gallienne)
Chappell, 1905

'Love me to-day' (A. Mary F. Robinson, Madame Duclaux)
To my sister Emily. Sung by Mr Kennerley Rumford.
Chappell, 1905

'In Golden June' (Ian Malcolm)
Dedicated to Dorothy Penn (Summer 1904). Sung by Mr Kennerley Rumford.
Chappell, 1906

'In the Summer Garden' (Adrian Ross)
Dedicated to Miss Denise Orme.
Chappell, 1906

'Isaotta Blanzesmano' (Gabriele d'Annunzio)
Ricordi, 1906

'Petit Pied Rose' ('Little Rosy Foot') (Old French cradle song, English translation Maude Valérie White)
To A. de N.[25]
Chappell, 1906

'Quand viendra le jour' (Marguerite de Navarre, translated Alfred Kalisch)
Ricordi, 1906

'Under the Moon' (Lord Robert Houghton)
Dedicated to Lady Maud Warrender.
Chappell, 1906

'When songs have passed away' (Ellis Walton)
Chappell, 1907

'Lead Kindly Light' (John Henry Newman)
Sung by Madame Clara Butt.
'Let blow the south wind of ardent love, which may so vehemently impel me to Thee that, apart from Thee, there may be no breathe in me.' Blosius
Boosey, 1908

'The Sceptre of June' (William Ernest Henley)
Dedicated to Mr Gervase Elwes. Sung by Miss Marie Brema and Mr Gervase Elwes.
Lengnick, 1908

[25] Antonio de Navarro.

'Unexpected Joy' (Shams al-Din Muhammad Hafiz, adapted R. Gay)
Dedicated to E. W. and E. C. W. In Memoriam - August 1907.[26] Sung by Mr Plunket Greene and Mr Marcus Thomson.
Chappell, 1908

Six Songs with German and English Words

1. 'Ein Stern' ('A star') (Heinrich Heine, translated Adrian Ross)
   Dedicated to Lady Valda Machell.
2. 'Frühling und Liebe' ('Among the Roses') (Hoffmann von Fallersleben, translated Maude Valérie White) [previously published]
3. 'Divina Pruvidenza' ('Gottliche Vorsehung', 'Divine Providence') Sicilian Prayer (German translation Marie Mellien, English translation Roger Gay)
4. 'Es muss doch Frühling nerden' ('The earth will wake from wint'ry sleep') (Emmanuel Geibel, translated Adrian Ross) [previously published]
   Benedictus es Dominus Deus in firmamento coeli.
   'Die ganze Welt ist wie ein Buch
   Darin uns aufgeschrieben
   In bunten Zeilen manch ein Spruch
   Wie Gott uns treu gelieben.'
5. 'Des Kindes Abendgebet' ('Child's Evening Prayer') (translated Maude Valérie White)
6. 'Junge Liebe' ('The Spring has come') (Maude Valérie White, German translation Marie Mellien) [previously published]
   'Und blendend strahlt mir entgegen
   Der smaragdene Frühling, der sonnengeweckte!' Heine

Chappell, 1908

Six Songs

1. 'Das Meer hat seine Perlen' (Heinrich Heine, translated Henry Wadsworth Longfellow)
2. 'Liebe' (Heinrich Heine, English translation Maude Valérie White)
3. 'Aus Meinen Thränen spriessen' (Heinrich Heine, translated Maude Valérie White)
4. Die Himmelsaugen' (Heinrich Heine, English translation Maude Valérie White)
5. 'Im wunderschönen monat Mai' (Heinrich Heine, English translation Maude Valérie White)
6. 'Ein Jüngling liebt ein Mädchen' (Heinrich Heine, English translation Maude Valérie White)
   Dedicated to Mr Santley.

[All previously published][27]
E. Ashdown, [1910]

Trois Chansons Tziganes (Leo Tolstoy, translated from the Russian N. Minsky, English words Paul England)

1. 'Mon petit lin' To Eleni Baillie.
2. 'Mes jeunes gars' To Mrs George Swinton.
3. 'A la pelouse' To Madame Emilia Conti.

Sung by Mr Robert Maitland.
Boosey, 1913

'Dreams' (Cecil Frances Alexander)
To Robert Hichens.
'A world in which you can only dream and wonder, as when you look at the horizon line and pray for the things beyond.' Robert Hichens, 'The Woman with the Fan'.
Boosey, 1915

---

[26] Probably White's sister Emmie (E.C.W.) and her husband (and cousin) Edmund White (E.W). The 'In Memoriam' probably refers to Edmund White's death. He seems to have been dead by 1909, when Emmie returned alone to Europe from Chile. White, *My Indian Summer*, p.193.
[27] All taken from *Album of German Songs*, 1885.

'Moonlight on the Valley' (W. A.)
Chappell, 1916

'Le Depart du Conscrit' (Maude Valérie White)
Chanté par Mr Gervase Elwes et M. Boris Lansky.
'Piange la debolezza umana sorride l'immortale speranza'[28]
Winthrop Rogers, 1917

'On the Fields of France' (N. McEachern)
Winthrop Rogers, 1919

'To Lesbia' (Rennell Rodd)
Chappell, 1924

Two Songs
1. 'Le foyer' ('Witheld desires') (Paul Verlaine, English translation Maude ValérieWhite)
2. 'La flûte invisible' ('The invisible flute') (Victor Hugo)

Chappell, 1924

Two Songs
1. 'Tortorella Sconsolata' (Translated Olga Luntz and Maude Valérie White)
   To my sister Annie Compton
2. 'L'Orticello' (Translated Olga Lunta and Maude Valérie White)
   To Prince Felix Youssoupoff

Chappell, 1924

'Leavetaking' (William Watson)
Stainer and Bell, 1927

Dates unknown

'Addio, Lucia' (Capriote Coral-Fisherman's Song)
To my friend Axel Munthe
'Kennst du das Land wo die Citronen blühn...
Kennst du es wohl!' Goethe
Pitt and Hatzfeld, nd[29]

'Canzone di Taormina'[30]
np

'L'invitation au voyage'[31]
np

'Kleines Frühlingslied' (Little Spring Song) (Heinrich Heine, translated B. F. Wyatt Smith)
To Mrs Wilton Phipps
Ricordi, nd

---

[28] Inscription taken from a tomb in the church of San Clemente in Rome. White, *My Indian Summer*, p.259.
[29] Published after White had met Munthe, therefore after 1884.
[30] Song in the repertoire of Elsie Swinton. See Greer, *A Numerous and Fashionable Audience*, pp.73 and 141. An arrangement was made for military band by Dan Godfrey and published in Chappell's *Army Journal*, ?1957.
[31] Song in the repertoire of Elsie Swinton. See Greer, *A Numerous and Fashionable Audience*, p.142.

'Puisqu'ici bas toute âme' (Victor Hugo)
Dedicated to Rachel Gurney
Ricordi, nd

Smaranda (Alma Strettell) opera (unfinished)[32]
np

'Sotto le stelle'[33]
np

Instrumental works

Rondo scherzando for piano
London, 1879

Eight South American Airs piano duet
To Alberto Randegger.
Boosey, [1882]

Scherzetto for piano (or piano and violin or piano duet)
To Michael Santley.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1883] and Chappell, [1900]

Four Sketches for piano
London, 1886

Danse Fantastique for piano
Ricordi, [1888]

Pensée Fugitive for piano
Ricordi, [1888]

Pictures from Abroad 'A Set of Fourteen Pieces for the Pianoforte'

1. 'Mont St Michel' To the Right Hon. Arthur Balfour.
   'Der Mond verbag sich eben
   Hinter gewölk' das dunkler heranzog
   Hoch anfranschte das meer
   Und siegreich fraten hervor am himmel
   Die ewigen Sterne.' Heine
2. 'In the Carpathians' To Constance Penn.
3. 'The Last Day in Capri' To Florrie Menzies.
   'Have you seen the loveliest pearl in Naples' crown, have you seen Isold di Capri floating upon the waters of the bay?' Axel Munthe, Letters from a Mourning City.
4. 'Golfo di Napoli' To Signor Simonetti.
5. 'In Switzerland' (Beyond the Snowline) To Kitty Hall.
   'And there she stood, the last outpost of summer, the brave little child-flower beautiful as her name - "Edelweiss".'
6. 'In Poland' To Manuela de Laska.
7. 'Little Russian Song' To my Sister Emily.

---

[32] White appears to have worked on *Smaranda* from about 1894 or 1895 until about 1911. Materials surviving in the Royal Academy of Music collection of uncatalogued manuscripts consist of unordered paper gatherings, manuscript books and single sheets of manuscript paper in both piano and full score. RAM uncatalogued manuscripts: Boxes 148, 149, 150.
[33] Mentioned in White, *My Indian Summer*, p.59.

8. 'Katia' To J. M. Price.
9. 'At the Ballet in Petersburg' (Pas Seul) To Archibald Balfour.
10. 'On a Fjord in Norway' To S. Balfour.
11. 'Homesick'
    'Oh to be in England,
    Now that April's there!' Browning
12. 'Little Dance' To Connie Layton.
13. 'In Hungary' To Mercedes de Laska.
14. 'Home Again'

E. Ashdown, [1892]

Barcarolle for piano
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., 1893

Naissance d'Amour for cello and piano
R. Cocks, 1893 and 1896 [arranged for mandoline and piano]

Incidental music for *The Medicine Man* (Henry Duff Traill and Robert Hichens)
np {1898}[34]

Little Pictures of School Life (Robert Hichens) for speaker and piano
Metzler, 1900

Incidental music for *The Law of the Sands* (Robert Hichens)
np {after 1902}[35]

From the Ionian Sea for piano
np {before 1907}[36]

The Enchanted Heart ballet
np {1912-13}[37]

Materials surviving in the Royal Academy of Music collection of uncatalogued manuscripts:[38]

Bound manuscript piano score (in English)
Bound manuscript piano score (in French, with newspaper cutting)
Typed outline and typed scenario in English
Four volumes of full score, marked 'For the theatre':

A) 1 Introduction - Legend - Little Scene
   2 Peasants' Dance
B) 3 Elves' Dance
   4 Little Solo Scene with Firefly Dance
   5 Little Scene with Elves and Little Waltz
C) 6 Sword Dance - 1st Little Love-scene - 2nd Love-scene
   7 Scarf Dance
D) Finale

[34] Performed at the Lyceum in May and June 1898. J. P. Wearing, *The London Stage 1890-1899: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1976) II, p.732-3.
[35] See White, *My Indian Summer*, p.26.
[36] See *ibid.*, p.135. These pieces included settings of the Pastorale and Tarantella di Taormina.
[37] Mostly written in the autumn and winter of 1912-13 and completed in piano score by autumn 1913. See White, *My Indian Summer*, p.239.
[38] RAM uncatalogued manuscripts: Boxes 147, 148 and 150.

Seven volumes of full score:[39]
1 Introduction[40]
2 Peasant's Dance
3 Elves' Dance[41]
4 Little Scene and Firefly Dance
6 Sword Dance and First Love-scene
7 Second Love-scene and Scarf Dance
8 Scena and Last Scene
Parts for nos. 4, 6 and 7[42]

La Fanfaluca for piano
Chappell, 1916

Serbian Dances for orchestra (arrangements)
np {?1916)[43]

[39] Marked in blue for conducting. No. 5 is missing or omitted from this set.
[40] Note on back page: 'Wanted parts for 4 first violins, 3 second violins, 2 viole, 2 celli, 1 bassi, Piccolo (alt. with 2nd flute), 2 flutes, 2 oboi, 2 cl, 2 Fag, 2 Horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones, Tympani (3), 2 players for percussion instruments'. [in pencil] 'wanted usual Queens Hall Orchestra'.
[41] With pencilled note: 'To be bound in Montreux M. V. W.'
[42] These are probably the parts prepared for the planned Proms performance, see chapter 4.
[43] See White, *My Indian Summer*, p. 261.

Appendix 2: Liza Lehmann - List of Works

Lehmann's works are listed chronologically within the following categories: 'Individual songs, duets and part-songs'; 'Collections of songs and part-songs'; 'Song-cycles'; 'Vocal works with orchestra'; 'Recitations'; 'Operatic and theatrical works'; 'Arrangements and educational works'; 'Instrumental works'

Unless otherwise indicated, dates given are those of publication. A date in [square brackets] indicates year when published version was acquired by the British Library.

Titles, dedications and singers are reproduced, where applicable, as in printed editions.

LA - Lehmann Archive (manuscripts held by the Bedford family).

Individual songs, duets and part-songs

'Das Mädchen spricht' (R. Prutz)
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1888]; Joseph Williams, [1924]

'My true Love hath my Heart' (Philip Sidney)
To 'Mimosa'.
Metzler, [1888]

'If thou wilt be the falling dew' (Provencal folksong translated Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco)
Dedicated to Signor Alberto Randegger.
Chappell [1888]

'Lullaby of an infant chieftain' (Sir Walter Scott)
Chappell [1888]

'Die Nachtingall, als ich sie fragte' (words from 'Mirza-Schaffy' translated Bodenstedt)
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1889]; Joseph Williams, [1910]

'Junge Wunsch' ('gedicht von Rudolf Lehmann')
LA ms, dated 1889

'Wenn ich an Dich gedenke' (Emmanuel Geibel)
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1889]

'The Castilian Maid' (Thomas Moore)
Dedicated to Madame Lilian Nordica.
Boosey, [1890]

'The Nightingale's Mistake' (words from 'Poems for a Child')
Sung by Miss Liza Lehmann.
Boosey, [1890]

'Come, dance the Romaika' (Thomas Moore)
Sung by Miss Liza Lehmann.
Boosey, 1891

'Printemps d'Avril' ('An April Song') (Thomas de Banville)
Sung by Miss Liza Lehmann.
Chappell, [1891]

'Eulalie' (Samuel Minthin Peck)
Boosey, 1892

'Mairè, my Girl' (John K. Casey)
Dedicated to Menie Muriel Norman.[1]
Boosey, 1892

'Titania's Cradle' (William Shakespeare)
To Maria Zemitz.
Boosey, 1892 and 1932 - as a part-song

'The Daisy Chain' A Pastoral Song (Alfred P. Graves)
Dedicated to and sung by Mrs Mary Davies.
Boosey, 1893

'The Exile' (Lady Lindsay)
Dedicated to and sung by Madame Alice Gomez.
Boosey, 1893

'Irish Love Song' ('Cean Dubh Deelish') (Samuel Ferguson)
Dedicated to and sung by Madame Alice Gomez.
Boosey, 1894

'Mirage' (Henry Malesh)
Enoch, 1894

'It is not because your heart is mine'
LA unfinished ms, dated October 1894

'Beautiful Maiden' (Brodzinski, English adaptation John Bowring)
Dedicated to and sung by Madame Clara Samuell.
Metzler, 1895

'Blind Cupid' (William Shakespeare)
Dedicated to Madame Nordica.
Boosey, 1895

'The fountains mingle with the river' (Percy Bysshe Shelley)
Sung by Mr Plunket Greene.
Boosey, 1895

'I praise the tender flower' (Robert Bridges)
To "A. L."
Joseph Williams, 1895

'Lilian's Fan' (Samuel Minthin Peck)
Sung by Miss Evangeline Florence.
Boosey, 1895

'No, no, no!' (from Weelkes' Madrigals)
Chappell, 1895

'Run, run, little page' (Clinton Scollard)
Composed expressly for and sung by Mr Plunket Greene.
Boosey, 1895

---

[1] Lehmann's cousin.

'To my beloved' (Adelaide Procter)
Sung by Madame Alice Gomez.
Metzler, 1895

'King Henry to Fair Rosamund' (Michael Drayton)
To my friend David Bispham.
Enoch, 1897

'O mistress mine' The Clown's Song (William Shakespeare)
Metzler, [1897]

'To Dianeme' (Robert Herrick)
Dedicated to A. L.
Keith Prowse, 1897

'You and I' (Words from Poems of Childhood ed. Don Lemon)
To R. E. D. B. Sung by Miss Louise Dale.
Boosey, 1897

'Fair, Kind and True' (William Shakespeare)
To Mr Ben Davies.
Chappell, 1898

'The Guardian Angel' (E. Nesbit)
To the Countess of Bective. Sung with immense success by Miss Esther Palliser, Madame Bertha Moore, Miss Louise Dale &tc.
E. Ascherberg, 1898; Ascherberg, Hopwood and Crew, ?1925 and [1951 - as two-part song]

'Kathleen O'More' (anon - old Irish)
Sung by Mr Gregory Hast.
Boosey, 1898

'The Minuet' (anon)
Dedicated to Mrs Alberto Randegger. Sung by Miss Evangeline Florence.
Boosey, 1898 [LA ms]

'My lovely child' ('Mütter-Tändelei') (Bürger, English adaptation M. F. Heaton)
Composed for and sung by Madame Blanche Marchesi. Also sung by Miss Louise Dale.
Boosey, 1899

Two Songs (Elinor Sweetman)
1. 'April Cometh'
2. 'Love's Caution'

Composed for and sung by Miss Louise Dale.
Boosey, 1900

'To her Black Satin Shoe' (Oliver Grey)
To my friend Ludovic Goetz. Sung by Mr Kennerley Rumford.
Chappell, 1900

'At Sunset - A Slumber Song' (E. O. Cooke)
To L.H.B. Sung by Madame Clara Butt.
Boosey, 1901 [LA ms harp part]

'Gipsy Love-Song' Romance (Robert Louis Stevenson)
Written for and sung by Mr Denis O'Sullivan.
Boosey, 1901

'I have a garden of my own' (Thomas Moore)
Ascherberg, 1901

'Mother Sleep' (H. D. Lowry)
To Miss Esther Palliser.
Metzler, 1901

'Snowdrops' (Annie Matheson) duet
Dedicated to and sung by Madame Clara Butt and Mr Kennerley Rumford.
Boosey, 1901

'Cupid and the Rose' (Arthur Perceval)
To Emma Nevada. Sung by Miss Evangeline Florence.
Boosey, 1902

'A Farewell' (Charles Kingsley)
Dedicated to Herbert Whitney Tew. Sung by Madame Clara Butt.
Boosey, 1902

'A Flower Fancy' (Ellen Collett)
Enoch, 1902

'A Lake and a Fairy Boat' (Thomas Hood) duet
Dedicated to and sung by Miss Louise Dale and Mr R. Hamilton Earle.
Ascherberg, 1902

Lead Kindly Light (John Henry Newman) hymn for soprano, chorus and organ or piano
To Mary Wakefield.
Novello, 1902

'Molly's Spinning Song' ('Marianchen's Spinnerlied') (Anton Wall, English translation Alfred P. Graves)
Dedicated to and sung by Madame Lillian Blauvelt.
Boosey, 1902

'What Shall We Play?' (Mrs Aria)
Boosey, 1902[2]

'At Love's Beginning' (Thoma Campbell) duet
Sung by Louise Dale and Hamilton Earle.
Boosey, 1903

'Autumn Woods' (Lord Alfred Douglas)
LA ms, dated November 1903

'In the tassel-time of spring' (Robert Underwood Johnson)
Sung by Miss Muriel Foster.
Chappell, 1903

[2] 'This song may be substituted for "Fairies" in "The Daisy-Chain", if desired, but in that case "Keepsake Mill" should precede it'.

'Long Ago in Egypt' (Ethel Clifford)
Chappell, 1903

'Rose Song' (Flora Steel, from the Persian)
Dedicated to and sung by Miss Muriel Foster.
Chappell, 1903

'Roses After Rain' (F. S. Stanton)
Written for and sung with the greatest success by Madame Blauvelt.
Metzler, 1903

'Soul's Blossom' (Robert Underwood Johnson)
Sung by Miss Muriel Foster.
Chappell, 1903

'To a Little Red Spider' ('Araignée du soir - Espoir!') (L. Ann Cunningham)
Boosey, 1903

'The Four Sunbeams' duet for soprano and contralto
Composed expressly for and sung by Misses Pauline and Ethel Hook.
Boosey, 1904

'If I built a world for you' (Herbert Fordwych)
Boosey, 1904 and 1906

'If I only knew!' (Maurice Pond)
Ricordi, 1904

'My heart can wait' (Maurice Pond)
To Mr John Coates.
Willis Music Co., 1904

'A Nook of Paradise' (William Ernest Henley)
Novello, 1904

Sleep, little Ruffly, Fluffly Bird' (Katharine H. McDonald Jackson)
J. Church, [1904]

'Star-Children' (Fred G. Bowles)
J. Church, [1904]

'The Dewdrop' (Rudolph Birnbaum)
To Edith Millar.
Boosey, 1905

'In Lotos Land' (Tom Heffernan)
Boosey, 1905

'The Passion Flower' (Tom Heffernan)
Boosey, 1905

'Speedwell' (A. Kirkland)
Boosey, 1905

'Tell Me!' (Frank Dempster Sherman)
Chappell, 1905

'Dream-birds' (Wilfred Randell) also published as 'O light-of-heart'
Boosey, 1907

'The Little Blush Rose' (Liza Lehmann) 'A Netherland Love Song'
Boosey, 1907

'With a Woodland Nosegay' (Liza Lehmann)
Boosey, 1907

'Amoroso' (William Watson)
Boosey, 1908

'The Beautiful Land of Nod' (Ella Wheeler Wilcox)
Sung by Miss Louise Dale.
Boosey, 1908

'Bleak Weather' (Ella Wheeler Wilcox) also published as 'Love in a Mist'
Boosey, 1908

'Fidelity' (Thomas Moore)
Boosey, 1908

'Little White Rose' (Arthur Perceval)
Chappell, 1908

*Two Seal Songs (*Rudyard Kipling)
1. 'The Mother Seal's Lullaby'
2. 'You mustn't swim till you're six weeks old'

To Lady Campbell.
Chappell, 1908

'The Waters of Lethe' (Hilda Hammond-Spencer)
Sung by Madame Ada Crossley.
Chappell, 1908

'Who is Sylvia?' (William Shakespeare)
Boosey, 1908

'Evolution' (Madeline Lucette Ryley)
Sung by Madame Ada Crossley.
Chappell, 1909

'Thoughts have Wings' (Frances M. Gostling)
Sung by Miss Carmen Hill.
Chapell, 1909

'Abou Ben Adhem and the Angel' (Leigh Hunt)
To Lady Maud Warrender.
Chappell, 1910 [LA ms obbligato organ part]

'Clementina's Song' (from a Polish folk song) from *The Princess Clementina*
Sung by Miss Stella Patrick Campbell and Miss Marguerite Balfour.
Chappell, 1910

'Everybody's Secret' (Lloyd Rand)
Sung by Miss Evangeline Florence.
Chappell, 1910

In Sherwood Forest (Basil Hood) Vocal intermezzo for women's voices
To my friend Victor Harris for his St Cecilia Club.
Chappell, 1910

'Incident of the French Camp' (Robert Browning)
To Robert M. Pitt.
Chappell, 1910

'Pearl and Song' (Cora Fabbri)
To Madame von Feilitzsch.
Chappell, 1910

'Daddy's Sweetheart' (Curtis Hardin-Burnley)
Chappell, 1911 and [1928 - as duet and as trio]

'The Lake Isle of Innisfree' (W. B. Yeats)
Boosey, 1911

'The Silver Rose' (Marguerite Radclyffe Hall)
J. Church, 1911

'A Valentine' (Amelia Barry Pain)
J. Church, 1911

'When the green leaves come again' (Haynes Bailey)
Boosey, 1911

'At the Gate' (Alfred, Lord Tennyson)
Dedicated to and sung by Madame Nordica.
Boosey, 1912

'Aunt Eliza' (Ada Leonora Harris)
Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew, 1912

'The Beautiful Lady' (Walter de la Mare)
Elkin, 1912

'Bonnie Wee Thing' (Robert Burns)
Sung by Mr John McCormack.
Boosey, 1912

'The Dustman' (Mildred E. Lowndes)
Chappell, 1912

'How sweet the moonlight sleep upon this bank' (William Shakespeare) duet
Sung by Madame Clara Butt and Mr Kennerley Rumford.
Boosey, 1912

'Little star of the forest' (Fred E. Weatherley)
Boosey, 1912

'Morning' (William Akerman)
Chappell, 1912

'My love is like a red, red rose'
Boosey, 1912

'On the day I get to heaven' (Sivori Levey)
Chappell, 1912

'Thou hast left me ever, Jamie'
Boosey, 1912

'Wynken, Blynken and Nod' A Dutch Lullaby (Eugene Field)
Three-part chorus, piano and ad lib. violin
Written for and dedicated to the Rubinstein Club of New York.
Boosey, 1912 and [1929]

'Twilight' (Lord Byron) duet
Boosey, 1912

'Wilt thou be my dearie?'
Boosey, 1912

'The First Rose' (Frances Ward)
Chappell, 1913

'I send you my heart' (Liza Lehmann)
Chappell, 1913

'Magdalen at Michael's Gate' (Henry Kingsley)
Dedicated to and sung by Madame Melba.
Chappell, 1913

'Oh! bother, sang the thrush' (Marguerite Radcylffe Hall)
Chappell, 1913

Two Biblical Songs
1. 'By the Rivers of Babylon' To Landon Ronald
2. 'recit 'Surely there is a mine for silver' and arioso 'Happy is the man who finds wisdom' '

Metzler, 1913

'The Weathercock' (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow)
Sung by Miss Ruth Vincent.
Boosey, 1913

'Are you coming, Mr Atkins?' (Louis N. Parker)
'Composed during the 1914-8 war for a War pageant'
LA ms, ?1914

'By the Lake' (Ethel Clifford)
King Albert's Book, 1914

'Didn't you know?' (Gerald Gould)
To Pansy. Sung by Miss Mignon Nevada.
Chappell, 1914

'Echoes' (James White)
Chappell, 1914

'The Poet and the Nightingale' (James White)
To Mignon. Sung by Miss Mignon Nevada.
Chappell, 1914

''Tis the Hour of Farewell' (O. H.)
Sung by Miss Carmen Hill.
Chappell, 1914

'The Birth of the Flowers' (Madeline Lucette) quartet for women's voices
Written for and sung by Madame Clara Butt and her sisters.
Chappell, 1916

'Evensong' (Constance Morgan)
Chappell, 1916

'Good Morning, Brother Sunshine (J. W. Foley)
To Mary Hissem de Moss.
Chappell, 1916, 1926 - as two-part song - and 1935

'There, little girl, don't cry' (James Whitcomb Riley)
To Dorothy Wren. Sung by Madame Clara Butt.
Chappell, 1916

'There are fairies at the bottom of our garden' (Rose Fyleman)
Chappell, 1917 and 1929 - as trio

'The Daisy's Wedding' (Tom Hood) two-part song
Edward Arnold, 1918

'Little Brown Brother' Baby Seed Song (E. Nesbit)
Chappell, 1918

'Whene'er a snowflake leaves the sky'
J. B. Cramer, 1918

'When I am dead, my dearest' (Christina Rossetti)
Boosey, 1919 [LA ms][3]

'If I had but two little wings' (Samuel Taylor Coleridge)
J. B. Cramer, 1921

'In some sublimer star' (Cyril Emra)
Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1921 [LA ms[4]]

'In the watches of the night' (Eveline Young)
Chappell, 1921 [LA ms]

[3] Dated '29 July 1918'. Steuart Bedford, sleeve notes to *Liza Lehmann* Collins Classics (The English Song Series 4) 15082 (1997).
[4] With note: 'Song. Harmony to come. This will require another song to go with it'.

'Were I a butterfly' (Lady Strachey)
Chappell, 1921

'A Bird in the Sky' (W. Munro Anderson)
Metzler, 1926

'When the shadows fall tonight' (W. Munro Anderson)
Metzler, 1926

Date Unknown
Unless a publisher is indicated, all are manuscript works in the Bedford Archive.

'L'amour au Printemps'

'At the making of the Hay' (Samuel Minthin Peck)
Ricordi

'Autumn' (Robert Franz)

'The Ballad of Jabberwocky' (Lewis Carroll)

'A blue bird built his nest'

'The blue shadow'd valley' [unfinished]

'The Bride's Song'

'The cap that fits' (Austin Dobson) 'trialogue'

'Chant provençale' [unfinished]

'Flotsam and Jetsam' (Cora Fabbri)

'Grieve not dear love' Earl Bristol's Farewell (anon)

'Harmony' (Maurice Pond)

'Hie Bonnie Lassie'

'I hide you in my heart' (Agnes Marchmont)

'In the twilight'

'Je n'avais pas quinze ans'

'The Lily of a Day' (Ben Jonson)[5]

'Lovely are the curves of the white owl'

'Love's Ashes' (Algernon Swinburne)

'The Miracle of the Golden Plover' (Eveline Young)

---

[5] Dated 'April 1917'. Steuart Bedford, sleeve notes to *Liza Lehmann* Collins Classics (The English Song Series 4) 15082 (1997).

'The moon is blinking o'er the lea'

'Mother's Spinning Song' [ms not in Lehmann's hand]

'Mutterliebe' (J. B. Rousseau)

'My Harry was a galant gay'

'My true love's a smuggler' (from A Sailor's Garland)

'Padmah' (The Lotos Flower) (written by F. Bowman and C. Guest, lyrics by Marchioness Townshend) scena

'Pensée d'automne' (Baronne de Baye) duet

'A Phantasy' (M. Revell, from A Reading of Life)

'Pot pourri' Fallen Rose Leaves (Ethel G. Smith)

'Premonition' (Charles Bayne)[6]

'Prince Charlie's Farewell to Flora MacDonald' [unfinished]

'The road of "sometime" leads to the gate of "never"' (Una Taylor)

'Scarlet Fuschias' [unfinished]

'Sobald ein Herz die liebe Fand' (K. Stelder)

'Songs of the Shulamite' ('Three fragments from the Song of Solomon') voice, piano and harp

'Sprig of Moly' (Graham Robertson)

'Tam i' the Kirk'

'There was a star' (Cora Fabbri)
Chappell

'Whistle and I'll come to ye' (Scotch song)

Collections of songs and part-songs

Eight German Songs

1. 'Herber Abschied' ('Cruel Parting') (Volkslied)
2. 'Sonnenlicht, Sonnenschein' ('Beauteous Sun, send thy Rays') (Volkslied)
3. 'Gute Nacht' (Good Night) (Betty Paoli)
4. 'Ach, was hilft ein blümelein' ('Ah, what need of flowers gay') (Volkslied)
5. 'Wiegenlied' ('Cradle Song') '
6. 'Lieb' Liebchen, Leg's Händchen' ('Sweet Love, lay thy Hand') (Heinrich Heine)
7. 'Deine Auge' ('Thine Eyes') (Dilia Helena)
8. 'Der Wirthin Tichterlein' ('The Innkeeper's Daughter') (Uhland)

Chappell, [1888]

[6] With note: 'T. Pinnckly June 5 1913'.

Album of Twelve German Songs

1. 'Das Mädchen spricht' (R. Prutz) [previously published]
2. 'Die Nachtingall, als ich sie fragte' (Mirza-Schaffy, translated F. Bodenstedt) To my friend Emily White. [previously published]
3. 'Wenn ich an Dich gedenke' (Emmanuel Geibel) To my friend Maude Valérie White.
4. 'Im Rosenbuch' (Hoffmann von Fallersleben) To my friend Maude Valérie White.
5. 'Das Kraut vergessenheit' (Emmanuel Geibel) [LA ms, dated 1888]
6. 'Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär' (Volkslied) To my friend Annie Compton.
7. 'Hier unter Bebenranken' (Mirza-Schaffy, translated F. Bodenstedt)
8. 'Kindlein's Abenlied' (Volkslied) To my sister Alma.
9. 'Wohin mit der Freud' (Volkhumliches Lied R. Renick)
10. 'Mag auch heiss das scheiden brennen' (Emmanuel Geibel)
11. 'Da ich der Ost-wind bin' (Friedrich Rückert) To my friend G. M. Liddell.
12. 'Cita mors ruit' (Emmanuel Geibel)

Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1889]

Album of Nine English Songs

1. 'The Unearthly One'
2. 'Sigh no more Ladies' (William Shakespeare)
3. 'A widow-bird sate mourning' (Percy Bysshe Shelley)
4. 'If music be the food of love' (William Shakespeare)
5. 'She is not fair to outward view' (Samuel Taylor Coleridge)
6. 'The Young Rose' (Thomas Moore)
7. 'Music, when soft voices die' (Percy Bysshe Shelley) [LA ms]
8. 'Anne Boleyn's Lament' (Anne Boleyn)
9. 'Blind Cupid' (William Shakespeare) [without introduction]

Boosey, 1895

Five French Songs

1. 'Paix du Soir' (Georges Boutelleau, translated Jacques Aurem)
2. 'La Rose' (Georges Boutelleau, translated Jacques Aurem)
3. 'Le Colibri' ('The Humming Bird') (Georges Boutelleau, translated Jacques Aurem)
4. 'L'Oiseleur' ('The Fowler') (Georges Boutelleau, translated Jacques Aurem)
5. 'La Race' ('A Child of Brittany, am I') (Frederic Plessis, translated Jacques Aurem)

J. Church & Co., 1901

Mr Coggs and other Songs for Children (E. V. Lucas)

1. 'Mr Coggs'
2. 'Pa's Bank'
3. 'The Bird Stuffer'
4. 'London Sparrows'
5. 'The Barber'

Chappell, [1908]

Liza Lehmann Album [all previously published] [7]

1. 'If thou wilt be the falling dew' (folk song of Provence, translated Evelyn Cesaresco)
2. 'Soul's Blossom' (Robert Underwood Johnson)
3. 'Long Ago in Egypt' (Ethel Clifford)
4. 'The Clock' (Mrs Eden)
5. 'Tell me, Where is Fancy Bred' (William Shakespeare)
6. 'The Rose Gardener' (Flora A. Steel from the Persian)
7. 'The Billet Doux' (Anon)

Chappell, [1909]

[7] Copyright for 'The Clock' and 'The Billet Doux' is given as 1908 although no copies of these songs appear to have survived.

Five Little Love Songs (Cora Fabbri[8])

1. 'There's a bird beneath your window'
2. 'Along the sunny lane'
3. 'Just a multitude of curls'
4. 'If I were a bird, I would sing all day'
5. Clasp mine closer, little dear white hand'

To Berrick von Norden.
Chappell, 1910

Four Shakespearian Part-Songs SATB (unaccompanied)

1. 'I know a bank'
2. 'When Icicles hang'
3. 'Tell me, where is fancy bred'
4. 'Under the Greenwood Tree'[9]

To W. Smallwood Metcalfe.
Novello, 1911

Nine Favourite Soprano Songs [all previously published]
Boosey, 1911

Album of Five Tenor Songs

1. 'Go Lovely Rose' (Edmund Waller)
2. 'She dwelt among the untrodden ways' (William Wordsworth)
3. 'When all the world is young' (Charles Kingsley)
4. 'Trysting Song' (Liza Lehmann)[10]
5. 'Mock Turtle Soup' (Lewis Carroll)

Chappell, 1913

Hips and Haws (Marguerite Radcylffe-Hall) Five Country Songs for baritone

1. 'I be thinkin' '
2. 'Country Courtship' Dusk in the Lane
3. 'Jealousy'
4. 'Bells across the meadows'
5. 'Tramping'

To Mrs Charles Perkins in rememberance of her oak room.
Chappell, 1913 and 1914

Three Songs for Low Voice

1. 'Prospice' (Robert Browning) [LA ms]
2. 'Dusk in the Valley' (George Meredith) [LA ms]
3. 'Love, if you knew the light' (Robert Browning)

G. Schirmer, 1922

[8] 'These poems were written by a most gifted young poetess who died before she was twenty years old'.
[9] Also published as a duet (Boosey, 1912) 'Sung by Madame Clara Butt and Mr Kennerley Rumford'.
[10] From the cycle *Prarie Pictures*.

Song-cycles[11]

In a Persian Garden ('The words selected from the Rubaiyát of Omar Khayam (Fitzgerald's translation)' for four voices and piano
To my husband.
Metzler, 1896[12]

In Memoriam (Alfred, Lord Tennyson) for baritone or mezzo-soprano and piano
John Church, 1899

The Daisy-chain 'Twelve Songs of Childhood' for four voices and piano
To my small son Rudolf.

1. 'Foreign Children' (Robert Louis Stevenson)
2. 'Fairies' (Anon.)
3. 'Keepsake Mill' (Robert Louis Stevenson)
4. 'If no one ever marries me' (Laurence Alma Tadema)
5. 'Stars' (Robert Louis Stevenson) [also published separately]
6. 'Seeing the World' (Anon.)
7. 'The ship that sailed into the Sun' (W. B. Rands)
8. 'The Swing' (Robert Louis Stevenson) [also published separately]
9. 'Mustard and Cress' (Norman Gale)
10. 'The Moon' (Robert Louis Stevenson)
11. 'Thank you very much indeed' (Norman Gale)
12. 'Blind Man's Buff' (Anon.)

Boosey, 1900

Cameos 'Five Greek Love-Songs' (translated by Jane Minot Sedgewick) for tenor (or baritone) and piano

I (Rufinus)
II (Meleager)
III (Paul the Silentiary)
IV (Anon.)[13]
V (Anon.)

To her Grace Consuelo, Duchess of Manchester.
Enoch, 1901

More Daisies for four voices and piano

1. 'Up into the Cherry Tree' (Robert Louis Stevenson)
2. 'A Moral' (Robert Louis Stevenson)
3. 'For Good Luck' (J. H. Ewing)
4. 'Goodnight and Good Morning' (Lord Houghton)[14]
5. 'Every Night my Prayers I say' (Robert Louis Stevenson)[15]
6. 'In Dreamland' (Harriet Trowbridge)

---

[11] The distinction between 'collections' and 'song-cycles' is not always clear. Works listed here as song-cycles are those that could be performed as a whole, although numbers from them were often performed and published separately as well.

[12] Arrangements include: selection transcribed for orchestra by John Crook (Hawkes, 1903); selection arranged for pianoforte by H. E. Geehl (Metzler, 1912); selection arranged for organ by H. F. Ellingford (Metzler, 1924); suite selected and orchestrated by A. Schmid (G. Schirmer, 1929).
'Ah, Moon of my Delight'; 'Alas! that Spring should vanish with the Rose' and 'Myself when Young' published separately (Metzler, 1896). 'Ah! Moon of my Delight' also published in arrangement for violin and piano (Metzler, 1896).

[13] Published separately as 'Greek Love-Song' (Enoch, 1901 and [1903]). 'Sung by Messrs Joseph O'Mara and Denis O'Sullivan'.

[14] Published separately (Boosey, 1902).

[15] Published separately, with 'The Captain' (Boosey, 1902).

7. 'The Cuckoo' (W. B. Rands)[16]
8. 'Marching Song' (Robert Louis Stevenson)
9. 'My Shadow' (Robert Louis Stevenson)[17]
10. 'The Captain' (Robert Louis Stevenson)[18]
11. 'A Child's Prayer' (M. Betham-Edwards)[19]
12. 'Fairy Chimes' (W. B. Rands)

Boosey, 1902

Songs of Love and Spring (Emmanuel Geibel, translated A. P. Graves) for two voices and piano

1. 'Sir Spring'
2. 'When Young Love comes Knocking'
3. 'In April Mood'
4. 'Dawning Love'
5. 'Disturb it not'
6. 'Golden Bridges'
7. 'A Dream of Violets'
8. 'Star Fancies'
9. 'Love's Emblems'
10. 'My Secret'[20]
11. 'Love Enthroned'[21]

Boosey, 1903

The Life of a Rose (Liza Lehmann) 'A Group of Seven Short Songs' for voice and piano

1. 'Unfolding'
2. 'June Rapture'
3. 'The Bee'
4. 'Lovers in the Lane'
5. 'Sumer Storm'
6. 'Roseleaves'
7. 'Rosa Resurget'

Boosey, 1905 and [1906][22]

Bird Songs (A.S.[23]) for soprano and piano

1. 'The Woodpigeon'
2. 'The Yellowhammer'
3. 'The Starling'
4. 'The Wren'
5. 'The Owl'

Boosey, 1907 and [c.1910]

Nonsense Songs 'The Songs that came out wrong from Alice in Wonderland (Lewis Carroll)' for four voices and piano

To little Mary Bedford.

1. 'How doth the Little Crocodile'
2. 'Fury Said to a Mouse'
3. 'You are Old, Father William'

---

[16] Published separately (Boosey, 1902); as arrangement for SSA (Boosey, Hawkes & Belwin, 1940) and as arrangement for SATB (Boosey, Hawkes & Belwin, 1941).

[17] Published separately (Boosey, [1911]).

[18] See footnote 13.

[19] Published separately (Boosey, 1907).

[20] Published separately (Boosey, 1904). Sung by Mr Kennerley Rumford.

[21] Published separately (Boosey, 1904). Sung by Madame Clara Butt and Mr Kennerley Rumford.

[22] 'The Bee' and 'Lovers in the Lane' published separately (Boosey, 1905).

[23] Steuart Bedford suggests that A.S. was probably Alice Sayers, the Bedford family nurse. Steuart Bedford, sleeve notes to *Liza Lehmann* Collins Classics (The English Song Series 4) 15082 (1997), p.6.

4. 'Speak Roughly to your Little Boy'
5. 'Will you Walk a Little Faster?'
6. 'Mockturtle Soup'
7. 'The Queen of Hearts'
8. 'They told Me You had been to Her'
9. 'To Alice'

Chappell, 1908

Four Cautionary Songs and a Moral (Hilaire Belloc) for two voices and piano

1. 'Rebecca'
2. 'Jim'
3. 'Matilda'
4. 'Henry King'
5. 'Charles Augustus Fortescue'

Chappell, 1909

Breton Folk-Songs (Frances M. Gostling) for four voices and piano

1. 'Sir Fanch and the Fairy'
2. 'I dreamt my love was singing'
3. 'The Ruby Necklace'
4. 'The Nightingale'
5. 'No Candle was there and no Fire'
6. 'The Spinning Wheel'
7. 'L'Ankou' ('The Death Cart')
8. 'King Gralon's Daughter'
9. 'St. Peter's Night'

Chappell, 1909

Prairie Pictures (Liza Lehmann) 'North American Indian Song-Cycle' for four voices and piano

Chappell, 1911[24]

Songs of a "Flapper" (Liza Lehmann) for voice and piano

1. 'In the Garden'
2. 'This Beautiful World'
3. 'My Sister Nell'
4. 'The Ball'
5. 'Goodnight Little Stars'

Chappell, 1911

Cowboy Ballads (collected by J. A. Lomax) for voice and piano

1. 'The Rancher's Daughter'
2. 'Night-herding Song'
3. 'The Skew-ball Black'

Chappell, 1912

The Well of Sorrow (words from 'The Bard of Dimbovitza' collected by Hélène Vacaresco, translated Carmen Sylva and Alma Strettell) for contralto and piano

'Plant me no more flowers, I pray thee, beside my cottage wall
Its shadow makes them wither, - and flowers love the sun.'

1. 'Forsaken'
2. 'The Broken Spindle'
3. 'Beside the Maize-Field'

Boosey, 1912

[24] 'Little Moccasins' and 'Trysting Song' published separately (Chappell, 1911 and 1913).

Songs of Good Luck Superstitions (Helen Taylor) for voice and piano
1. 'The Falling Star'
2. 'If I drink from your glass'
3. 'The New Moon'
4. 'Cuckoo Counts'
5. 'The Black Cat'

Enoch, 1913

Three Snow Songs (Liza Lehmann) for voice and piano with organ and women's chorus obbligato
1. 'Snowflakes'
2. 'Robin Redbreast'
3. 'Christmas Eve'

Chappell, 1914

Parody Pie (A. S. Walker, N. Pain, W. Rose et al.) for four voices and piano
Chappell, 1914

Vocal works with orchestra[25]

Young Lochinvar (Walter Scott) for baritone solo, chorus and orchestra
Boosey, 1898

Endymion (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow) for soprano and orchestra
John Church, 1899 and 1917

Once Upon a Time (The Ancient Story of Sleeping Beauty retold and lyrically arranged by G. H. Jessop) 'A Fairy Cantata' for soloists (narrator, two sopranos, two mezzo-sopranos/contraltos, tenor), chorus, orchestra and piano
To the Countess of Bective in affection and gratitude I dedicate this work.
Boosey, 1903[26]

The Golden Threshold (Sarojini Naidu) 'An Indian Song-Garland' for soprano, contralto, tenor and baritone soloists, chorus and orchestra
Boosey, 1906 and 1907[27]

Leaves from Ossian ('Fragments from the Poems of the Ancient Gaelic Bard (Macpherson's Translation)') for soprano, contralto, tenor and baritone soloists, chorus and orchestra
Chappell, 1909

Recitations

The Happy Prince (Oscar Wilde) for speaker and piano
Chappell, 1908

The Selfish Giant (Oscar Wilde) for speaker and piano
np?, 1911[28]

---

[25] Published editions all in piano score. No full scores or orchestral parts appear to have survived.
[26] 'Princess May Blossom's Waltz' published separately and in an arrangement for military band (Boosey, 1903)
[27] 'Indian Love Song' and 'Alabaster' also published separately Boosey, 1907. A 'selection' published Boosey, [1910] and the choruses published Boosey, [1929].

The High Tide - On the Coast of Lincolnshire, 1571 (Jean Ingelow) for speaker and piano
Elkin, 1912

Behind the Nightlight 'Hibbertoo and other Animals invented by Joan Maude (recorded by her mother N. Price)' for speaker and piano
Boosey, 1913

Operatic and theatrical works

The Secrets of the Heart (Austin Dobson, from 'Proverbs in Porcelain') 'A Musical Dualogue' for soprano and contralto (or mezzo soprano) and piano
J. Williams, [1895]

Good-Night, Babette! (Austin Dobson) 'A Musical Idyll' for soprano, baritone, piano, violin and cello
To my friend Mrs Goetz.
Boosey, 1898[29]

The Eternal Feminine (Lilian Eldée) 'A Musical Monologue'
Sung by Miss Lilian Eldée.
Chappell, 1902[30]

Incidental music for *The Twin Sister* (Louis N. Parker, translation of Ludwig Fulda) four-act comedy[31]
Two numbers published separately:
'Ah! Gather Roses' (Louis N. Parker) (Boosey, 1902)
'A Tuscan Serenade (Louis N. Parker) (Boosey, 1902)

?Incidental music for *Kleine Elise* (Theresa Hauptmann)[32]

Sergeant Brue (lyrics J. H. Wood) 'A Musical Farce'
Hopwood and Crew, 1904[33]
Eight numbers published separately:
'The Bobbie's Beano' (J. Hickory Wood) (Hopwood and Crew, 1904)
'Dear little heart' (Maurice Pond) (Hopwood and Crew, 1904)
'Hey! Ho!' (J. Hickory Wood) (Hopwood and Crew, 1904)
'I'm just a young man in a shop' (J. Hickory Wood) (Hopwood and Crew, 1904)
'Molly Murray' (J. Hickory Wood) (Hopwood and Crew, 1904)
'My Lady Busy' (J. Hickory Wood) (Hopwood and Crew, 1904)
'Run away and play' (J. Hickory Wood) (Hopwood and Crew, 1904)
'Never mind the weather' (Tom Heffernan) (Hopwood and Crew, 1905)

---

[28] Date given in sleeve notes by Henry Wickham for recording of work on Meridian CDE 84322 (1996)
[29] 'Babette's Song' published separately either with piano accompaniment or piano accompaniment with violin and cello obbligato (Boosey, 1900).
[30] 'The Letter Song' and 'To a careless Lover' published separately (Chappell, 1902).
[31] Performed in London: Duke of York's Theatre 1 January - 28 February, 1902.
[32] Mentioned in Evans, 'Modern British Composers: Liza Lehmann' *The Musical Standard* xx (17 October 1903), p.243. No record of a performance with music by Lehmann has yet been traced.
[33] Performed in London: Strand Theatre 14 June - 9 July, 1904; Prince of Wales 11 July - 5 December, 1904; Strand Theatre 6 December, 1904 - 23 January, 1905.
Selections published in arrangement for piano by A. E. Godfrey (Hopwood and Crew, 1904) and for military band by M. Retford (Boosey, 1905).

The Vicar of Wakefield (Laurence Housman, after Oliver Goldsmith) opera
Boosey, 1907
Ten numbers published separately:
'As Bess one day' (Liza Lehmann) (Boosey, 1907)
'Go, Fortune!' (Laurence Housman) duet or solo (Boosey, 1907)
'Haste not to end, oh day, so soon' (Laurence Housman) quintet (Boosey, 1907)
'It was a lover and his lass' (William Shakespeare) (Boosey, 1907)
'The Mad Dog' (Oliver Goldsmith) (Boosey, 1907)
'Prince Charming' (Liza Lehmann) (Boosey, 1907)
'There are birds in the valley' (Laurence Housman) (Boosey, 1907)
'With my bible and my staff' (Oliver Goldsmith) (Boosey, 1907)
'Rose and Lily' (Laurence Housman) duet (Boosey, 1908)
'Sophia's Song' (Liza Lehmann) (Boosey, 1908)

Everyman ('Ancient Morality Play') opera[34]

Arrangements and educational works

Thomas Arne, 'Polly Willis'
Chappell, [1890]

James Hook, 'When first the East begins to dawn'
Boosey, [1891]

Francesco Bianchi, 'Vieni, Dorina bella'
Chappell, [1893]

Caroline, Baroness Nairne, 'The Hundred Pipers' (Scotch song)
Chappell, 1903

'From the Chase on the Mountain' (Old Gaelic song, English words by Maclaren, German translation by Blanche Marchesi)
Joseph Williams, 1904

'Cruikston Castle' ('Es tost um Cruikston') (Old Gaelic song, English words by Tannahill, German translation by Blanche Marchesi)
Joseph Williams, [1904]

A. L., *Twelve Old Scotch Songs*
Boosey, 1912

Practical Hints for Students of Singing
Enoch, 1913

Useful Teaching Songs for All Voices 5 volumes
Chappell, 1914[35]

Studies in Recitative
Chappell, 1915

[34] The vocal score of *Everyman* appears to have been privately printed. The copy held by the Westminster Music Library gives no publisher or date. There is no copy at the British Library.
[35] Selected volume published (Chappell, [1934]).

'Fly away, pretty moth'
Chappell, 1916

Lilies of the Valley A medley of old English Songs arranged for girls' voices
Chappell, 1917

Six Celebrated Classic Songs Series III edited by Liza Lehmann
Elkin, 1920

Michael Balfe, 'Killarney'
J. B. Cramer, 1929

Instrumental works

Album of Ten Pianoforte Sketches
Chappell, [1892]

Romance for piano
Chappell, 1892

Romance for violin and piano
Chappell, 1892

Trois Valses de Sentiment for piano
Chappell, 1892

Pas Seul. Angiolina's Dance for piano (from *The Twin Sister*)
Boosey, 1902

Romantic Suite for violin and piano
Keith Prowse, 1903

Cobweb Castle 'Album of Six Sketches for the Pianoforte'
Chappell, 1908[36]

Je pense à toi for piano
Chappell, 1912

[36] Also published in an arrangement for orchestra by H. M. Higgs (Chappell, [1919]).

Appendix 3: Frances Allitsen - List of Works

Allitsen's works are listed chronologically within two categories: 'Songs and other vocal works'and 'Instrumental works'.

Unless a publisher is indicated, the work does not appear to have been published and no manuscript copy appears to have survived.

Unless otherwise indicated, dates given are those of publication.
A date in [square brackets] indicates year when published version was acquired by the British Library.

Titles, dedications and singers are reproduced as in printed editions.

Songs and other vocal works

'Stars of the Summer Night' (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow)
Performed 18 March 1882 at a Guildhall concert.[1]

'A Moorish Serenade' with violin obbligato
First performed 2 April 1884 at a Guildhall concert.[2]

'My Lady Sleeps' (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow)
Reid Bros, 1885[3]

'O Hemlock Tree' (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow)
Reid Bros, 1885[4]

'After Long Years' (Frances Allitsen)
Boosey, [1886]

'Forget Thee!' (John Moultrie)
Boosey, [1886][5]

'Give a Man a Horse he can Ride' (James Thomson)
Hutching, [1886][6]

'Love, we must part!' (Frances Allitsen)
Dedicated to and sung by Mr J. Dalgety Henderson.
Reid Bros, [1886][7]

'One or Two' (Will Carleton)
Dedicated to and sung by Mr J. Dalgety Henderson.
Chappell, [1886][8]

---

[1] *The Musical Times* 23 (April 1882), p.202.
[2] See Corporation of London Records Office: Guildhall School of Music and Drama. Programmes. Volume I 1879-85.
[3] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in Allitsen's 'Book for entering Musical and Literary agreements' BL Add. Ms 50071.
[4] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in *ibid.*
[5] Performed 25 November 1885 and 5 December 1885 at Guildhall concerts. See Corporation of London Records Office: Guildhall School of Music and Drama. Programmes. Volume I 1879-85.
[6] Listed under 1885 in BL Add. Ms 50071.
[7] Listed under 1885 in *ibid.*
[8] Listed under 1885 in *ibid.*

'Over the Bridge' (James Thomson)
Reid Bros, [1886][9]

'Mary Hamilton' (Whyte Melville)
Dedicated to Mrs C. J. Ebden.
Boosey, [1887][10]

'An Old English Love Song' (from Dowland's Song Book)
Sung by Mr Santley.
Boosey, [1887]

'When the Boys Come Home' (John Hay)
To my friend Emily Allen.
Boosey, [1887]

'Marjorie' (W. Eltringham Kendall)
Ascherberg, [1888]

'Unto Thy Heart' (Victor Hugo, translated Ernest Oswald Coe) with violin obbligato
Ascherberg, 1888

'My Bonny Curl' (Amélie Rives)
Boosey, [1889]

'There be None of Beauty's Daughters' (Byron)
Pitt and Hatzfeld, 1889[11]

Six Songs
1. 'Not quite alone' (Colonel John Hay)
2, 'Come not when I am dead' (Alfred, Lord Tennyson)
3. 'Margaret' (W. H. Mallock)
4. 'Thy Presence' (Fanny Kemble)
5. 'Prince Ivan's Song' (Marie Corelli)
6. 'Thy voice is heard thro' rolling drums' (Alfred, Lord Tennyson)

Ascherberg, 1889

'Afterward' (Ellis Walton)
Dedicated to Miss F. Burder.
Phillips and Page, [1890]

'Answered' (Ellis Walton)
Dedicated to Mrs H. J. Griffiths.
Mocatta & Co., 1890; R. Cocks, [1897]

'Love in Spring Time' (Lewis Morris)
To Miss Marie Corelli.
Boosey, [1890]

'My Laddie' (Amélie Rives)
Dedicated to Miss Alice Connal.
Boosey, [1890][12]

---

[9] Listed under 1885 in *ibid.*
[10] Listed under 1886 in *ibid.*
[11] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in *ibid.*
[12] Listed under 1889 in *ibid.*

'The Stars of June' (Frederick E. Weatherly)
Dedicated to Mrs Charles Hibbert.
Boosey, [1890]

'The Tar's Heart'
Boosey, 1890[13]

'Cavalry Song' (Edmund Clarence Stedman)
To Cavaliere L. Zavertal. Sung by Mr Hayden Coffin.
Boosey, 1891

'Faithless Never'
?, 1891[14]

'The Knight's Request'
Phillips and Page, 1891[15]

'A Song of Thanksgiving' (James Thomson)
To my sister Kate Hibbert.
Boosey, 1891

'The Stars are with the Voyager' (Thomas Hood)
To Edith Barton Faithfull.
Phillips and Page, [1891]

'Apart for Evermore' (Caris Brooke)
To Miss Edith Barker.
R. Cocks, 1892

'Before We Part' (Ellis Walton)
To my friend Mrs Simon Fraser Cumming.
Boosey, 1892

'False or True' (Clifton Bingham)
To Mrs Charles Hibbert.
R. Cocks, 1892

'How I Know'
F. Jeffreys, 1892[16]

'In the Days of Old'
Robert Cocks, 1892[17]

'King and Slave' (Adelaide Proctor)
To Mr Charles Copland.
R. Cocks, 1892

'A Song of the Four Seasons' (Austin Dobson)
To Mrs Margaret Hayley.
R. Cocks, 1892

---

[13] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in *ibid.*
[14] Listed in *ibid* as 'bought out by Mr Hayden Coffin'. No copy appears to have survived.
[15] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in *ibid.*
[16] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in *ibid.*
[17] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in *ibid.*

'Warning' (Hermann Lingg, translated F. d'Anvers)
Dedicated to and sung by Mrs Helen Trust.
R. Cocks, 1892

'The Wayside Seat' (Ellis Walton)
To Mrs Nutter.
J. B. Cramer, 1892

Album of Eight Songs (Heinrich Heine)
1. 'A Pine-tree standeth lonely'
2. 'Two sapphires those dear Eyes'
3. 'Diamonds hast thou and Pearls'
4. 'King Duncan's Daughters'
5. 'Since my love now loves me not'
6. 'Fathoms deep may drift the snow'
7. 'Oh, Death, it is the cold, cold night'
8. 'Katherine'

R. Cocks, 1892

'Oh Forbear to Bid me Slight her'
Jeffreys, 1893[18]

'O Give Me All My Heart! (Ellis Watson)
Phillips and Page, [1893]

'In Time of Old' (Thomas Love Peacock)
R. Cocks, 1894

'Wilt Thou Take me for Thy Slave' (Wilfred Scawen Blunt)
To Mrs William Gordon.
R. Cocks, 1894

Spring Contrasts (William Ernest Henley)
'The Spring, my dear, is no longer Spring'
'The Nightingale has a Lyre of Gold'
R. Cocks, 1894 [Series of Artistic Songs]

'Adieu Love'
Willcocks, 1895[19]

'Be My Star' (Frederick Langbridge)
To Madame St Germaine.
Enoch, 1895

'Bygones' (Ellis Watson)
Enoch, 1895

'Love is a Bubble'
Willcocks, 1895[20]

[18] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in *ibid.*
[19] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in *ibid.*
[20] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in *ibid.*

'The Lute Player' (William Watson)
Willcocks, 1895

Two Love Songs
Willcocks, 1895[21]

'The Colleen Rue' (Katherine Tynan)
Chappell, [1896][22]

'Dainty Clare' (Florence Hoare)
Houghton, 1896; Chappell, 1896

'Mabel's Song' (A. C. Swinburne)
To Miss Mabel Stock.
Boosey, 1896

'The Norseman's Song' (M. Ingle Ball)
Houghton, 1896

'There's A Land' (Charles Mackay)
Boosey, 1896[23]

'The Old Clock on the Stairs' (Longfellow)
Dedicated to and sung by Miss Ada Crossley.
Boosey, 1896

'The Lord is My Light' (Psalm xxvii)
To Clifford Harrison. Sung by Miss Clara Butt.
Boosey, 1897

'The Lover's Wish' (Victor Hugo, translated 'V')
To Mrs William Gordon
Houghton, 1897[24]; Leonard, 1905

'My Life and Thine' (Constance Sutcliffe) with violin ad lib.
To Miss Muriel Banby. Sung by Mr Hayden Coffin.
Chappell, 1897

'True Love' (Frances Allitsen)
Strickland Bros, [1897]

'When we two parted' (Byron)
Dedicated to and sung by Miss Clara Butt.
Boosey, 1897

'In the Sunshine' (Augusta Webster)
To Miss Amy Griffiths. Sung by Mr Ben Davies.
Chappell, 1898

'Like as the Hart Desireth' (Psalm xliii) with cello obbligato
To Clifford Harrison. Sung by Miss Ada Crossley.
Boosey, 1898

---

[21] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in *ibid.*
[22] Listed under 1895 in *ibid.*
[23] Listed under 1895 in *ibid.*
[24] Listed under 1896 in *ibid.*

'Like Violets Pale' (James Thomson)
To Adeline Hayden Coffin.
Boosey, 1898

'Oh! For a Burst of Song' (Frances Ridley Havergal)
To Henry Gadsby. Sung by Miss Clara Butt.
Boosey, 1898

'Severed' ('Hal')
Boosey, 1898

'Sunset and Dawn' (Frances Ridley Havergal)
Dedicated to and sung by Miss Margaret Macintyre.
Boosey, 1898

Two Songs (Owen Meredith, Earl of Lytton)
'Since We Parted'
'Absence'
Dedicated by kind permission to the Countess of Lytton.
Metzler, [1898]

'On the River' (James Thomson) duet
Chappell, 1899 and 1900 - as solo song

'Break, Diviner Light!' (Tennyson) duet
Dedicated to and sung by Miss Clara Butt and Mr Kennerley Rumford.
Boosey, 1899

'Lady! In this night of June' (Alfred Austin) with cello obbligato
To Dr Walter Griffith.
Metzler, [1899]

'A Song of Farewell' (Sir Edwin Arnold)
Dedicated to and sung by Madame Alice Gomez.
Chappell, 1899

Three Songs
1. 'Whether we die or we live' (George Meredith, German translation Kate Freiligrath Kroeker)
2. 'A Cavalier's Song' (William Motherwell) To David Bispham.
3. 'A Song of Dawn' (Ellis Walton)

G. Schirmer, 1899

'England, My England!' (William Ernest Henley)
To the Countess Grosvenor.
Boosey, 1900

'Sing me to Rest' (Harold Whitaker) with violin ad lib.
Dedicated to and sung by Miss Ada Crossley.
Boosey, 1900

'Heini of Steir, the Meistersinger' (Victor Scheffel) with violin obbligato
Performed by Blanche Marchesi in July 1900.[25]

---

[25] Performed as a 'new song'. *Lady's Pictorial* XL (14 July 1900), p.59.

'Sons of the City' (Bernard Malcolm Ramsay)
Ascherberg, 1900

Thanksgiving for Victory (G. W.) choral song
To Mr F. B. Rowley.
Metzler, [1900]

'The boys who will not return' (J. A. Edgerton)
To the memory of Our Heroes in South Africa.
Boosey, [1901][26]

'I know a little rose' (Bayard Taylor)
G. Schirmer, 1901

'In Our Boat' (Dinah Maria Craik) duet
G. Schirmer, 1901; Enoch, 1906

Two Christmas Songs
1. 'The Star in the East' (William Theodore Peters) To Lady Arthur Willshire.
2. 'From Heart to Heart' (Robert F. Murray)

Boosey, 1901

'Glory to God on High' (Robert F. Murray)
To Clifford Harrison.
G. Schirmer, 1902

'Like a Garden after Rain' (Alfred Austin)
To Mrs Alfred Austin.
Ricordi, 1902

'My Lady's Pleasure' (Edward Teschemacher)
Dedicated to Miss Emma Young.
Jeffreys, 1902

'The Scottish Pipers' (Bernard Malcolm Ramsay)
'The melody of the Refrain is from an old Scotch folksong'
To Lady Jenne.
Chappell, 1902

Two Songs
1. 'Think on me Dear' (Sir Edwin Arnold) Sung by Mr C. Hayden Coffin.
2. 'Always Together' (William Theodore Peters) Sung by Mr C. Hayden Coffin.

Dedicated to and sung by Miss Hope Morgan.
Metzler, 1902

'Hymn of Trust' (Oliver Wendell Holmes) with organ or harmonium ad lib.
Enoch, 1903

'Love's Despair' (Diarmid O'Curhain)
Boosey, 1903

'The Sovereignty of God' (Frances Ridley Havergal) with organ ad lib.
To Mrs C. Way.
Chappell, [1903]

---

[26] Published the following year as 'Britain's Heroes' To The Memory of Our Heroes. Sung by Madame Clara Butt.

'Who Would Not Captive Be?' (MacKenzie MacBride)
To Robert Radford.
Boosey, 1903

'Forgetfulness' (Fred Vigay)
To Mrs Richard Crawshay.
Metzler, 1904

'The Hidden Grief' (Thomas Ingoldsby)
Metzler, 1904

'The Loyalty of Love' (Lord Lytton)
Sung by Madame Clara Butt.
Boosey, 1904

'Youth' (Edward Teschemacher, 'after the Swedish')
Boosey, 1904

'The Wayfarer' (John Mansfield)
Boosey, 1904

'A Song of Faithfulness' (Florence Hoare)
To Miss Elliott Stock. Sung by Madame Ada Crossley.
Boosey, 1905

'Song of the Gun' (J. E. MacManns)
Sung by Mr Leo Stormont.
Metzler, 1905

Moods and Tenses (Phases in a Love Drama) 'Cycle of Eight Songs'
'Rebellion' (Amelia B. Edwards)
'Love's Mandate' (Anon)
'As the Buds Look Up' (William C. Scully)
'Regret' (Frank Hyde)
'Doubts' (Lord Lytton)
'Resolve' (Frank Hyde)
'Rapture' (Frank Hyde)
'Love's Victory' (Robert Bridges)
To my friend Louise Sutherland Morris.
Boosey, 1905[27]

'Adoration' (Frances Ridley Havergal) with organ accompaniment ad lib.
To Maude Drinan.
Boosey, 1907

'Forward' (Edna Dean Proctor)
To Miss M. E. Ebsworth.
Stainer & Bell, [1907]

'A Lover's Song' (W. J. Lancaster)
To Mrs R. Smith.
Chappell, 1907

---

[27] Performed 3 July, 1903. *The Musical Times* 44 (August 1903), p.548.

Two Short Songs (William Theodore Peters)
1. 'Love and Grief - Nature and Art'
2. 'The Mountain and the Star'

To Mrs Arthur Gibson.
Stainer and Bell, 1907

'Lift Thy Heart' (Fred Bowles) with organ or harmonium ad lib.
To Anna Pennington. Sung by Madame Ada Crossley.
Chappell, 1908

'Eastern Serenade' (Dorothy Johnson)
To Mrs Harry Hill.
Chappell, 1908

'Praise Thou the Lord, O My Soul' (Psalms cxlvi and cxlv)
To Madame Blanche Marchesi.
J. Church, [1908]

'Soul's Dedication' (William Akerman)
Chappell, 1908

Two Songs (C. Whitworth Wynne) with violin, cello or horn obbligato
1. 'Nocturne' (German translation Jon. Kotzschke) To Mrs William Gordon.
2. 'The Sou'Wester' (German translation Lily Henkel) To Mrs C. W. Cayzer.

'Orchestral parts of these songs may be had from the composer'
J. Church, 1908

'Tell Her, Sweet Thrush!' (Whitworth Wynne)
To Lady Cayzer.
Weekes, 1909

Three Love Letters
1. 'A Letter' (William Theodore Peters)
2. 'Sweet Sorrow' (William Theodore Peters)
3. 'As Cooling Dew' (Georgina Hubi-Newcombe)

To Miss Eleanor Soutter.
Chappell, 1909

Four Songs from 'A Lute of Jade' ('rendered' Launcelot Cranmer-Byng)
1. 'The Waning Moon' (from The Odes of Confucius)
2. 'The Nightless Tryst' (from The Odes of Confucius)
3. 'High O'er The Hill' (Wang Seng Ju)
4. 'A King of Liang' (Kao-Shih)

Weekes, 1910

'England, Queen of the Seas!' (Charles Cayzer)
'Patriotic Song to our kindred in the great lands over-seas'.
Dedicated by special permission to the Right Honorable Robert Laird Borden, K. C.
Weekes, [1912]

Cleopatra (Shakespeare and Thomas S. Collier) scena
To Albert Visetti. Composed expressly for and sung by Madame Clara Butt.
Boosey, 1904

Magnificat (A Hymn of the Woodlands) (Arthur L. Salmon) contralto or baritone solo with chorus
To my friend Whitworth Wynne.
Boosey, 1909

For the Queen (Frank Hyde) cantata for baritone, mezzo-soprano and bass soloists, chorus and orchestra
Boosey, 1911 and 1912

Bindra the Minstrel (adapted by Frances Allitsen from *Songs from the Book of Jaffir*) opera
Weekes, 1912

Instrumental works

Sonata in F minor for piano
Performed 20 October, 1881 at a Guildhall Concert.[28]

Caprice for piano
Boosey, [1886][29]

Suite for orchestra
Performed as a piano duet 1 and 8 February 1883 at Guildhall concerts.[30]

Three Sketches for violin and piano
Olga; Coquette; Kermesse
Performed 27 February 1884 at a Guildhall concert.[31]

Overture 'Slavonic' for orchestra
First performed 3 May 1884 at a Guildhall concert.[32]

Overture 'Undine' for orchestra[33]

Danse humoresque for piano
Boosey, [1888]

Nocturne for piano
Augener, 1888[34]

Doushka Polka-Mazurka for piano
Joseph Williams, [1891]

Cradle Song for violin (?and piano)
R. Cocks, 1893[35]

---

[28] See Corporation of London Records Office: Guildhall School of Music and Drama. Programmes. Volume I 1879-85.
[29] First performed 19 October 1882 at a Guildhall concert. See *ibid.*
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] Won the Lady Mayoress's Prize for composition of an overture in classic form in 1884. Cutting from *Daily Chronicle* (3 August 1884) in Corporation of London Records Office: Guildhall School of Music and Drama. Scrapbook: November 1878; April 1880 - December 1884.
[34] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in BL Add. Ms 50071.
[35] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in *ibid.*

Lullaby for violin and piano
R. Cocks, 1893[36]

Funeral March for orchestra[37]

Tarantella for orchestra[38]

'L'intérieur' (Maurice Maeterlinck) for speaker and piano
Performed 5 March 1895 at Steinway Hall.[39]

Preghiera for violin or cello and piano
Chappell, 1907

[36] No copy appears to have survived. Listed in *ibid.*
[37] Performed sometime before 1895. Mentioned in Anon, 'Popular Lady Composers: Miss Frances Allitsen' *The Strand Musical Magazine* 2 (1895), p.251.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *The Musical Times* 36 (April 1895), p.258.

Appendix 4: Rosalind Ellicott - List of Works

Ellicott's works are listed chronologically within the following categories: 'Songs and part-songs'; 'Choral works'; Chamber works' and 'Orchestral works'.

Unless otherwise indicated, dates given are those of publication. A date in [square brackets] indicates year when published version was acquired by the British Library.

Where no publisher is given, the work does not appear to have been published and does not appear to have survived.

Titles are given as in printed editions or contemporary sources.

Songs and part-songs

'From my sad tears are springing' ('Aus meinen Thränen') (Heinrich Heine, English translation Charles Rowe)
To Mrs J. A. Travers.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1881]

'The sweet blue eyes of springtime' ('Die blauen Frülhlingsaugen') (Heine, English translation Charles Rowe)
To Mrs J. A. Travers.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1881]

'To the Immortals' (D. F. Blomfield)
Enoch, [1883]

'One alone' ('Verlust') (Heine, English translation Revd. J. Troutbeck)
To my friend Fraülein Therese Malten.
Weekes, [1884]

'I love thee' (R. S Hichens)
Boosey, [1887]

'Sing to me' (R. S. Hichens) duet for soprano and tenor
Novello, [1887]

'A dream of heaven'
Performed 24 May 1888 at a private concert in London.[1]

'My love is near'
Performed June 1888 at Steinway Hall.[2]

'A Dream of the Sea' (R. S. Hichens)
Boosey, [1889]

Peace be Around Thee (Thomas Moore) part-song
Novello, [1889]

Bring the Bright Garlands (Thomas Moore) part-song
The Lute 76 (1889)

---

[1] Ralph Livings' morning concert. *The Musical World* LXVI (9 June 1888), p.455.
[2] George Cox's annual concert. *The Musical World* LXVI (4 July 1888), p.535.

Shine Out, Stars (Thomas Moore) part-song[3]

New Year Looking Forth (Spencer) part-song
First performed 16 January 1896 at a Bristol Madrigal Society concert.[4]

Choral works

Radiant Sister of the Day (Percy Bysshe Shelley) cantata for chorus and orchestra
Novello, [1887][5]

Elysium (Felicia Hemans) cantata for soprano, chorus and orchestra
Novello, 1889[6]

The Birth of Song (Lewis Morris) cantata for soprano and tenor soloists, chorus and orchestra
Novello, 1892[7]

Henry of Navarre (Thomas Macaulay) choral ballad for men's voices and orchestra
First performed 25 May 1894 at Queen's College, Oxford.[8]

Chamber works

A Sketch for violin and piano
Dedicated to A. Burnett, Esqre.
Mayence, 1883

String Quartet in Bb major
Performed (probably first performance) December 1884 at Steinway Hall.[9]

A Reverie for cello and piano
Dedicated to Alfred Herbert Brewer.
Novello, [1888]

Trio in G major for piano, violin and cello
First performed 14 December 1889 at a Matinée Musicale, Bristol.[10]

Six Pieces for violin and piano
Prelude; Polonaise; Aria; Ballade; Gavotte; Romance
Novello, [1891]

Trio in D minor for piano, violin and cello
Performed (probably first performance) 5 May 1891 at Prince's Hall.[11]

Sonata in D for pianoforte and violin
Performed (probably first performance) 20 May 1895 at St Martin's Town Hall.[12]

---

[3] Advertised as to be performed at a Bristol Gleemen Concert. *The Musical Times* 30 (December 1889), p.730.
[4] *The Musical Times* 37 (February 1896), p.103.
[5] Published by Novello as part-song. Manuscript of version for chorus and orchestra (dated 19 September 1887) at RCM: Add. Ms 5071d.
[6] Two full scores at RCM: Add. Ms 5071b (dated 11 April 1889 'A. M. D. G.') and 5071c.
[7] Full score at RCM: Add. Ms 5071a. Score dated 25 June 1892 'A. M. D. G.'
[8] *The Musical Times* 35 (July 1894), p.480.
[9] *Englishwoman's Review* (15 December 1884), p.582.
[10] *The Musical Times* 31 (January 1890), p.27.
[11] *The Monthly Musical Record* (June 1891), p.140.

Pianoforte Quartet in B minor
First performed 1 May 1900 at Steinway Hall.[13]

Orchestral works

Overture 'to Spring' for orchestra
Performed (probably second performance) 22 February 1886 at St James's Hall.[14]

Dramatic Overture for orchestra
First performed 7 September 1886 at Gloucester Festival.[15]

Fantasia in A minor for piano and orchestra
First performed September 1895 at Gloucester Festival.[16]

[12] *The Musical Times* 36 (June 1895), p.403.
[13] *The Musical Times* 41 (June 1900), p.399.
[14] *The Musical World* LXIV (27 February 1886), p.142.
[15] *The Musical Times* 27 (October 1886), p.591.
[16] *The Monthly Musical Record* (October 1895), p.218.

Appendix 5: Dora Bright - List of Works

Bright's works are listed chronologically within the following categories: 'Songs'; 'Piano music'; 'Chamber works'; 'Orchestral works'; 'Ballets and other theatrical works'

Unless otherwise indicated, dates given are those of publication. A date in [square brackets] indicates year when published version was acquired by the British Library.

Where no publisher is given, the work does not appear to have been published and, unless otherwise indicated does not appear to have survived.

Titles are given as in printed editions or contemporary sources.

Songs

'Whither?' (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow)
Shepherd & Kilner, [1882]

'The Task of the Flower'
Performed 7 July 1883 at an RAM concert.[1]

'To Daffodils' (Robert Herrick)
Elkin & Co., 1903[2]

'The Song of the Shirt' (Thomas Hood)
Performed in 1884 at an RAM concert.[3]

'A Summer Storm'
Performed in 1885 at an RAM concert.[4]

'My Lady Sweet Arise' (William Shakespeare)
Performed in 1885 at an RAM concert.[5]

'Sigh No More, Ladies' (William Shakespeare)
Performed in 1886 at an RAM concert.[6]

'The Primrose'
Performed in 1888 at an RAM concert.[7]

Twelve Songs

1. 'To Blossoms' (Robert Herrick) Dedicated to A. J. Hipkins Esq.[8]
2. 'To Daisies' (Robert Herrick)
3. 'The Primrose' (Robert Herrick)
4. 'To Music' (Robert Herrick)[9]
5. 'Song' (anon)
6. 'Hark! Hark! the Lark (William Shakespeare) Dedicated to Walter Macfarren.

---

[1] See RAM Archives: 'Concert Books Feb 1883 - Dec 1885'.
[2] Performed in 1884 at an RAM concert. See *ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] RAM Archives: 'Concert Books Feb 1886 - Dec 1888'.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Performed in 1886 at an RAM concert. See *ibid.*
[9] Performed in 1885 at an RAM concert. See RAM Archives: 'Concert Books Feb 1883 - Dec 1885'.

7. 'Who is Sylvia?' (William Shakespeare)
8. 'It was a Lover and his Lass' (William Shakespeare)
9. 'The Maid's Garland' (H. Hailstone) Dedicated to Christina Mackenzie.
10. 'Finland Love Song' (Thomas Moore) Dedicated to Marie James.[10]
11. 'The Reaper and the Flowers' (Henry W. Longfellow) Dedicated to Mrs Whitehead.
12. 'When all the world is young lad' (Charles Kingsley) Dedicated to Edward German.

Novello, [1889]

Six Songs from the Jungle Book (Rudyard Kipling)
1. 'Night-Song in the Jungle'
2. 'Seal Lullaby'
3. 'The Mother Seal's Song'
4. 'Tiger, Tiger!'
5. 'Road-Song of the Bandar-Log'
6. 'The Song Toomai's Mother sang to the Baby'

Elkin & Co., 1903

'The Ballad of the Red Deer' (F. H.)
Elkin & Co., 1903

'Star of my Night'
Performed 13 June, 1904 at St James's Hall.[11]

'Messmates' (Henry Newbolt) (also available for baritone solo, male voices and piano)
Dedicated to Henry R. Eyres.
Elkin & Co., 1907

'Colinette' chansonette from *The Portrait* (Dora Bright)
Joseph Williams, [1911]

'I know a Lady sweet and kind' (Robert Herrick)
Chappell, 1913

'The Orchard Rhymes' written with Ethel Boyce
Novello's School Songs, 1917

'The Donkey' (G. K. Chesterton)
Dedicated to Harold Williams.
Elkin & Co., 1936

Piano

Two Sketches for piano
Dedicated to Walter Macfarren.
Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1884][12]

Theme and Variations in F# minor for two pianos
Performed 10 July 1886 at Willis's Rooms.[13]

Suite in G minor for piano
Performed 19 November 1886 at RAM chamber concert.[14]

---

[10] Performed in 1884 at an RAM concert. See *ibid.*
[11] *The Musical Times* 45 (July 1904), p.467.
[12] Performed 26 October 1883 at an RAM concert. See RAM Archives: 'Concert Books Feb 1883 - Dec 1885'.
[13] *The Musical Times* 27 (August 1886), p.480.

Variations on a Theme of Purcell's for two pianos
Performed June 1887 at an RAM concert.[15]

Variations on an original Theme by Sir G. A. Macfarren for two pianos
Dedicated to Walter Macfarren.
Edward Ashdown, [1894][16]

Romanza and Scherzetto for piano
Dedicated to her friend Ethel Boyce.
Edward Ashdown, [1889]; reissued as two separate pieces, [1922]

Three Pieces for the Pianoforte
1. Berceuse Dedicated to Mrs Graham.
2. Liebeslied: Duettino Dedicated to the Lady Katherine Thynne
3. Tarantella Dedicated to the Lady Katherine Thynne

Edward Ashdown, [1895]

Four Dances from the Miniature Ballet, La Carmago for piano
1. Gavotte
2. Passepied
3. Sarabande
4. Flemish Dance

Elkin & Co., 1912

Chamber works
Air and Variations for string quartet
Won RAM Charles Lucas Prize in 1888.[17]

Romance and Seguidilla for flute and piano
Rudall, Carte & Co., [1891]

Suite of Five Pieces for violin and piano
Dedicated to J. T. Carrodus Esq.
Edward Ashdown, [1891][18]

Quartet in D major for piano and strings
Performed 26 April 1893 at Dora Bright's Chamber Concert, Prince's Hall.[19]

Two Pieces for cello and piano or violin and piano
1. Das Fischermädchen 'A Melody by Meyerbeer' (arranged by Bright)
2. Polka à la Strauss

Elkin & Co., 1934

---

[14] *The Musical Times* 27 (December 1886), p.719.
[15] See RAM Archives: 'Concert Books Feb 1886 - Dec 1888'.
[16] Performed (probably first performance) 17 February 1888 at an RAM Concert. See *ibid.*
[17] See RAM Archives: 'Prize Lists'.
[18] Performed April 1890 at Dora Bright's Chamber Concert, Prince's Hall. See *The Musical Times* 31 (May 1890), p.297.
[19] *The Musical Times* 34 (June 1893), p.359.

Orchestral works

Concertstück in C# minor for piano and orchestra
Performed 3 July 1885 at an RAM Concert.[20]

Piano Concerto no. 1 in A minor
First performed 24 July 1888 at an RAM concert.[21]

Airs and Variations for orchestra
Performed May 1890 by Westminster Orchestral Society.[22]

Suite for orchestra
Prelude, Liebeslied, Seguidilla, Romance, Finale
Decsribed as 'just finished' by Bright on 8 August 1891.[23]

Fantasia in G minor for piano and orchestra
First performed 11 May 1892 by the Philharmonic Society.[24]

Liebeslied for orchestra
First performed 6 March 1897 at the Promenade Concerts.[25]

Variations for piano and orchestra[26]

Concertstück for six drums and orchestra[27]

Suite Bretonne for flute and orchestra
First performed November 1917 at the Promenade Concerts.[28]

Vienna for orchestra[29]

Suite of Russian Dances for orchestra[30]

Suite of Eighteenth-Century Dances for piano and orchestra[31]

---

[20] See RAM Archives: 'Concert Books Feb 1883 - Dec 1885'.
[21] See RAM Archives: 'Concert Books Feb 1886 - Dec 1888'. Revised version first performed in April 1891 at the Crystal Palace concerts. Ms score in RAM uncatalogued manscripts: Box 24.
[22] *The Musical World* LXX (24 May 1890), p.416.
[23] Letter from Bright to Francesco Berger, 8 August 1891. Philharmonic Society Papers (BL Loan 48.13/5).
[24] *The Musical Times* 33 (June 1892), p.343. This is probably the same work as the Piano Concerto no. 2 listed as performed during 1892 in Cologne in eds. H. Saxe Wyndham and Geoffrey L'Epine, *Who's Who in Music: A Biographical Record of Contemporary Musicians* second edition (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1915), p.30.
[25] *The Musical Times* 38 (April 1897), p.241.
[26] Dated (possibly incorrectly) as 1892 in ed. César Saerchinger, *International Who's Who in Music* (New York: Current Literature Publishing Co., 1918), p.82. Manuscript score, dated Paris 1910, in RAM Archives: Box 24.
[27] Future performance in Nottingham advertised in *The Musical Times* 56 (May 1915), p.305.
[28] *The Musical Times* 58 (November 1917), p.512.
[29] Listed in ed. Landon Ronald, *Who's Who in Music* (London: Shaw Publishing, 1935).
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Ibid.*

Ballets and other theatrical works

The Dancing Girl and the Idol ballet
Produced at Chatsworth.[32]

Incidental music for *Uncle Silas* (Seymour Hicks and Laurence S. Irving after Sheridan LeFanu)
Performed 13 February 1893 at the Shaftesbury Theatre.[33]

Incidental music for *Scrooge* (J. C. Buckstone after Charles Dickins)
Performed October-November 1901at the Vaudeville Theatre.[34]

The Dryad 'A Pastoral Fantasy'
Pianoforte score Elkin & Co., (1909)[35]

The Portrait (Dora Bright) 'Dance Play'
First performed 24 November 1910 at the Prince of Wales' Theatre.[36]

The Faun ballet
First performed 23 March 1911 at the Playhouse Theatre.[37]

The Abbé's Garden 'Mimo Drama'
First performed 31 March 1911 at the Globe Theatre.[38]

La Camargo ballet
First performed 20 May 1912 at the Coliseum.[39]

In Haarlem There Dwelt (Dora Bright after Peter van der Meer) 'Musicdrame'
First performed 21 May 1912 at His Majesty's Theatre.[40]

La Danse (1912) ballet
First performed 17 December 1912 at the New York Metropolitan Opera House.[41]

The Princess and the Pea 'Ballet-pantomime'
First performed 2 July 1915 at the Haymarket Theatre.[42]

A Dancer's Adventure ballet
First performed 11 October 1915.[43]

The Love Song ballet
First performed 7 June 1932.[44]

---

[32] Ivor Guest, *Adeline Genée. A Lifetime of Ballet under Six Reigns. Based on the Personal Reminiscences of Dame Adeline Genée-Isitt DBE* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), p.88.
[33] J. P. Wearing, *The London Stage 1890-1899: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1976) I, p.287.
[34] Wearing, *The London Stage 1900-1909* (1981) I, p.123.
[35] First public performance 26 March 1907 at the Playhouse Theatre. Wearing, *The London Stage 1900-1909* (1981) I, p.542.
[36] Wearing, *The London Stage 1910-1919* (1982) I, p.87.
[37] *Ibid.*, p.118.
[38] *Ibid.*, p.120.
[39] Guest, *Adeline Gené*, p.125.
[40] Wearing, *The London Stage 1910-1919* (1982) I, p.246.
[41] Guest, *Adeline Genée*, p.130.
[42] Wearing, *The London Stage 1910-1919* (1982) I, p.565.
[43] Guest, *Adeline Genée*, p.152.
[44] *Ibid.*, p.170.

Appendix 6: Adela Maddison - List of Works

Maddison's works are listed chronologically within two categories: 'Songs and other vocal works'; 'Instrumental works' and 'Operatic and theatrical works'.

Unless otherwise indicated, dates given are those of publication. A date in [square brackets] indicates year when published version was acquired by the British Library. Unless otherwise indicated, place of publication is London.

Titles are given as in printed editions or contemporary sources.

Songs and other vocal works

'Will You Forget?' (Gerard Bendall)
Metzler, [1882]

'For a Day and a Night' (Algernon Swinburne)
Dedicated to Mrs George Batten. Sung by Mr Lawrence Kehie.
Metzler, [1888]

'Rococo' (Algernon Swinburne)
To Miss Daisy Franklin.
Metzler, [1888]

'If you were Life' (Algernon Swinburne)
To F. B. M.[1] Sung by Mr Frederick Williamson.
Metzler, [1889]

Deux Mélodies
1. 'Ici-bas' (Armand Sully Prudhomme)
2. 'Romance' (Francois Coppée)

A Mme George Batten.
Metzler, 1893

Twelve Songs op. 9 & 10
Op. 9:
1. 'Bleak Weather' (Ella Wilcox Wheeler) To Mrs George Batten.
2. 'Before Sunset' (Algernon Swinburne) To ***.
3. 'The Triumph of Time' (Algernon Swinburne) To C. M. F.
4. 'Stage Love' (Algernon Swinburne)
5. 'An Interlude' (Algernon Swinburne)
6. 'Rococo' (Algernon Swinburne) To Miss Daisy Franklin.
7. 'A Little While' (Dante G. Rossetti)
8. 'Insomnia' (Dante G. Rossetti)
9. 'O That 'Twere Possible' (Alfred, Lord Tennyson)
10. 'A Lament' (Percy Bysse Shelley) To the Honble Mrs Edward Bourke.

Op. 10 *Zwei Lieder*
1. 'Liebe' (Heinrich Heine)
2. 'An Den Mond' (Altes Volkslied) To my mother.

Metzler, 1895

'Give me your Hand' (The words from *The Pall Mall Gazette*)
Metzler, [1896]

[1] Frederick Brunning Maddison.

'Ob ich dich liebe'
Performed 1 May 1896 at St James's Hall.[2]

'Im Traum'
Performed 1 May 1896 at St James's Hall.[3]

'Soleils couchants' (Paul Verlaine) for choir (or soprano and mezzo-soprano duet) and piano
Paris: J. Hamelle, (c. 1896)

Six Mélodies
Paris: Choudens, 1897

Deux Mélodies (Albert Samain)
1. 'Hiver'
2. 'Silence'

Paris: J. Hamelle, 1900

Trois Mélodies sur des poésies de Goethe
1. 'Pourquoi je t'aime'
2. 'Rève'
3. 'Fête de mai'

Paris: A. Quinzard, 1901

'The Ballade of fair Agneta' ('Die Ballade von der schonen Agnete') (Agnes Miegel, translated Adela Maddison) op. 40
Dedicated to Madame Blanche Marchesi.
Augner, 1915

'Little Fishes Silver' ('Das madchen am Teiche singt') (Otto J. Bierbaum, translated Adela Maddison) op. 43
Augner, 1915

'Mary at Play' ('Kleine Maria') (Margarete Bruch, translated Adela Maddison) op. 42
Dedicated to Madame Lilli Lehmann.
Augner, 1915

'Sail On, O Ship of State' (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow)
Dedicated by gracious permission to his Majesty the King.
Augner, 1915

Trois Mélodies (Edmond Harancourt)
1. 'La Bien-aimée...'
   A Miss Jean Waterston.
2. 'Soir en Mer...'
   A Mme La Comtesse de Boisrouvray
3. 'Mon amour était mort...'.
   A Mme Ida Reman.

Augener, 1915

'National Hymn for India' (K. N. Das Gupta)
Dedicated to "The Union of the East and West".
Union of the East and West, 1918[4]

---

[2] *The Athenaeum* 3576 (9 May 1896), p.627.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Composed 1917 (as indicated in printed edition).

'If you would have it so' (Rabindranath Tagore)
Enoch, 1919

'The Lum. A wean's nicht thoughts' (John Fergus)
Enoch, 1919

'Retrospect' (Rupert Brooke)
Enoch, 1919[5]

'The Heart of the Wood' (translated from the Irish by Isabella Augusta Gregory)
To Earl Spicer.
J. Curwen, 1924

'Lament of the Caged Lark' (Lily Nightingale Duddington)
J. Curwen, 1924

'The Poet Complains' (translated from the Irish by Isabella Augusta Gregory)
To John Goss.
J. Curwen, 1924

'Tears' (from the Chinese of Wang-Sen-Ju 6th Century AD, Launcelot Cranmer Byng)
To L. M. Maclellan.
J. Curwen, 1924

'Crocknaharna'[6]

Instrumental works

Brer Rabbit polka for piano
Metzler, [1882]

Diana waltz for piano
Metzler, [1888]

Berceuse for violin and piano
Paris: J. Hamelle, 1898

Romance for violin and piano
Paris: J. Hamelle, 1898

Irish Ballad for orchestra[7]

Quintet for two violins, viola, cello and piano
J. Curwen, 1925[8]

[5] Composed 1917 (as indicated in printed edition).
[6] Date unknown, held by BBC Music Library.
[7] Mentioned in letters of 1909. See, for example, Maddison to Jelka Delius, 14 April 1909. Delius Trust.
[8] Composed 1916 (as indicated in printed edition).

Operatic and theatrical works

Der Talisman (based on play by Ludwig Fulda)
First performed 1910 in Leipzig.[9]
Incidental music for *Paddly Pools* (Miles Malleson)
Performed (probably first performance) January 1917 at Glastonbury.[10]

The Children of Lir ballet
Performed during May and June 1920 at the Old Vic.[11]

Ippolita in the Hills (Maurice Hewlett) opera
Performed during 1920s in Chelsea.[12]

?Music for *The Song* (Adela Maddison)
Performed May 1926 at the Court Theatre.[13]

[9] 'New Opera at Leipzig' *The Times* (21 November, 1910), p.12.
[10] *The Musical Times* 58 (March 1917), p.138.
[11] Information provided by Michael Hurd, letter to present author, 24 November 1991.
[12] Obituary, *The Times* (June 13 1929), p.21
[13] J. P. Wearing, *The London Stage: A Calendar of Plays and Players 1920-1929* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1984) II, p.730.

Bibliography

Abdy, Jane and Gere, Charlotte. *The Souls* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1984)

Abromeit, K. A. 'Ethel Smyth, The Wreckers and Sir Thomas Beecham' *Musical Quarterly* lxxiii (1989), pp.196-211

Acland, Alice. *Caroline Norton* (London: Constable, 1948)

A. L. S. 'Women and Music' *Musical News* (21 July 1900), p.64

Anderson, Bonnie S. and Zinsser, Judith P. *A History of their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present* (London: Penguin, 1990)

Anderton, H. Orsmond. *Granville Bantock* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, nd)

Angé-Laribé, Michel. *André Messager, Musicien de Théâtre* (Paris: La Colombe, 1951)

Anon. 'The Feminine in Music' *The Musical Times* 23 (October 1882), pp.521-522

Anon. 'Women as Composers' *The Musical Times* 28 (February 1887), pp.80-82

Anon. 'Fanny Mendelssohn' *The Musical Times* 29 (June 1888), pp.338-341

Anon. 'Manliness in Music' *The Musical Times* 30 (August 1889), pp.460-461

Anon. 'Sex and Music' *The Musical Times* 33 (June 1892), pp.337-8

Anon. 'Musicians of the Day: Miss E. M. Smyth' *The Musical Standard* new series XLIV (28 January 1893), p.66

ed. Anon. *The Year's Music 1896: Being a Concise Record of British and Foreign Musical Events, Productions, Appearances, Criticisms, Memoranda, etc.* (London: J. S. Virtue, 1896)

Anon. 'Woman in Music' *The Musical Standard* illustrated series VI (12 September 1896), pp.151-152

Anon. 'To the Young Musician who would Compose: An Interview with Mme Liza Lehmann' *The Musical Standard* illustrated series 33: 857 (1903), pp. 373-75

Anon. 'Women Composers' *Musical News* (17 June 1905), pp. 561-563

Anon. *Miniature Essay: Poldowski* (London: Chester, 1924)

ed. Anon. *The Story of 25 Eventful Years in Pictures* (London: Odhams Press, c.1936)

Anon. 'Augusta Holmès (1847-1903)' *Action Musicale* 18/19 (1983)

Atkinson, Jane. *The Suffragettes in Pictures* (London: Museum of London/Sutton Publishing, 1996)

Auchmuty, Rosemary. 'Victorian Spinsters' PhD thesis Australian National University, 1975

ed. Bacharach, A. L. *British Music of Our Time* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1946)

ed. Bahlman, Dudley W. R. *The Diary of Sir Edward Walter Hamilton 1880-1885* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972)

Baker, Michael. *Our Three Selves: A Life of Radclyffe Hall* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1985)

Ball, William Scott. 'Reclaiming a Music for England. Nationalist Concept and Controversy in English Musical Thought and Criticism 1880-1920' PhD Ohio State University, 1993

Banfield, Stephen. *Sensibility and English Song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

Baring, Maurice. *The Puppet Show of Memory* (London: Heinemann, 1932)

Barnett, J. F. *Musical Reminiscences and Impressions* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906)

Battersby, Christine. *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (London: The Women's Press, 1989)

Beecham, Thomas. *A Mingled Chime: Leaves from an Autobiography* (London, 1973)

ed. Belchem, John and Price, Richard. *The Penguin Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century History* (London: Penguin, 1996)

Bennett, Daphne. *Margot: A Life of the Countess of Oxford and Asquith* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1984)

Benson, E. F. *As We Were* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930)

Bernhardt, Emma. 'Off the Wall' *Elle Decoration* 21 (Jan-Feb 1993), pp.50-57

Bispham, David. *A Quaker Singer's Recollections* (New York: Macmillan, 1920)

Blackstone, Bernard. *Byron: A Survey* (London: Longman, 1975)

Block, Adrienne Fried and Carol Neuls-Bates. *Women in American Music: A Bibliography of Music and Literature* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979)

Blom, Eric. *Music in England* revised edition (Middlesex: Penguin, 1947)

Bolt, Christine. *The Women's Movements in the United States and Britain from the 1790s to the 1920s* (New York, London etc.: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993)

Boosey, William. *Fifty Years of Music* (London: Ernest Benn, 1931)

Bott, Alan and Clephane, Irene. *Our Mothers: A Cavalcade in Pictures, Quotation and Description of Late Victorian Women 1870-1900* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1932)

Boughton, Rutland. *The Glastonbury Festival Movement* (London: Somerset Folk Press, 1922)

ed. Bowers, Jane and Tick, Judith. *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* (London: Macmillan, 1986)

Brand, Myra F. 'Poldowski (Lady Dean Paul): her life and her song settings of French and English poetry' DMA University of Oregon, 1979

Brandon, Ruth. *The New Women and the Old Men: Love, Sex and the Woman Question* (London: Flamingo, 1991)

Bray, Trevor. *Bantock: Music in the Midlands before the First World War* (London: Triad Press, 1973)

eds. Brett, Philip, Wood, Elizabeth and Thomas, Gary C. *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994)

ed. Bridenthal, Renate and Koonz, Claudia. *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977)

Bronfen, Elisabeth. *Over her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).

Brown, J. and Stratton, Stephen. *British Music Biography* (Stratton: Birmingham, 1897)

Buzard, James. 'Victorian Women and the Implications of Empire' *Victorian Studies* 36 (1992-3) 443-453

Caine, Barbara. *Victorian Feminists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)

Campbell, Margaret. *The Great Cellists* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1988)

Carley, Lionel. *Delius: The Paris Years* (Wales: Triad Press, 1975)

Carley, Lionel. *Delius: A Life in Letters I 1862-1908* (London: Scolar Press, 1983)

ed. Carter, A. C. R. *The Year's Music 1899: Being a Concise Record of All Matters Relating to Music and Musical Institutions Which Have Occurred During the Season 1897-8, Together With Information Respecting the Events of the Season 1898-9* (London: J. S. Virtue, 1896)

ed. Carter, Mark Bonham. *The Autobiography of Margot Asquith* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1962)

Casey, Ellen Miller. 'Edging Women Out? Reviews of Women Novelists in the Athenaeum, 1860-1900' *Victorian Studies* 39:2 (Winter 1996), pp.151-165

Cazalet, Rev. W. W. *The History of the Royal Academy of Music* (London: Bosworth, 1854)

Chadwick, Whitney. *Women, Art, and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990)

Chamier, J. Daniel. *Percy Pitt of Covent Garden and the BBC* (London: Edward Arnold, 1938)

Charosn, Paul '"Popular" and "Classical" in the mid-19th century' *American Music* 10:2 (Summer 1992), pp. 118-135

Chedzoy, Alan. *A Scandalous Woman: The Story of Caroline Norton* (London: Allison and Busby, 1992)

Citron, Marcia. *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993)

ed. Cleveland-Peck, Patricia. *The Cello and the Nightingale: The Autobiography of Beatrice Harrison* (London: John Murray, 1985)

Cline, Sally. *Radclyffe Hall: A Woman Called John* (London: John Murray, 1997)

Cobbett, W. W. *Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music* second edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1963)

Cohen, Aaron. *International Encyclopedia of Women Composers* second edition (New York: Books and Music (USA) Inc.: 1987)

Colles, H. C. *Voice and Verse: A Study in English Song* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928)

Colles, H. C. *Essays and Lectures* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945)

Cope, Zachary. *The Versatile Victorian. Being the Life of Sir Henry Thompson, Bt. 1820-1904* (London: Harvey and Blythe, 1951)

eds. Cook, Susan C. and Judy S. Tsou. *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994)

ed. Cooper, Sarah. *Girls! Girls! Girls! Essays on Women and Music* (London: Cassell, 1995)

Cowen, Frederic. *My Art and my Friends* (London: Edward Arnold, 1913)

Cox, David. *The Henry Wood Proms* (London: BBC, 1980)

ed. Crichton, Ronald. *The Memoirs of Ethel Smyth* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1987)

Crump, Jeremy. 'The Identity of English Music: The Reception of Elgar 1898-1935' in ed. Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, *Englishness, Politics and Culture 1880-1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1986)

Cummings, William H. 'Our English Songs' *English Music (1604 to 1904) being the Lectures given at the Music Loan Exhibition of the Worshipful Company of Musicians, held at Fishmongers' Hall, London Bridge, June-July, 1904* (London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co, 1911) 47-72

Curtis, Liane. 'A case of identity' *The Musical Times* 137 (May 1996), p.15-21

Dale, Kathleen. 'Ethel Smyth's Prentice Works' *Music and Letters* 30/4 (1949) 329-36

Daniels, Mabel Wheeler. *An American Girl in Munich (Impressions of a Music Student)* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1905)

Davey, Henry. *History of English Music* revised edition (London: J. Curwen, 1921)

Davis, Tracy C. *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991)

Davison, J. W. *From Mendelssohn to Wagner. Being the Memoirs of J. W. Davison* (London: Reeves, 1912)

Day, Timothy. 'Sir Richard Terry and 16th-century polyphony' *Early Music* 22 (May 1994), pp.297-307

De Cossart, Michael, *The Food of Love: Princesse Edmond de Polignac (1865-1943) and her Salon* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978)

De Lara, Isodora. *Many Tales of Many Cities* (London: Hutchinson, 1938)

Dibble, Jeremy. *C. Hubert H. Parry: His Life and Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992)

Dijkstra, Bram. *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986)

Dolman, Frederick. 'Songs and Song-Writing: A Chat with Miss Hope Temple' *The Young Woman* 3 (1894-5), pp. 240-242.

Douglas Home, Jessica. *Violet: The Life and Loves of Violet Gordon Woodhouse* (London: The Harvill Press, 1996)

eds. Dunn, Leslie and Jones, Nancy A. *Embodied Voices: Female Vocality in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

ed. Eaglefield-Hull, A. *A Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1924)

Ebel, Otto. Women Composers: *A Biographical Handbook of Woman's Work in Music* third edition (New York: Chandler-Ebel Music Co., 1913)

Eggar, Katherine. 'The Creative Spirit in Women's Music' *The Music Student* 10:9 (May 1918), pp.333-334.

Eggar, Katherine. 'Marion Scott as Founder of the Society of Women Musicians' *Memorial to Marion Scott* (London: Society of Women Musicians, 1954)

Ehrlich, Cyril. *The Piano: A History* revised edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990)

Ehrlich, Cyril. *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985)

Ehrlich, Cyril. *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995)

Ellmann, Richard. *Oscar Wilde* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988)

Elson, Arthur. *Women's Work in Music* (Boston: L. C. Page, 1904)

Elwes, Winifride and Richard. *Gervase Elwes: The Story of his Life* (London: Grayson and Grayson, 1935)

Ensor, Robert. *England 1870-1914* The Oxford History of England Volume 14 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936)

Fauser, Annegret. 'Lili Boulanger's *La princesse Maleine*: A Composer and her Heroine as Literary Icons' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122 (1997), pp.68-108

Fay, Amy. *Music Study in Germany* (New York: Macmillan, 1880)

Fellowes, Edmund H. *Memoirs of an Amateur Musician* (London: Methuen, 1946)

Février, Henry. *André Messager, mon maître, mon ami* (Paris: Amiot-Dumont, 1948)

Fisher, Henry. *The Musical Profession* (London: J. Curwen, 1888)

Fitzgerald, Edward. *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* edited with an introduction by Dick Davis (London: Penguin, 1989)

ed. Ford, Boris. *Victorian Britain* The Cambridge Cultural History 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

Foreman, Lewis. 'The British Musical Renaissance: A Guide to Research' The Library Association fellowship dissertation, London 1972.

Foreman, Lewis. *From Parry to Britten: British Music in Letters 1900-1945* (London, Batsford, 1987)

Foreman, Lewis. *Bax: A Composer and his Times* second edition (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1988)

ed. Foreman, Lewis. *Music in England 1885-1920 as Recounted in Hazell's Annual* (London: Thames, 1994)

Forrester, Wendy. *Great-Grandmama's Weekly: A Celebration of The Girl's Own Paper 1880-1901* (Guilford and London: Lutterworth Press, 1980)

Forster, Margaret. *Significant Sisters: The Grassroots of Active Feminism 1839-1939* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985)

Foster, Myles Birket. *The History of the Philharmonic Society of London: 1813-1912* (London: John Lane, 1912)

ed. Fraser, David. *Fairest Isle: BBC Radio 3 Book of British Music* (London: BBC, 1995)

Frémiet, Philippe Fauré and Dumesnil, René. *Le Centenaire de Gabriel Fauré* (Paris: Editions de la Revue Musicale, 1945)

ed. Frémiet, Philippe Fauré. *Gabriel Fauré: Lettres Intimes* (Paris: La Colombe, 1951)

Frith, Simon. *Music for Pleasure: Essays in the Sociology of Pop* (London: Polity Press, 1988)

ed. Frogley, Alain. *Vaughan Williams Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Fuller, Sophie. 'Unearthing a World of Music: Victorian and Edwardian Women Composers' *Women: A Cultural Review* 3/1 (Summer 1992), pp.16-22

Fuller, Sophie. *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers: Britain and the United States, 1629-Present* (London: Pandora, 1994)

Fuller Maitland, J. A. *English Music in the XIXth Century* (London: Grant Richards, 1902)

Fuller Maitland, J. A. *A Door-Keeper of Music* (London: John Murray, 1929)

Gänzl, Kurt. *The British Musical Theatre 1 1865-1914* (London: Macmillan, 1986)

ed. Gardiner, Juliet. *The New Woman* (London: Collis & Brown, 1993)

Gillett, Paula. *The Victorian Painter's World* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990)

Goddard, Scott. 'The Art of Roger Quilter' *The Chesterian* VI (1925), pp.213-217

Godfrey, Dan. *Memories and Music: Thirty-five Years of Conducting* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1924)

Gooch, Bryan N. S. and Thatcher, Davis S. *Musical Settings of Late Victorian and Modern British Literature: A Catalogue* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1976)

Gramit, David. 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography, and Cultural Values' *19th-Century Music* 17:1 (Summer 1993), pp.65-78

Graves, Charles L. *The Life of Sir George Grove* (London: Macmillan, 1903)

Graves, Charles L. *Hubert Parry: His Life and Works* (London: Macmillan, 1926)

Greene, Harry Plunket. *Charles Villiers Stanford* (London: Edward Arnold, 1935)

Greer, David. *A Numerous and Fashionable Audience: The Story of Elsie Swinton* (London: Thames Publishing, 1997)

Grew, Sydney. *Our Favourite Musicians from Stanford to Holbrooke* (Edinburgh and London: T. N. Foulis, 1922)

Groh, Jan Bell. *Evening the Score: Women in Music and the Legacy of Frédérique Petrides* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1991)

Grun, Bernard. *The Timetables of History: A Horizontal Linkage of People and Events* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979)

Guest, Ivor. *Adeline Genée. A Lifetime of Ballet under Six Reigns. Based on the Personal Reminiscences of Dame Adeline Genée-Isitt DBE* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958)

Hadow, W. H. *English Music* (London, New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1931)

Harding, James. *Gounod* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1973)

Harris, Jose. *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914* (London: Penguin, 1994)

Hart-Davis, Rupert ed. *Siegfried Sassoon's Diaries 1920-22* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981)

ed. Harvey, Paul. *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* fourth edition revised Dorothy Eagle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967)

Haweis, Rev. H. R. *Music and Morals* (London: Strahan & Co., 1871)

Haweis, Rev. H. R. *My Musical Life* second edition (London: W. H. Allen, 1888)

Hemmings, F. W. J. *Culture and Society in France 1848 -1898: Dissidents and Philistines* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1971)

Hettrick, Jane Schatkin. 'She Drew an Angel Down: The Role of Women in the History of the Organ 300 B.C. to 1900 A.D.' *The American Organist* 13:3 (March 1979), pp.40-46

Hichens, Robert. *Yesterday: The Autobiography of Robert Hichens* (London: Cassell, 1947)

Hoare, Philip. *Wilde's Last Stand: Decadence, Conspiracy and the First World War* (London: Duckworth, 1997)

Hobsbawn, E. J. *The Age of Empire 1875-1914* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1987)

Hold, Trevor. *The Walled-In Garden: A Study of the Songs of Roger Quilter (1877-1953)* (Rickmansworth: Triad Press, 1978)

Holledge, Julie. *Innocent Flowers: Women in the Edwardian Theatre* (London: Virago, 1981)

Howes, Frank. 'Music' in ed. Simon Nowell-Smith, *Edwardian England 1901-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964)

Howes, Frank. *The English Musical Renaissance* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1966)

Hudson, Derek. *Norman O'Neill: A Life of Music* (London: Quality Press, 1945)

Hughes, Gervase. *Composers of Operetta* (London: Macmillan, 1962)

Hurd, Michael. *Vincent Novello - And Company* (London: Granada, 1981)

Hurd, Michael. *Rutland Boughton and the Glastonbury Festivals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)

Hyde, Derek. *New Found Voices. Women in Nineteenth-Century English Music* (Cornwall: Belverdere Press, 1984)

Ibsen, Henrik. *Four Major Plays* with introduction by James McFarlane (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981)

J.B.T.M. *The Story of the Jubilee Singers* second edition (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1875)

J. F. R. 'Women as Musical Critics' *The Monthly Musical Record* (March 1895), pp.49-50

Jacobs, Arthur. *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986)

Jacobs, Arthur. *Henry J. Wood: Maker of the Proms* (London: Methuen, 1994)

Jalland, Pat. *Women, Marriage and Politics 1860-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988)

ed. Janes, Emily. *The Englishwoman's Year Book* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1899)

Jeffreys, Sheila. *The Spinster and her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality 1880-1930* (London: Pandora, 1985)

Jenkins, Walter S. *The Remarkable Mrs. Beach, American Composer. A Biographical Account Based on her Diaries, Letters, Newspaper Clippings, and Personal Reminiscences* ed. John H. Baron (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1994)

ed. and transl. Jones, J. Barrie. *Gabriel Fauré: A Life in Letters* (London: Batsford, 1989)

Kallberg, Jeffrey. *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History and Musical Genre* (Cambridge, MT: Harvard University Press, 1996)

Keeton, A. E. 'Some English Composers: Miss Rosalind F. Ellicott' *The London Musical Courier* V (30 June 1898), p.427

Kellogg, Clara. *Memoirs of an American Prima Donna* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam, 1913)

Kennedy, Michael. *Portrait of Elgar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982)

Kennedy, Michael. 'The English Musical Renaissance 1880-1920' *The Gramophone* 60 (August 1982), pp.211-22

Kent, Greta. *A View from the Bandstand* (London: Sheba Feminist Publishers, 1983)

Kift, Dagmar. *The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class and Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Kilmister, Sally. 'Aesthetics and Music: the Appropriation of the Other' *Women: A Cultural Review* 3:1 (Summer 1992), pp.30-39

Klein, Hermann. *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London 1870-1900* (London: William Heinemann, 1903)

Koza, Julia Eklund. 'Music and the Feminine Sphere: Images of Women as Musicians in *Godey's Lady's Book*, 1830-1877' *Musical Quarterly* 75:2 (Summer 1991), pp.103-129

L.E. 'Amateurs', *The Monthly Musical Record* (April 1885), pp.75-76

Le Quesne, A. L., Landow, George P., Collini, Stefan and Stansky, Peter. *Victorian Thinkers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Lehmann, Liza. *The Life of Liza Lehmann* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1919)

ed. Leighton, Angela and Reynolds, Margaret. *Victorian Women Poets: An Anthology* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1995)

ed. Leighton, Angela. *Victorian Women Poets: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996)

Leppert, Richard. *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Sociocultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988)

Leppert, Richard, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1993)

Lerner, Gerda. *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Lloyd, Stephen. *Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Composers* (London: Thames Publishing, 1995)

Lovell, Mary. 'How Girls May Earn A Living. XIII Music' *Farm, Field and Fireside* (19 June 1914)

Lowe, George. 'Ballad Writers XV: Maude Valérie White' *The Musical Standard* new illustrated series 3:61 (1914), 198-200

Lunn, Henry C. 'Amateurs' *The Musical Times* 18 (July 1877), pp.326-327

M. 'Mrs Rosa Newmarch' *The Musical Times* 52 (1911), pp.225-229

M. C. C. 'Artists and Amateurs' *The Musical Times* 29 (September 1888), pp.534-535

Mackenzie, Alexander. *A Musician's Narrative* (London: Cassell, 1927)

Mackerness, E. D. *A Social History of English Music* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964)

Marshall, Herbert and Stock, Mildred. *Ira Aldridge: The Negro Tragedian* (London: Rockliff, 1958)

ed. Masterman, Lucy. *Mary Gladstone (Mrs Drew): Her Diaries and Letters* (London: Methuen, 1930)

Masters, Brian. *Now Barabbas was a Rotter: The Extraordinary Life of Marie Corelli* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978)

McClary, Susan. *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991)

McClary, Susan. 'Reshaping a Discipline: Musicology and Feminism in the 1990s' *Feminist Studies* 19:2 (Summer 1993), pp.399-423

McNaught, William. 'Miss Wakefield' *The Musical Times* 41 (August 1900), p.529-30

McVeagh, Diana. *Edward Elgar: His Life and Music* (London: J. M. Dent, 1955)

Melba, Nellie. *Melodies and Memories* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1925)

Mender, Mona. *Extraordinary Women in Support of Music* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1997).

Metzelaar, Helen. 'From Private to Public Spheres: An Exploration of Women's Role in Dutch Musical Life from c.1700 to c.1880 and Three Case Studies' PhD thesis Utrecht University, 1996

Moore, Jerrold Northrop. *Edward Elgar: A Creative Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984)

ed. Moore, Jerrold Northrop. *Edward Elgar: The Windflower Letters. Correspondence with Alice Caroline Stuart Wortley and her Family* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)

Morris, James. *Pax Britannica: The Climax of an Empire* (London: Penguin, 1979)

Munthe, Axel. *The Story of San Michele* (Hamburg: Albatross, 1934)

Musgrave, Michael. *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Myers, Margaret. *Blowing her own Trumpet. European Ladies' Orchestras and Other Women Musicians 1870-1950 in Sweden* (Göteborg: Göteborg University, 1993)

Myers, Rollo. 'Augusta Holmès: A Meteoric Careeer' *The Musical Quarterly* 53 (1967), pp.365-376

Navarro, Mary Anderson de. *A Few Memories* (London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1896)

Navarro, Mary Anderson de. *A Few More Memories* (London: Hutchinson, 1936)

Nectoux, Jean-Michel, ed. *Gabriel Fauré: His Life through his Letters* translated J. A. Underwood (London and New York: Marion Boyars, 1984)

Neuls-Bates, Carol, ed. *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present* second edition (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996)

Newman, Ernest. 'Women and Music' *The Musical Times* 51 (June 1910), pp.359-361

Newmarch, Rosa. *Mary Wakefield: A Memoir* (Kendal: Atkinson & Pollitt, 1912)

Newsome, David. *The Victorian World Picture* (London: John Murray, 1997)

ed. Norris, Christopher. *Music and the Politics of Culture* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1989)

Northcote, Sydney. *Byrd to Britten: A Survey of English Song* (London: John Baker, 1966)

Nunn, Pamela Gerrish. *Victorian Women Artists* (London: The Women's Press, 1987)

Olson, Stanley. *John Singer Sargent: His Portrait* (London: Macmillan, 1986)

Orledge, Robert. *Gabriel Fauré* (London: Eulenburg Books, 1979)

Oxford, Margot. *More Memories* (London: Cassell, 1933)

Palmer, Alan and Veronica. *The Pimlico Chronology of British History* revised edition (London: Pimlico, 1996)

Pearsall, Ronald. *Victorian Popular Music* (London: David and Charles, 1973)

Pearsall, Ronald. *Edwardian Popular Music* (London: David and Charles, 1975)

ed. Pendle, Karin. *Women and Music: A History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991)

Penn, Mollie. 'The Clarinet as an Instrument for Girls' *The Music Student* VI (1914), p.193.

Perry, Gill. *Women Artists and the Parisian Avant-Garde: Modernism and 'Feminine' Art, 1900 to the Late 1920s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995)

Pert, Yvonne. 'The Woman in Music' *Sackbut* 5 (1924-5), pp. 43-45

Pirie, Peter J. *The English Musical Renaissance: Twentieth-Century British Composers and their Works* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1979)

Ponder, Winifred. *Clara Butt: Her Life Story* (London: George Harrap, 1928)

Pratt, A.T.C. *People of the Period* (London, 1897)

Prescott, Oliveria. *Form or Design in Music* (London: Duncan Davison, 1880)

Prescott, Oliveria. 'Musical Style and How to Cultivate It' *The Musical World* LXIV (20 March 1886), p.179

Prescott, Oliveria. 'Some thoughts on the Day-Macfarren Theory of Harmony' *The Musical World* (10 November 1888) pp.861-2

Prescott, Oliveria. 'Notes from the Gamut of a Painter' *The Musical World* LXX (6 September 1890), pp.708-9 and (29 November 1890), p.947-8

Prescott, Oliveria. *About Music, and What It Is Made Of: A Book for Amateurs* (London: Methuen, 1904)

Rabinowitz, Peter J. ' "With Our Own Dominant Passions": Gottschalk, Gender, and the Power of Listening' *19th-Century Music* 16 (1992-3), pp.242-252

Radnor, Helen, Countess-Dowager of. *From a Great-Grandmother's Armchair* (London: The Marshall Press, 1927)

Raitt, Suzanne. ' 'The tide of Ethel': femininity as narrative in the friendship of Ethel Smyth and Virginia Woolf' *Critical Quarterly* 30:4 (1988), pp.3-21

Raitt, Suzanne. 'The Singers of Sargent: Mabel Batten, Elsie Swinton, Ethel Smyth' *Women: A Cultural Review* 3:1 (Summer 1992), pp.23-29

Read, Donald. *England 1868-1914: The Age of Urban Democracy* (London: Longman, 1979)

Ricks, Christopher. *Tennyson* second edition (London: Macmillan, 1989)

eds. Ridley, Jane and Percy, Clayre *The Letters of Arthur Balfour and Lady Elcho 1885-1917* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1992)

Rieger, Eva. '*Dolce semplice*? On the Changing Role of Women in Music' in *Feminist Aesthetics* ed. Gisela Ecker (transl) (London: The Women's Press, 1985), pp.135-149

Rogers, Clara Kathleen. *Memories of a Musical Career* (Norwood, MA: Plimpton Press 1919)

Rogers, Clara Kathleen. *The Story of Two Lives: Home, Friends and Travel* (Norwood, MA: Plimpton Press, 1932)

Ronald, Landon. 'Some Lady Song Writers' *The Lady's Realm* (1901), pp.474-480

Ronald, Landon. *Variations on a Personal Theme* (London: Holder and Stoughton, 1922)

Russell, Dave. *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914: A Social History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987)

eds. Sadie, Julie Anne and Samuel, Rhian. *The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* (London: Macmillan, 1994)

ed. Saerchinger, César. *International Who's Who in Music and Musical Gazetteer* (New York: Current Literature Publishing Co., 1918)

ed. Samson, Jim. *The Late Romantic Era: From the Mid-19th Century to World War I* (London: Macmillan, 1991)

Santley, Charles. *Student and Singer* (London: Arnold, 1892)

Santley, Charles. *Reminiscences of my Life* (London: Pitman, 1909)

Saxe Wyndham, H. *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts* (London: Walter Scott, 1908)

eds. Saxe Wyndham, H. and L'Epine, Geoffrey. *Who's Who in Music: A Biographical Record of Contemporary Musicians* second edition (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1915)

Scholes, Percy. *The Mirror of Music, 1844-1944* 2 vols. (London: Novello and Oxford University Press, 1947)

Scott, Derek B. *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1989)

Scott, Derek B. 'The Sexual Politics of Victorian Musical Aesthetics' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119:1 (1994), pp.91-114

Scott, Derek B. 'Orientalism and Musical Style' *Critical Musicology Journal* (http://www.leeds.ac.uk/music/info/CMJ/ cmj.html) 1.3.97

Scott, Marion and Eggar, Katharine. 'Women's Doings in Chamber Music: III Women in the String Quartet' *Chamber Music* (supplement to *The Music Student*) 3 (October, 1913), pp.12-15.

Senlac, Philippa. 'Personalities and Powers: Dr Ethel Smyth' *Time and Tide* 2 (1920), pp.57-59

Shattock, Joanne. *The Oxford Guide to British Women Writers* (Oxford: OUP, 1993)

Shaw, George Bernard. *Music In London 1890-94* revised edition 3 vols. (London: Constable, 1932)

Showalter, Elaine. *A Literature of their Own from Charlotte Brontë to Doris Lessing* revised edition (London: Virago, 1982)

Showalter, Elaine. *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (London: Bloomsbury, 1991)

Simpson, Harold. *A Century of Ballads 1810-1910: Their Composers and Singers* (London: Mills and Boon, 1910)

Sinfield, Alan. *Alfred Tennyson* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986)

Sinfield, Alan. *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment* (London: Cassell, 1994)

Smith, Phyllis. *The Story of Claribel (Charlotte Alington Barnard)* (Lincoln: J. W. Ruddock, 1965)

Smyth, Ethel. 'England, Music, and - Women' *The English Review* 22 (1916), pp.187-198.

Smyth, Ethel. *Impressions That Remained* 2 vols. (London: Longmans, 1919)

Smyth, Ethel. *Streaks of Life* (London: Longmans, 1921)

Smyth, Ethel. *A Three-Legged Tour in Greece* (London: Heinemann, 1927)

Smyth, Ethel. *A Final Burning of Boats Etc.* (London: Longmans, 1928)

Smyth, Ethel. 'Reply to a Pessimistic Champion' *The Sackbut* (April 1929), pp.289-294.

Smyth, Ethel. *Female Pipings in Eden* (Edinburgh: Peter Davies, 1933)

Smyth, Ethel. *Beecham and Pharoah* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1935)

Smyth, Ethel. *As Time Went On...* (London: Longmans, 1936)

Smyth, Ethel. *Inordinate (?) Affection* (London: The Cresset Press, 1936)

Smyth, Ethel. *Maurice Baring* (London: Heinemann, 1938)

Smyth, Ethel. *What Happened Next* (London: Longmans, 1940)

Soldene, Emily. *My Theatrical and Musical Recollections* (London: Downey & Co., 1897)

Solie, Ruth. 'Whose Life? The Gendered Self in Schumann's *Frauenliebe* Songs' in *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries* ed. Scher, Steven Paul (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

ed. Solie, Ruth. *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993)

Solie, Ruth. 'Changing the Subject' *Current Musicology* 53 (1993), pp.55-65

Spender, Dale. *Mothers of the Novel* (London: Pandora, 1986)

Speyer, Edward. *My Life and Friends* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1937)

St. John, Christopher (with Vita Sackville-West and Kathleen Dale). *Ethel Smyth. A Biography* (London: Longmans, 1959)

Standing, Percy Cross. 'Some Lady Composers: "Guy d'Hardelot"' *Lady's Pictorial* XXXIX (5 May, 1900), p.708

Standing, Percy Cross. 'Some Lady Composers: Mrs Ellen Wright' *Lady's Pictorial* XXXIX (12 May 1900), p.877

Standing, Percy Cross. 'Some Lady Composers: Miss Florence Aylward' *Lady's Pictorial* XXXIX (9 June, 1900), p.1062

Standing, Percy Cross. 'Some Lady Composers: Miss Ethel Harraden' *Lady's Pictorial* XL (7 July, 1900), p.12

Stanford, Charles Villiers. *Studies and Memories* (London: Constable, 1908)

Stanford, Charles Villiers. *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914)

Stanford, Charles Villiers. *Interludes, Records and Reflections* (London: Cassell, 1922)

ed. Stevens, Denis *A History of Song* (London: Hutchinson, 1960)

Stradling, Robert and Hughes, Meirion. *The English Musical Renaissance 1860-1940: Construction and Deconstruction* (London: Routledge, 1993)

Stratton, Stephen S. 'Woman in Relation to Musical Art' *Proceedings of the Musical Asssociation* 3 (1882-3), pp.115-146.

ed. Temperley, Nicholas. *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age* 1800-1914 (London: Athlone Press, 1981)

ed. Temperley, Nicholas. *The Lost Chord: Essays on Victorian Music* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989)

de Ternant, André. 'Short Sketches of Contemporary Women Composers' *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* XVIII (1887), pp.12-21 and 53-60.

Terry, Richard. 'Conversations VIII with Dame Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc., O.B.E.' *The Queen* (11 June 1924), pp.8-9.

Terry, Richard. *A Forgotten Psalter and Other Essays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929)

Trend, Michael. *The Music Makers: The English Musical Renaissance from Elgar to Britten* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1985)

Trollope, Joanna. *Britannia's Daughters: Women of the British Empire* (London: Pimlico, 1994)

Troubridge, Una. *The Life and Death of Radclyffe Hall* (London: Hammond & Hammond, 1961)

Turner, Michael R. and Miall, Antony. *The Parlour Songbook* (London: Methuen, 1982)

V. B. 'Failures of Women in Art' *The Sketch* 21 (1898), pp. 424, 468 and 562

Verey, Joseph. 'Women as Musicians' *The Monthly Musical Record* (September 1885), pp.196-197.

Verne, Mathilde. *Chords of Remembrance* (London: Hutchinson, 1936)

ed. Vicinus, Martha. *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1972)

ed. Vicinus, Martha. *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1977)

Vicinus, Martha. *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920* (London: Virago, 1985)

Walker, Ernest. *A History of Music in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907)

Walker, Ernest. *Free Thought and the Musician and Other Essays* (London: Oxford University Press, nd)

Warrender, Maud. *My First Sixty Years* (London, Cassell, 1933)

Wearing, J. P. *The London Stage 1890-1899: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1976)

Wearing, J. P. *The London Stage 1900-1909: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1981)

Wearing, J. P. *The London Stage 1910-1919: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1982)

Wearing, J. P. *The London Stage 1920-1929: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1976)

Weeks, Jeffrey. *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London: Quartet Books, 1977)

Weir, A. J. *The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1938)

West, Shearer. *Fin de Siècle: Art and Society in an Age of Uncertainty* (London: Bloomsbury, 1993)

ed. Whitbread, Helena. *I Know My Own Heart: The Diaries of Anne Lister 1791-1840* (New York: New York University Press, 1992)

White, Maude Valérie. *Friends and Memories* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914)

White, Maude Valérie. *My Indian Summer* (London: Grayson and Grayson, 1932)

Whitelaw, Lis. *The Life and Rebellious Times of Cicely Hamilton: Actress, Writer, Suffragist* (London: The Women's Press, 1990)

Wolfit, Ronald. *First Interval: The Autobiography of Ronald Wolfit* (London: Odhams Press, 1954)

Wood, Elizabeth. 'Women, Music, and Ethel Smyth: A Pathway in the Politics of Music' *The Massachusetts Review* 24 (Spring 1983) 125-139

Wood, Elizabeth. 'Gender and Genre in Ethel Smyth's Operas' in Zaimont, Judith Lang, Catherine Overhauser and Jane Gottlieb, eds. *The Musical Woman: An International Perspective, Vol. 2, 1984-1985* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987), pp.493-507

Wood, Elizabeth, 'Performing Rights: A Sonography of Women's Suffrage' *The Musical Quarterly* 79:4 (Winter 1995), pp.606-643

Wood, Henry. *My Life of Music* (London: Gollancz, 1938)

Young, Percy M. *A History of British Music* (London: Ernest Benn, 1967)

ed. Young, Percy M. *A Future for English Music and Other Lectures by Edward Elgar* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1968)

Archival Sources

British Library

Ethel Barns Manuscripts (Add. Mss 63634-63639)

Mary Gladstone Diaries (Add. Mss 46254-46267)

Hamilton Papers (Add. Mss 48599-48699)

Musical League Papers (Add. Mss 49600-49603)

Philharmonic Society Papers (Loan 48)

Quilter Papers (Add. Mss 70604-70607)

Smyth Letters and Diaries (RP 2303)

Miscellaneous Manuscripts: Add. Ms 50071 (Allitsen, 'Book for entering Musical and Literary agreements'), Add. Ms 46251 (letter from White to Mary Gladstone), Add. Ms 68943 (letter from White to Mark Raphael), Egerton 3306 (letters from Smyth to Percy Pitt).

Cambridge University Library

Miscellaneous Manuscripts: Add. 7973 M/21 (letter from Maddison to Edward Dent), Add. 6463 296 (letter from White to Mr Jenkinson), Add. 8990 593-594 (letters from White to Owen Seaman).

Chertsey Museum

Harland Chaldecott Papers (D 2463)

Corporation of London Records Office

Guildhall School of Music and Drama Archives (uncatalogued programme books and scrapbooks)

Delius Trust Archive

Letters from Maddison to Frederick and Jelka Delius

Fawcett Library

Cuttings Collection

Marylebone Library, London

Harraden Papers (Acc. 1215)

Private Collections

Lehmann Archive (held by Bedford family)

Mabel Batten Archive (held by Lancaster family)

Royal Academy of Music

Archives (uncatalogued)

Uncatalogued Manuscripts: Box 24 (Bright), Boxes 148-150 (White), Box 162 (Zimmermann).

Royal College of Music

Society of Women Musicians Archive (uncatalogued)

Manuscripts: Add. Mss 5042a and b (Boyce); Add. Mss 5071a-d (Ellicott); Ms 2233 (manuscripts belonging to Spencer Lyttelton).